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NOTE IMPORTANTE

La Rédaction de *Byzantion* demande aux collaborateurs de la revue de respecter ce qui suit :

1° Ne pas dépasser 30 pages imprimées par article, notes et références comprises ; les pages supplémentaires seront facturées aux auteurs.

2° Faire parvenir à la Rédaction une copie imprimée de leurs articles et un exemplaire sur disquette avec mention du système et du programme utilisés, ainsi que les caractères de la police grecque utilisée.

Indiquer à la fin leurs nom, institution, adresse (privée ou professionnelle) et E-mail.

Joindre deux résumés de 5 à 6 lignes, l'un dans la langue de l'article, l'autre en anglais.

3° Indiquer, lors de la rédaction des notes, les

- NOMS DES AUTEURS (anciens ou modernes) : en petite capitale, précédés des initiales des prénoms,
- *Titres* (livres, articles, revues, collections, séries) : en italique (translittérés en caractères latins pour les écritures autres que latine et grecque),
- lieux d'édition, dans la langue de l'article proposé à *Byzantion*,
- p. = page(s) (S. pour l'allemand) ; col. = colonne(s) ; fig. = figure(s) ; pl. = planche(s),

4° Utiliser seulement les abréviations autorisées ci-dessous.

ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACO	E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*

BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
B-NJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
Bsl	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz.	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CPG	M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vol., Turnhout, 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980 et 1987 ; M. GEERARD - J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum* (*Corpus Christianorum*), Turnhout, 1998 ; J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumen IIIA : A Cyrillo Alexandrino ad Iohannem Damascenum. Addenda volumini III* (*Corpus Christianorum*), Turnhout, 2003[2]
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Echos d'Orient*
FHG	C. MULLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
GOThR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JG	I. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I-VIII, Athènes, 1931
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖs	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistischen Gesellschaft*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LChI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
Mansi	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MM	F. MIKLOSICH et J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi*, Vindobonae, 1860-1890

NE	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, I), fascic. 1-12, Addenda und Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Gesamtregister, Wien, 1976-1994, 1995 et 1996 ; CD-Version (avec addenda), Wien, 2001
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, I-III, 1971, 1980 et 1992
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
Syntagma	G. Rallis et M. Potlis, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
Zbor.	*Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta Srpska Akademija Narodna*

La Rédaction ne retourne pas les articles refusés.

ÉDITORIAL

Depuis sa création par H. Grégoire, la revue *Byzantion* a toujours eu pour objectif de promouvoir la recherche et la critique scientifiques dans un esprit d'impeccable tolérance, par-delà les divergences idéologiques, culturelles ou linguistiques. Au moment où le flambeau est passé entre les mains d'une génération nouvelle, il importe de rappeler que l'idéal formulé voici plus de quatre-vingts ans demeure inaltérable.

Cependant, l'élargissement des dimensions du savoir et la généralisation des technologies nouvelles obligeaient à repenser en profondeur l'administration de l'ASBL et la rédaction de la revue. L'enseignement et les recherches qu'il menait à l'Université de Louvain n'ont pas empêché le Professeur Justin Mossay de diriger *Byzantion* avec le brio et le talent que chacun reconnaît. C'est un honneur que de pouvoir compter aujourd'hui encore sur son bon sens et sa riche expérience. Longtemps, le Professeur Panayotis Yannopoulos a dirigé la rédaction et la trésorerie de la revue, avec une efficacité et une minutie auxquelles on doit rendre hommage. Il souhaite désormais se tourner vers d'autres horizons. Toutefois, le destin de la revue lui tient tant à coeur qu'il continuera à en assurer la trésorerie. De surcroît, le Professeur Véronique Somers, qui assurait le secrétariat scientifique, a dû renoncer à cette collaboration. Tous trois méritent la gratitude des lecteurs.

Outre les règles techniques rappelées en tête de chacun des volumes, on tiendra donc compte des dispositions nouvelles. La rédaction de la revue est à présent répartie entre diverses personnes, qui en ont la responsabilité collégiale, soit :

1. pour les **articles,** le Professeur Peter Van Deun, de la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven ;
2. pour les **mémoires et documents,** le Professeur Anne Tihon, de l'Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, et le Professeur Jacques Schamp, de l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse) ;
3. pour la partie **bibliographie,** le Professeur Marc De Groote, de l'Universiteit Gent.

L'ASBL *Byzantion* et la revue sont dirigés par le Professeur Jacques Schamp, président, et par le Professeur Lydie Hadermann-Misguich, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, vice-présidente.

Par conséquent, on fera parvenir :

- les **articles** au Professeur Peter Van Deun, Instituut voor Vroegchristelijke en Byzantijnse Studies, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven ;
- **les mémoires et documents** au Professeur Anne Tihon, Institut orientaliste, Place Blaise Pascal, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve ;
- **Les livres et articles** pour recension au Professeur Marc De Groote, Kortebrugge, 3, B-8200 Sint-Michiels-Brugge.

Naturellement, les **articles**, **mémoires** et **documents** font chaque fois l'objet d'une étude attentive pour laquelle le comité de rédaction se réserve un délai de six mois.

On trouvera ci-après les adresses électroniques utiles :

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À l'initiative des grands anciens, *Byzantion* a rendu vie à sa *Bibliothèque* grâce à sa série de «réimpressions». Désireuse de ne pas en rester là, l'équipe nouvelle continue à œuvrer au développement de la recherche dans les disciplines qui lui sont chères.

Pour le Conseil d'administration,

Jacques SCHAMP.

DIE *DIOPTRA* DES PHILIPPOS MONOTROPOS UND IHR KONTEXT. EIN BEITRAG ZUR REZEPTIONSGESCHICHTE (*)

Das Werk, das in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung und in der Bibliographie als „*Dioptra*" bekannt ist, wurde Ende des 11. Jh. vom Mönch Philippos geschrieben. Das Werk besteht aus zwei Teilen : den *Klauthmoi* (ursprünglich *Dioptra* genannt), einem Buch mit Klageversen an die eigene Seele, verfasst im Jahr 1095 (1), und der zwei Jahre jüngeren *Dialexis*, einem Dialog zwischen Seele (ψυχή) und Fleisch (σάρξ) in vier Büchern. Ziemlich früh, vielleicht im Milieu von Philippos selbst, wurden die zwei Teile zusammen gefügt. Der Titel *Dioptra* wurde auf die

(*) Der Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen der Arbeit an dem vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung geförderten Projekt des Instituts für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien und der Balkan-Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften "Die *Dioptra* des Philippos Monotropos". Ich danke Prof. W. Hörandner fur seine wertvollen Hinweise.

(1) Zur Abfassung und Chronologie der *Dioptra* s. den grundlegenden Artikel von V. GRUMEL, *Remarques sur la Dioptra de Philippe le Solitaire*, in *BZ* 44 (1951), S. 198-208 ; weitere Bibliographie : W. HÖRANDNER, *Die Wiener Handschriften des Philippos Monotropos*, in *AKPOΘINIA*, Wien, 1964, S. 23-40 ; Ders., *Notizen zu Philippos Monotropos*, in *Βυζαντινά* 13 (1985), S. 817-831 ; L. HOFFMANN, *Die „Dioptra" des Philippos Monotropos. Eine Studie zu Verfasser, Werk und dessen Quellen*, Diplomarbeit, Wien, 1992 ; Ders., *Wie sieht wohl die Hölle aus ? Bemerkungen zum Charakter byzantinischer Dialog- und Zitationstechnik am Beispiel der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos*, in W. HÖRANDNER - J. KODER - M. A. STASSINOPOULOU (Hrsg.), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion „Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002)* (*Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia*, 24), Wien, 2004, S. 203-219 ; H. MIKLAS, *Die Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos im Slavischen. Allgemeine Untersuchung und Text des ersten Buches*. Dissertation, Graz, 1975 ; Ders., *Zur Edition der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos*, in *JÖB* 31 (1981) Beiheft, Nr. 2.1.

Gesamtheit der fünf Bücher übertragen und die *Klauthmoi* wurden als erstes oder als fünftes Buch überliefert. Es sind zwei Hauptfassungen in der *Dioptra*-Überlieferung zu erkennen : die so genannte X- und die Y-Fassung. Sie unterscheiden sich in der Reihenfolge der Bücher (X-Fassung : *Klauthmoi* als 5. Buch, Y-Fassung : *Klauthmoi* als 1. Buch), in der Zahl der Verse, der Kapiteleinteilung, der Zahl und Reihenfolge der Anhänge und nicht zuletzt in zahlreichen Fällen von unterschiedlichen Lesarten. Der Text war sehr populär in der byzantinischen und nachbyzantinischen Zeit. Uns sind über achtzig Handschriften, die die gesamte *Dioptra*, die *Klauthmoi* oder Fragmente überliefern, bekannt ; sie reichen vom 12. bis ins 18. Jh., wobei die überwiegende Mehrheit der Codices, die die gesamte *Dioptra* überliefern, aus dem 13. und 14. Jh. stammen. Die *Dioptra* wurde paraphrasiert und übersetzt. Aus dem 14. Jh. stammt eine archaisierende Paraphrase in politischen Versen von Theodoros Phialites (*PLP* 29715). Später im selben Jahrhundert wurde die *Dioptra* ins Kirchenslavische übersetzt und erfuhr eine rasche Verbreitung. Jeweils in einer Handschrift (soweit bekannt) erhalten ist eine in Moldawien abgefasste neugriechische literarische Paraphrase in politischen Disticha (2), eine weitere neugriechische Paraphrase in politischen Disticha durch den Rhetor Georgios aus dem Jahr 1639 (3) und eine rumänische Übersetzung (19. Jh.).

Die *Dioptra* hat engen Bezug zu anderen Texten. Außer den Texten, die der *Dioptra* als Quellen gedient haben (4), gibt es solche, die in die *Dioptra* als Einschübe unverändert übernommen wurden oder sie als Anhänge und Marginalzitate (5) begleiten. Darüber hinaus werden andere Texte in denselben Handschriften wie die *Dioptra* überliefert. Im vorliegenden Artikel bespreche ich die Texte, die teilweise von Philippos selbst in die *Dioptra* miteinbezogen wurden, sowie die mitüberlieferten Texte,

(2) Im Codex *Ath. Dionysiou* 178 (3712) aus dem 17. Jh. erhalten.

(3) Im Cod. *Cant. Trinity Coll.* 1360 (0.7.32) aus dem 17. Jh. erhalten. Siehe auch W. HÖRANDNER 1985, S. 817-831, insb. 819-821.

(4) Eine ausführliche Beschreibung der Quellen der *Dioptra* gibt es bei HOFFMANN 1992, S. 67-128.

(5) Ein Zweig der X-Fassung enthält Marginalscholien. Diese stammen von bzw. werden zugeschrieben an Johannes Chrysostomos, Isidoros Pelusiotes, Maximos Homologetes, Kyrillos von Alexandrien, Kyrillos von Jerusalem, Basileios dem Großen, Johannes Klimakos, Neilos, Michael Psellos, Dionysios Areopagites, Anastasios Sinaites, Gregor von Nyssa, Johannes von Damaskos u.a. Gelegentlich werden Marginalscholien in den Text aufgenommen.

die nicht zur *Dioptra* gehören, aber vom Erwartungshorizont der *Dioptra*-Rezipienten zeugen. Was die *Dioptra* betrifft, wird nach Seiten der LAVRIOTES-Ausgabe zitiert (6). Die Zählung der Bücher erfolgt aus praktischen Gründen ebenfalls nach der LAVRIOTES-Ausgabe (*Klauthmoi* als 5. Buch).

EINSCHÜBE

Die Einschübe sind in den Büchern 2-4 zu finden. Sie sind Bestandteil des ursprünglichen Textes der *Dioptra*. Sie werden in den vorangehenden Versen vorgestellt und in den darauf folgenden kommentiert. Die Betonung der Tatsache, dass es sich um den originalen Wortlaut handelt, zeigt, dass Philippos nicht beabsichtigte, die Texte in einer eventuellen Bearbeitung zu versifizieren. Die Einschübe sind folgende :

Lavr., S. 94-96. Inc. : Οἵτινές εἰσι πατέρες καὶ προφῆται. Des. : ὅτε κατῆλθεν ἐν τῷ Ἅιδῃ, βουλήσει. Zwölfsilber aus Ps.-Johannes von Damaskos, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων*, in : *PG* 95, 257 A8 - 260 D6 (*CPG* 8112). Als Überschrift des Zitates dienen die letzten Sätze des vorangehenden ps.-damaskenischen Textes : Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ἔσωσε πάντας ὁ ζωοδότης, ἀλλ' ὡς εἴρηται, κακεῖ τοὺς πιστεύσαντας. Τινὲς γοῦν φασι τοὺς προπεπιστευκότας. Der Text wird in den vorigen Versen als Ἰωάννου τοῦ πάνυ Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ καὶ Μανσούρ vorgestellt.

Lavr., S. 105-110. Ἐρώτησις ἐκ τῶν Μακρινείων. Inc. : Νοερὰν φασὶν εἶναι οὐσίαν. Des. : πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν ζωὴν συντελοῦν und Lavr., S. 111-121, Ἐρώτησις ἐκ τῶν Μακρινείων. Inc. : Τῷ

(6) Die einzige bis jetzt erschienene Ausgabe der fünf Bücher der *Dioptra* erfolgte durch den Mönch SPYRIDON LAVRIOTES (Athen, 1920). Der Ausgabe fehlt ein kritischer Apparat. Sie basiert hauptsächlich auf dem Codex *Ath. Lavra* Ω 17 (14. Jh.) ; diese Handschrift ist der X-Fassung zuzuordnen, der Schreiber versucht aber an vielen Stellen, den Text sprachlich und metrisch zu glätten. Eine kritische Ausgabe der *Klauthmoi*, auf fünf Pariser Handschriften basierend, veröffentlichte E. AUVRAY, *Les Pleurs de Philippe, poème en vers politiques de Philippe le Solitaire*, Paris, 1875. Jeweils auf einer Handschrift basieren die Ausgaben der *Klauthmoi* durch E. S. SHUCKBURGH, *The Soul and the Body. A mediaeval greek poem printed for the first time from a manuscript in the Emmanuel College library with a translation*, in *Emmanuel College Magazine*, vol. V, nr. 2-3, Cambridge, 1894, und O. LAMPSIDIS : *Zwei Fragmente der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos im Atheniensis 1217*, in *JÖB* 52 (2002), S. 197-220.

γὰρ ἔσεσθαι ποτὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν. Des. : ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις. Beide sind gekürzte Ausschnitte aus Gregor von Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione (Macrinia)*, in : *PG* 46, 11-160 (*CPG* 3149). In vielen Handschriften beider Fassungen wird marginal Gregor von Nyssa genannt. In den einleitenden Versen wird der Text als Frage charakterisiert, die ein ἀνὴρ σοφός τις einem ἄλλον τινὰ ὑπέρσοφον (!) stellte. Diese Formulierung erlaubt Zweifel daran, ob Philippos den fiktiven Dialog zwischen Gregor und seiner Schwester zur Ganze kannte. Vor dem zweiten Zitat wird die wortwörtliche Zitierung betont : οὐ παραλλάξω σοι ῥητὸν ὅλως μικρὸν ἢ μέγα.

Lavr., S. 127-128. Inc. : Πᾶσαι αἱ οὐράνιαι οὐσίαι. Des. : τῶν θεοπτικωτάτων ἀνδρῶν. Zusammenfassung von Niketas Stethatos, *Εἰς τὴν οὐρανίαν ἱεραρχίαν*, § 16-23 (*Nicétas Stéthatos. Opuscules et Lettres*, ed. J. Darrouzès [*SC*, 81], Paris, 1961, S. 292-363). Der Text in der Phialites-Paraphrase und in *Vat. Ottob.* 441 ist versifiziert. In den unmittelbar vorangehenden Versen wird fälschlicherweise Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης als Autor genannt.

Lavr., S. 128-129. Inc. : Ποῖα εἰσὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐκεῖνα. Des. : συγγενὲς καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῦ. Anastasios Sinaites, *Quaestiones et responsiones* (*CPG* 7746), ed. M. Richard (†) und J. A. Munitiz, *Anastasii Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones* (*CCSG*, 59), Turnhout - Leuven, 2006, *Qu.* 4-5 (S. 9-12) ; cf. J. A. Munitiz, *In the Steps of Anastasius of Sinai : Later Traces of his* Erotapokriseis, in B. Janssens - B. Roosen - P. Van Deun (ed.), *Philomathestatos. Etudes de patristique grecque et textes byzantins offerts à J. Noret* (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137), Leuven - Paris - Dudley (Massachusetts), 2004, S. 442-444. In den dem Einschub folgenden Versen wird als Autor πατὴρ ὁ Σιναΐτης genannt.

Lavr., S. 130-131. Inc. : Ἡρμοσάμην ὑμᾶς ἑνὶ ἀνδρί. Des. : τοσαύτης ἀπολαύῃ τιμῆς. Kompilation aus Johannes Chrysostomos, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (*CPG* 4413), in *PG* 55, 199, 6-32. In den vorangehenden Versen nennt Philippos Παῦλον τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ Δαυῒδ τὸν Προφήτην καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν χρυσοῦν τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ στόμα als Autoren.

Lavr., S. 136-138. Inc. : Τί δὲ καὶ ἕτερον προτείνονται ἡμῖν. Des. : μᾶλλον ἐλεῶ σε τῆς δυστυχίας. Niketas Stethatos, *Τίς ὁ οὐρανὸς καινός*. Aus Pariser *Dioptra*-Handschriften ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 508-515. Kein Autor wird genannt. Der wortwörtliche Charakter wird betont : ἔχει δ' ἡ λέξις οὕτως.

Lavr., S. 139. Inc. : Ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν. Des. : ἄφθαρτον ἔσται καὶ ἀκήρατον. Johannes Chrysostomos,

Ad populum Antiochenum homilia X (*CPG* 4330), in *PG* 49, 117-118. Als Autor wird ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὸ στόμα vorweg angekündigt, der wortwörtliche Charakter wird betont : αὐτολεξὶ δ' ὧδε ἔχει πως ὅπερ ἀκούσας γνῶθι / τὴν φράσιν ἅμα τοῦ ῥητοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, τὸν τρόπον. Dem Einschub folgt der Vers καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶσσαν Ἰωάννης.

Lavr., S. 139-140. Inc. : Ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαραδοκία τῆς κτίσεως. Des. : τοῦτο θέλειν ὀφείλομεν. Unidentifiziert. Der Autor wird anonym mit τρίτον μάρτυρα vorgestellt.

Lavr., S. 169-170. Inc. : Πόθεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γεννήσεως. Des. : ἐμυθολόγησαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι. Anastasios Sinaites, *Quaestiones et responsiones* (*CPG* 7746), ed. Richard - Munitiz, a.O., *Qu.* 27 ; cf. Munitiz, *In the Steps of Anastasius*, S. 444-446. Philippos nennt Ἀναστάσιον ... τὸν τοῦ ὄρους Σιναίου in den vorangehenden Versen.

Lavr., S. 190. Inc. : Τὸν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐκτρωμάτων λόγον. Des. : καταληπτέον. Olympiodoros Diakonos, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (*CPG* 7454), in *PG* 93, 553. Es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um ein Marginalscholion, das ziemlich früh in den Text aufgenommen wurde, denn es wird in den meisten Codices beider Fassungen überliefert ([7]). In einem Zweig der X-Fassung ([8]) steht das Zitat in Versform. In Versen, vielleicht unter Einfluss der X-Fassung, ist das Zitat auch in der Phialites-Paraphrase zu finden. Eine eigene Versifizierung hat der *Ath. Xeropotamou* 143 (Y-Fassung).

Lavr., S. 208. Zwei Zitate, in manchen Hss. als eines überliefert :

a) Lavr., S. 208, Z. 10-29. Inc. : Χρὴ εἰδέναι ὡς ἴδια μὲν τοῦ σώματος. Des. εἰς Ἅιδου μυχοὺς ἐπισπᾶται. Zusammenfassung aus Niketas Stethatos, *De anima*, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 126 und 130, § 64 und 67-69. Die ersten fünf Zeilen stammen eigentlich aus Johannes von Damaskos, *Expositio Fidei* (*CPG* 8043), ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, II (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 12), Berlin - New York, 1973, § 26, Z. 86-90.

b) Inc. : Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πρώτη τοῦ νοῦ κίνησις. Des. : τὸν διὰ γλώσσης λαλούμενον. Aus Johannes von Damaskos, *Expositio Fidei*, a. O., § 36, Z. 41-48. Die zwei Einschübe werden in den vorangehenden Versen nicht angekündigt und ihr inhaltlicher Zusammenhang mit

(7) Fehlt in *Bodl. Clark.* 1, *Ath. Pantokratoros* 94 (1128) und *Vat. gr.* 1893.

(8) *Paris. gr.* 2748, *Paris. Coisl.* 341, *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25, *Ath. Batopediou* 166 und *Vat. Ottob.* 441.

diesen ist ziemlich vage. Ich halte den Text eher für ein Marginalscholion, das in den Text ziemlich früh aufgenommen wurde. Er wird in allen Handschriften, mit Ausnahme der Phialites-Paraphrase, überliefert.

Lavr., S. 216-220. Inc. : Ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ καὶ νοερά. Des. : πᾶσα ἀμφιβολία καὶ δισταγμός. Am Anfang steht marginal Κυρίλλου (9). Das dürfte sich ursprünglich nicht auf den gesamten Text, sondern auf ein vermeintliches Kyrillos-Zitat am Anfang bezogen haben (10). In der Lavriotes-Ausgabe und auch in manchen Handschriften steht dieser Name als Überschrift für den gesamten Einschub. Dieser Text ist eigentlich eine Zusammenfassung bzw. Kompilation von Exzerpten hauptsächlich aus dem Werk des Eustratios aus Konstantinopel, *Λόγος ἀνατρεπτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ ἐνεργεῖν τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς* etc. (*CPG* 7522) (11) ; im letzten Paragraph (Lavr., S. 220, Z. 18-26) wird Eustratios sowie der Titel des Werkes genannt. Zum Text der Zusammenfassung wurden vermutlich schon vor der Aufnahme in die *Dioptra* zwei Paragraphen interpoliert, die Kompilation aus Werken des Niketas Stethatos (inc. Εἰ οὖν ὁ καθεύδων, Lavr., S. 217, 36 - S. 219, 36) (12) und der unidentifizierte Absatz zu den Totengebeten (inc. Ἰστέον ὅτι, Lavr., S. 219, 37 - S. 220, 5). In den vorangehenden Versen wird der Text anonym als biblische Zeugnisse (γραφικὰς μαρτυρίας) präsentiert, was dadurch zu erklären ist, dass er in der Vorlage von Philippos schon ohne Überschrift war.

ANHÄNGE

Am Ende des 4. Buches wird eine Reihe von kurzen Texten und Sprüchen überliefert, deren Zahl und Reihenfolge variiert. Im Gegensatz

(9) Drei miteinander verwandte Codices überliefern Κυρίλλου Μαξίμου (*Ath. Lavra* Ω 17, *Ath. Lavra* Λ 180 ; auch von Lavriotes übernommen) bzw. Κυρίλλου καὶ Μακαρίου (*Paris. gr.* 2874).

(10) Diese Annahme bestärkt das Werk von Michael Glykas, *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς κεφάλαια*, ed. S. Eustratiadis, Athen, 1906, Kap. 21 (Bd. I, S. 247-257). Glykas verwendet Teile des Textes, der in die *Dioptra* aufgenommen wurde (s. dazu folgende Anm., S. xlvii-xlviii). Aus seiner Formulierung ist nicht zu entnehmen, dass der Name Kyrillos sich auf den gesamten Text bezog.

(11) *Eustratii presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem (CPG 7522)*, ed. P. Van Deun (*CCSG*, 60), Turnhout - Leuven, 2006 : auf S. xliv-xlvi der detaillierte Index der Quellen von Philippos.

(12) Niketas Stethatos, *De anima*, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 134-148, § 73-81 und *De hierarchia*, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 320-326, § 17-19 und 21.

zu den Einschüben ist ihr Zusammenhang zum Kontext lose. Man kann zwischen Texten unterscheiden, die in fast jeder Handschrift beider Fassungen vorkommen – in unterschiedlicher Reihenfolge – und Texten, deren Verbreitung beschränkt ist.

Folgende Texte gehören zu den Standard-Anhängen der *Dioptra* :

1. Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς μετὰ τοῦ λῃστοῦ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ αἰσθητὸν παράδεισον ὡς καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων. Inc. : Ἄρτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρωθέντος. Des. : ῥυπαρὰν καὶ γεώδη (Lavr., S. 222-223). Zusammenfassung folgender Werke des Niketas Stethatos : *De Paradiso*, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 158, § 4 ; Brief an Gregorios (*Lettres annexes* VI), ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 266-272, § 7-10 ; Brief Τῷ φίλῳ πλησίον, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 62, § 5-6. Den Anhang der *Dioptra* ed. A. Wenger, *Ciel ou Paradis*, in *BZ* 44 (1951), S. 560-569.
2. Τίς ὁ νοητὸς παράδεισος καὶ τίνα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φυτὰ καὶ οἱ τούτων θεῖοι καρποί. Σοφωτάτη καὶ ὑψηλὴ τροπικὴ θεωρία. Inc. : Τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς. Des. : ὁ λόγος ἀπέδειξεν (Lavr., S. 229-234). Die Τροπικὴ θεωρία sowie die zwei folgenden Anhänge sind Zusammenfassungen von Niketas Stethatos, *De Paradiso*, ed. Darrouzès, a.O., S. 176-226, § 20-59. Den Anhang der *Dioptra* ed. Marie Chalendard, *Nicétas Stéthatos. Le paradis spirituel et autres textes annexes* (*SC*, 8), Paris, 1943, S. 41-59.
3. Περὶ τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Inc. : Ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασεν αὐτεξούσιον. Des. : καὶ τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ (Lavr., S. 234-235). Ed. Chalendard, a.O., S. 60-63.
4. Διάκρισις τῆς φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων. Inc. : Τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μὲν εἰσί. Des. : τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐντολῶν καταφρονήσεως (Lavr., S. 235-236). Ed. Chalendard, a.O., S. 64-67.

Hier sind auch zwei Texte in politischen Versen zu erwähnen, die höchstwahrscheinlich von Philippos selbst verfasst wurden und zur *Dioptra* gehören : die Zusammenfassung des 4. Buches, die mit den Worten Ἰδοὺ κυρία εἶπον σοι μερικῶς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ anfängt, und der Apologos, eine Apologie des Autors an die Leser anstelle eines Epilogs. Ihre Stellung variiert, je nach Fassung.

Außer den oben genannten gibt es folgende Texte, die nicht in jeder Handschrift überliefert werden und auch in der Ausgabe von Lavriotes fehlen :

5. Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἔστιν. Manchmal in Versen. Unidentifiziert. Den Anhang aus der Phialites-Paraphrase ed. M. CHALENDARD, a.O., S. 69. CHALENDARD hält diesen sowie die nächsten von ihr publizierten *Dioptra*-Anhänge für Werke des Niketas Stethatos "jusqu' à preuve du contraire".
6. Πέντε εἰσὶ ἐργασίαι, δι' ὧν θεραπεύεται θεός. Unidentifiziert.
7. Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ ψυχῆς δυνάμεις. *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*, II, ed. D.J. O'MEARA (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1989, S. 2-3. Vgl. auch M. CHALENDARD, a.O., S. 71.
8. Τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων αἱ μὲν εἰσὶ γνωστικαί. Erweiterung des vorigen Textes. Unidentifiziert.
9. Τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ζῆν. Aineias von Gaza, *Theophrastus* (*CPG* 7450), ed. M. E. COLONNA, *Theophrastus sive de immortalitate animae*, Neapel, 1958, S. 23, Z. 13-14 und S. 29, Z. 17. Vgl. auch M. CHALENDARD, a.O., S. 73.
10. Ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων τὰ πράγματα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ κρίνονται. Der Titel kommt aus Isidoros Pelusiotes (*CPG* 5557) : *Isidore de Péluse. Lettres*, II, *Lettres 1414-1700*, ed. P. ÉVIEUX (*SC*, 454), Paris, 2000, Brief 1654. Unter diesem Titel ist eine Gruppe von kurzen Abhandlungen überliefert : a) Ὥσπερ ὁ ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιθυμῶν : Isidoros Pelusiotes, Brief 1698. b) Ὁ ἕξιν ἔχων ἁμαρτικήν. Olympiodoros Diakonos, *Commentarii in Ecclesiasten* (*CPG* 7454), *PG* 93, 580. Die zweite Hälfte des Zitates unidentifiziert. c) Γυνὴ καλλωπιζομένη. Isidoros Pelusiotes, Brief 1654. Den ersten Text ed. M. CHALENDARD, a.O., S. 75.
11. Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ εὐχῆς. Inc. : Ἄλλο ἐστὶ προσευχὴ καὶ ἕτερον εὐχή. Unidentifiziert. Ed. M. CHALENDARD, a.O., S. 77.
12. Μὴ χρονίσῃς ἀποδοῦναι τὰς εὐχάς σου. Unidentifiziert.
13. Ὅτι χρήσιμον τῆς τελευτῆς τὸ διάφορον. Aineias von Gaza, *Theophrastus*, ed. COLONNA, S. 31, Z. 18 - S. 32, Z. 12 (gekürzt).
14. Ἀσώματα δὲ καὶ ἀόρατα καὶ ἀσχημάτιστα. Johannes von Damaskos, *Expositio Fidei* 26, 53 (*CPG* 8043), ed. KOTTER, a.O., S. 77.
15. Τὰ παρατηρήματα τῶν Ἀρμενίων. Unidentifiziert.

Die Tabelle am Ende des Artikels zeigt die Anhänge in den verschiedenen Handschriften.

Es sind hauptsächlich zwei Schemata zu erkennen, die mit den zwei Fassungen der *Dioptra* mehr oder weniger übereinstimmen. Die Unter-

schiede betreffen die Reihenfolge und die Auswahl der Texte. Mit Sternchen sind die Texte gekennzeichnet, die in wenigen Handschriften vorkommen ([13]).

Fassung X

Anhang 1, Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας.

Verse Ἰδοὺ κυρία εἶπόν σοι (Zusammenfassung des 4. Buchs).

Ἀπόλογος (Epilog von Philippos, fehlt in *Vat. Barb.* 407).

Anhang 2, Τροπικὴ θεωρία (außer *Vat. Barb.* 407).

Anhang 3, Περὶ τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος.

Anhang 4, Διάκρισις (fehlt in *Vat. Barb.* 407).

Anhang 5, Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως (fehlt in *Paris. Coisl.* 341 und *Vat. Barb.* 407).

Anhang 7, Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις (fehlt in *Ath. Batopediou* 165 und *Vat. gr.* 407).

* Anhang 8, Τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων (*Paris. gr.* 2748, *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25 und *Vat. Ottob.* 441).

* Anhang 10, Ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων usw. (*Paris. gr.* 2748, *Athen. EB* 550, *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25 und *Vat. Ottob.* 441 ; *Paris. gr.* 2727 überliefert den ersten Text der Gruppe).

Anhang 11, Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ εὐχῆς (außer *Paris. Coisl.* 341 und *Vat. gr.* 407).

* Anhang 12, Μὴ χρονίσῃς (*Athen. EB* 550, *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25 und *Vat. Ottob.* 441).

Die *Klauthmoi* stehen in der X-Fassung in der Regel nach allen Einschüben, außer in *Paris. gr.* 2747 und *Ath. Batopediou* 165.

Einzelne Codices überliefern auch folgende Texte, die sonst in der Y-Fassung vorkommen. Ihre Stellung ist zwischen Anhang 5, Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως, und Anhang 10, Ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων :

* Anhang 6, Πέντε εἰσὶ ἐργασίαι (*Paris. Coisl.* 341, *Paris. gr.* 2747 und *Vat. Ottob.* 441).

* Anhang 9, Τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν (*Paris. gr.* 2874).

(13) Von folgenden Codices, die die gesamte *Dioptra* überliefern, konnte ich keinen bzw. keinen vollständigen Mikrofilm finden (mit Sternchen werden die unvollständig fotografierten gekennzeichnet) : **Athen. EB* 550, *Athen. olim Const. S. Sep.* 558, **Ath. Batopediou* 165, **Ath. Stauroniketa* 73 (938), *Lesb. Leim.* 268, *Lesb. Leim.* 71, *Hieros. Sabb.* 637.

Fassung Y

Anhang 1, Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας.
Anhang 2, Τροπικὴ θεωρία.
Verse Ἰδοὺ κυρία εἶπόν σοι.
Anhang 13, Ὅτι χρήσιμον τῆς τελευτῆς τὸ διάφορον.
Anhang 9, Τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν.
Anhang 5, Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως.
Anhang 14, Ἀσώματα δὲ καὶ ἀόρατα.
Anhang 3, Περὶ τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος.
Anhang 4, Διάκρισις.
Anhang 6, Πέντε εἰσὶ ἐργασίαι.
Anhang 7, Ὅτι πέντε εἰσὶ αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις.
Anhang 11, Περὶ προσευχῆς.
* Anhang 15, Τὰ παρατηρήματα τῶν Ἀρμενίων (*Tyb. UB* Mb. 3, *Oxon. Bodl. Theol.* d. 6 – fängt mitten im Text an – *Mediol. Ambros. gr.* 82, *Vindob. theol. gr.* 193 – nach dem Epilog – und *Vat. Barb.* 294). *Bodl. Theol.* d. 6 hat auch nach dem Epilog einen kurzen Text gegen die Armenier, der mit keinem der oben genannten identisch ist.
Ἀπόλογος. Epilog (fehlt von *Paris. gr.* 2873 und *Vat. Palat.* 124).

KONTEXT

Allgemeines

Die Mehrheit der Handschriften, die die *Dioptra* überliefern, enthalten auch andere Texte, nur vierzehn die *Dioptra* allein. Die mitüberlieferten Texte erstrecken sich oft über einige Blätter und geben den Eindruck, dass sie die Restblätter des Quaternios füllen. Manche Codices haben längere Texte bzw. Sammlungen von Texten neben den fünf *Dioptra*-Büchern. Schließlich sind auch die späteren Zusätze und die Konvoluten zu erwähnen.

Es sind drei Typen von Handschriften zu erkennen, die die *Dioptra* überliefern. Zuerst sind die Codices zu nennen, die die gesamte *Dioptra* enthalten – nur einmal fehlen die *Klauthmoi* nachweislich, und zwar im *Vindob. theol. gr.* 224 (16. Jh.). Zum zweiten Typus gehören Handschriften, die nur die *Klauthmoi* überliefern. Die Handschriften des dritten Typus überliefern Fragmente der vier Bücher der *Dialexis* – Fragmente der *Klauthmoi* kommen nicht vor. Die Fragmente sind oft *Dioptra*-Einschübe mit ein paar Versen; in der Überschrift wird die *Dioptra* genannt. Manchmal werden die *Dioptra*-Anhänge überliefert, und zwar

in derselben Reihenfolge wie in der *Dioptra*, ohne dass die *Dioptra* erwähnt wird.

Es ist nicht immer eindeutig, ob ein mitüberlieferter Text zur *Dioptra* gehört oder nicht, in anderen Worten, ob er unter den Anhängen oder unter dem Kontext zu klassifizieren ist. Bei Texten, die fast immer die *Dioptra* begleiten, ist es eindeutig, dass sie im Laufe der Zeit Teil der *Dioptra* geworden sind. Wie behandelt man aber einen Text, der in drei - vier - fünf Handschriften vorkommt ? Das Hauptkriterium ist seine Stellung : Wenn sich ein Text in den meisten Codices *vor* dem Epilog (Fassung Y) oder den *Klauthmoi* (Fassung X) befindet, dann gilt er als Anhang zur *Dioptra*.

Die Texte, die im selben Codex wie die *Dioptra* überliefert sind, haben de facto eine äußere Beziehung zur *Dioptra*. Sehr oft sind sie auch inhaltlich verwandt, denn ihre Wahl war nicht willkürlich. Auf jeden Fall sind sie wortwörtlich der Kontext der *Dioptra* und zeugen vom Erwartungshorizont der Leser. In diesem Sinne werden auch Konvolute berücksichtigt. Wenn nichts anderes vermerkt wird, dann sind die Texte von derselben Hand wie die *Dioptra* geschrieben.

Was den Inhalt der Texte betrifft, sind folgende große Gruppen von Texten zu erkennen : 1. *Erotapokriseis* und Florilegien, 2. Klagegedichte in Fünfzehnsilbern und 3. sonstige Texte.

1. Erotapokriseis und Florilegien

Die Psyche stellt ihrer Dienerin, der Sarx, Fragen zu verschiedenen theologischen und teilweise philosophisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Themen ; die Sarx antwortet nach dem, was sie in all diesen Jahren gelesen hat. Ihre Antworten sind oft popularisierende Zusammenfassungen oder Paraphrasen von Kirchenvätern und weniger häufig von weltlichen Autoren. Die Behauptung des Autors, nichts Eigenes geschrieben zu haben, ist nicht bloß eine bescheidene und Orthodoxie-konforme Äußerung : die *Dioptra* ist zum großen Teil eine Epitome der Theologie in einer sprachlich und stilistisch leicht zugänglichen Form. In dieser Hinsicht ist sie den *Erotapokriseis* und *Florilegien* verwandt. Die durchgehende Struktur des Textes und die philosophisch-psychologische Dimension, die ein Dialog zwischen Körper und Seele an sich hat, heben die *Dioptra* von den Erotapokriseis oder den lose überlieferten kurzen Traktaten ab ([14]).

(14) Siehe auch HOFFMANN, 1992, S. 56-66.

Bei den Einschüben und den Anhängen handelt es sich um Autoren und Texte, die in den Florilegien oft zitiert werden, insbesondere in denjenigen, die M. Richard als florilèges monastiques bezeichnet ([15]). Ähnlich ist ein großer Teil der Texte, die in denselben Handschriften wie die *Dioptra* überliefert sind. Es handelt sich um kurze Traktate oder Exzerpte aus längeren Texten ; oft sind es einzelne *Erotapokriseis* oder Briefe. Solche Texte begleiten die gesamte *Dioptra* oder werden zusammen mit *Dioptra*-Fragmenten überliefert. Die meisten setzen keine höhere Bildung voraus ; tendenziell sind sie einfacher als manche *Dioptra*-Einschübe. Es ist keine längere Gruppe von Texten zu erkennen, die in mehreren *Dioptra*-Handschriften vorkommt.

Die meisten Texte sind *theologisch-moralischen* Charakters. Sie behandeln Fragen zum spirituellen Leben, zur Bibel und allgemein zur christlichen Lehre. Sofern sie nicht anonym überliefert sind, werden sie berühmten Kirchenvätern und asketischen Schriftstellern zugeschrieben. Es würde das Ziel des vorliegenden Artikels überschreiten, jeden einzelnen Text zu besprechen. Hier seien beispielsweise nur Werke und Autoren erwähnt. Der am häufigsten zitierte Autor ist wohl Johannes Chrysostomos. Es werden sowohl kurze Ausschnitte als auch ganze bzw. leicht gekürzte Homilien überliefert. Athanasios von Alexandrien ist durch kurze Ausschnitte vertreten ; in einigen Handschriften ([16]) kommen *Erotapokriseis* aus den pseudoathanasianischen *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* vor (*CPG* 2257). Ausschnitte von Basileios von Kaisareia werden auch zitiert (Asketika, *Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, usw.). Fiktive Reihen von kurzen *Erotapokriseis*, in denen die sprechenden Personen Basileios von Kaisareia und Eunomios oder Gregor von Nyssa sein sollen, werden in einigen Codices überliefert ([17]). Anastasios Sinaites kommt ebenfalls häufig vor, vor allem wegen der ihm zugeschriebenen *Erotapokriseis* ([18]).

(15) M. Richard, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, V, Paris, 1962-1964, coll. 499-510. Nachdruck in : M. Richard, *Opera Minora*, I, 1, Turnhout - Leuven, 1976.

(16) *Tyb. UB* Mb. 3, *Hier. Patr.* 281, *Bucar. Ac. gr.* 140, *Venet. Marc. gr. app.* VII, 18 (coll. 1410), *Paris. gr.* 2873 und *Vindob. theol. gr.* 91.

(17) *Tyb. UB* Mb. 2 (16. Jh.), *Hier. Patr.* 281 (16. Jh.), *Ath. Dionysiou* 274 (16. Jh.) und *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.). Ähnliche *Erotapokriseis* edierte N. F. Krasnoselcev, *Addenda k izdaniju A. Vasiljeva : "Anecdota graeco-byzantina"*, in *Letopis ist.- fil. obšč. pri imper. Novoross. Univers.*, VII, *Vizant. otdel.*, IV, Odessa, 1899, S. 99-202, hier 118-173.

(18) Die Sammlung von *Erotapokriseis*, die mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf Anastasios zurück zu führen sind, wurden kürzlich kritisch ediert durch

Weiters liest man Texte von Gregor von Nazianz, Gregor von Nyssa, Johannes von Damaskos, Neilos, Johannes Klimakos, Maximos Homologetès, Kyrillos von Jerusalem, Dionysios Areopagites, Isidoros Pelusiotes, Diadochos, Theodoretos sowie die *Constitutiones Apostolorum*. Zwei Handschriften überliefern unabhängig voneinander die *Κεφάλαια εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς θείας γραφῆς* von Michael Glykas (*Vindob. theol. gr.* 47, 16. Jh.) bzw. deren Fragmente (*Ath. Dionysiou* 274) ([19]). Auch einzelne Sprüche aus den *Apophthegmata Patrum* oder Geschichten aus den *Gerontika* kommen vor ; *Ath. Zographou* 7 (13. Jh.) überliefert die *Historia Lausiaca*.

Vier Handschriften überliefern einen Brief mit der Überschrift Ἐπιστολὴ ... πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πνευματικὸν υἱὸν μετὰ πολὺν ἀποσκιρτήσαντα χρόνον, Inc. : Ἔδει μὲν ἡμᾶς ([20]) ; in zwei von ihnen ist als Autor Φίλιππος μοναχός angeführt. Ein weiterer anonymer Brief Τῷ κατὰ πνεῦμα υἱῷ καὶ ἱερεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ περὶ πρεσβείας καὶ προστασίας, inc. : Ἐπειδήπερ ἠτήσω τὴν εὐτέλειαν ἡμῶν, wird in fünf Codices überliefert ([21]).

Eine alphabetische Sammlung von Sprüchen etwa aus dem *Anthologium* von Johannes Stobaios u.a. wird in *Athen. Sinaïtikon Metochion* 6 (12.-13. Jh.) überliefert. Hier sollte auch das alttestamentliche Buch *Siracides* im Codex *Paris. gr.* 2747 (14. Jh., Phialites-Paraphrase) erwähnt werden. Denn als Sammlung von Sprüchen, Lebensweisheit, usw. ist es den Florilegien einigermaßen verwandt. *Vindob. theol. gr.* 167 (13. Jh.) überliefert auch Exzerpte aus *Siracides*.

Einige Handschriften enthalten auch *dogmatische bzw. polemische Texte*. In der *Dioptra* selbst gibt es kaum Polemik, abgesehen von gelegentlichen antijüdischen und antihellenischen Äußerungen sowie allgemeinen Attacken auf diejenigen, die die eine oder die andere Aussage

M. Richard (†) und J. A. Munitiz (Turnhout - Leuven, 2006). Eine kontaminierte Sammlung gibt es in *PG* 89, 311-824.

(19) Ed. S. Eustratiadis, a.O.

(20) *Paris. gr.* 2874 (12. Jh.), *Vat. gr.* 1129 (14. Jh.), *Paris. gr.* 2747 (14. Jh.) und *Ath. Batopediou* 165 (15. Jh.). In den zwei letzten Codices wird als Autor Philippos genannt. Der Brief ist bei M. Grünbart, *Epistularum Byzantinarum Initia* (*Alpha-Omega*, Reihe A, CCXXIV), Hildesheim - Zürich - New York, 2001, nicht verzeichnet.

(21) *Paris. suppl. gr.* 128 (13. Jh.), *Vindob. theol. gr.* 193 (13. Jh.), *Vindob. theol. gr.* 167 (13. Jh.), *Vat. gr.* 1129 (14. Jh.), *Athen. olim S. Sep.* 558 (17. Jh.). Cf. Grünbart, a.O., S. 112.

bezweifeln könnten. Der Schwerpunkt ist moralisch-asketisch und die dogmatischen Elemente sind eher mit der Heilsgeschichte verbunden. Die einzige direkte Polemik gegen eine bestimmte Häresie ist die gegen die zeitgenössischen Bogomilen (Lavr., S. 183, 33 - S. 184, 23).

Texte gegen die Armenier gehören bereits zu den Anhängen der *Dioptra*. Eine Reihe von unterschiedlichen Texten gegen die Armenier und andere, überwiegend „altorientalische" Kirchen, werden in einigen Handschriften überliefert. *Vindob. theol. gr.* 193 (13. Jh.) überliefert einen Text gegen die Armenier, Jakobiter, Syrer, Chatzitzarier und Lateiner als Anhang der *Dioptra*. Der Text ist ähnlich wie Περὶ αἱρέσεων usw., der von GALLANDI Philippus Solitarius zugeschrieben wird (*PG* 127, col. 879-902). Die Zuschreibung ist unbegründet ; in keiner bekannten Handschrift wird Philippos als Autor genannt, der Text begleitet die *Dioptra* nur gelegentlich und findet sich auch unabhängig von der *Dioptra* unter anderen Autorennamen ([22]). Gegen die Armenier richtet sich ein Text in *Bodl. gr. th.* d. 6 (14. Jh.), sowie der Traktat Περὶ τοῦ ἀρτζιβούρτζη in *Vat. gr.* 1119 (14. Jh.).

Weiters gibt es polemische Texte, die die Interessen einer späteren Zeit widerspiegeln. Drei Codices überliefern den Dialog von Basileios Achridensis mit Anselm von Havelberg ([23]). Zahlreiche Handschriften enthalten meistens anonyme antilateinische Texte ([24]). Weniger häufig findet man in den *Dioptra*-Handschriften palamitische bzw. neopalamitisch interpretierte Texte. Im *Vat. gr.* 1119 (14. Jh.) steht ein irrtümlich Psellos zugeschriebener kurzer Text zur hesychastischen Gebetsformel Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. Einige nachbyzantinische Codices des athonitischen Dionysiou-Klosters überliefern neben *Dioptra*-Fragmenten Abhandlungen gegen die Lateiner sowie Texte von Gregor Palamas und Symeon Neos Theologos ([25]). Sonst hat der palami-

(22) Z. B. in *Mosq. Syn. gr.* 232, *Rom. Vallic.* 30, *Rom. Vallic.* 183, *Rom. Angelic.* 30 (in den zwei letzten Demetrios von Kyzikos zugeschrieben).

(23) J. SCHMIDT, *Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unedierte Dialoge. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Schismas* (*Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar München*, 7), München, 1901. Überliefert in *Vindob. theol. gr.* 193 (13. Jh.), *Vindob. suppl. gr.* 91 (Konvolut, 13. bzw. 14. Jh.) und *Vat. gr.* 1119 (14. Jh.).

(24) *Vat. Ottob.* 441 (15. Jh.), *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.), *Hieros. Patr.* 279 (17. Jh.) u.a.

(25) *Ath. Dionysiou* 232 (17. Jh., Symeon Neos Theologos) ; *Ath. Dionysiou* 249 (17. Jh., Traktate gegen die Lateiner von Gregor Palamas und Neilos

tische Streit kaum Spuren hinterlassen, weder in den Handschriften des 14. Jh. noch in den späteren.

Es werden nicht nur patristische theologische Texte überliefert, sondern auch *philosophisch-naturwissenschaftliche*. Diese sind in weniger Handschriften zu finden und bilden einen geringeren Teil der überlieferten Texte. Es bestehen inhaltliche Bezüge zwischen diesen Texten und der *Dioptra*, denn auch in letzterer werden naturwissenschaftliche Fragen in Zusammenhang mit der Theologie behandelt.

Nicht selten sind *Opuscula* von Michael Psellos zu theologischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Fragen zu finden ([26]). In drei Handschriften wird der fiktive Autor Splenios (Σπληνίου φιλοσόφου, Περὶ γεννήσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὅθεν τρίτα καὶ ἔννατα καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἐπιτελοῦσιν παρελθόντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) zitiert ([27]). Der Text ist auch als Marginalscholion zu finden ([28]). Er behandelt aus medizinischer Sicht ein Thema, das im Kyrillos zugeschriebene Einschub (Lavr., S. 216-220, hier S. 220, Z. 5-18) aus theologischer Sicht behandelt wurde. Drei Handschriften enthalten Exzerpte aus dem *Physiologus* ([29]). Kurze Texte mit medizinischem, astronomischem oder geographischem Inhalt werden in einigen Handschriften anonym überliefert ([30]).

Kabasilas) ; *Ath. Dionysiou* 274 (16. Jh., Gregor Palamas, Symeon Neos Theologos, antilateinische Abhandlungen) ; *Ath. Dionysiou* 282 (16. Jh., Symeon Neos Theologos, antilateinische Abhandlungen).

(26) *Athen. Sinaïtikon Metochion* 6 (12.-13. Jh.), *Vat. Ottob.* 441 (15. Jh.) ; *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.), *Berol. Phill.* 1591 (15. Jh.), *Mosq. Syn. gr.* 405 (13. Jh.) ; *Vat. gr.* 1119 (Pseudepigraph ; 14. Jh.) ; *Paris. gr.* 2327 (Pseudepigraph ; 15. Jh.) ; *Ath. Dionysiou* 282 (16. Jh.).

(27) *Ath. Dionysiou* 249 (17. Jh.), *Tyb. UB* Mb. 2 (16. Jh.), und *Hier. Patr.* 281 (16. Jh.). Zu Splenios s. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*, München, 1897[2] (Nachdruck New York, 1970), S. 620 ; vgl. die Textausgabe aus vier Handschriften durch K. KRUMBACHER, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios (Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und der historischen Classe der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München,* Jahrgang 1892), München, 1893, S. 350-355 ; vgl. auch JOHANNES LYDOS, *De mensibus* IV, 26, ed. R. WÜNSCH, *Ioannis Lydi Liber de mensibus* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1898 (= Stuttgart, 1967), S. 84-86.

(28) *Paris. gr.* 2748, 102r und *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25, 100r.

(29) *Paris. gr.* 390 (16. Jh.), *Paris. gr.* 929 (16. Jh.) und *Ath. Dionysiou* 232 (17. Jh.).

(30) *Hieros. Patr.* 281 (16. Jh.), *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.), *Ath. Dionysiou* 282 (16. Jh.) und *Mosq. Synod. gr.* 292 (17. Jh.).

In manchen Codices werden *chronographische* Texte überliefert. Es handelt sich meistens um Exzerpte aus „Mönchschroniken" oder gar um anonyme kurze Chroniken, u.a. zur Geschichte der Synoden ([31]). *Vindob. suppl. gr.* 91 (13. Jh.) ist eine Sammelhandschrift mit theologischen und chronographischen Exzerpten ; letztere stammen aus Georgios Monachos, Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes, Leon Grammatikos, Nikephoros I. und Flavios Josephos. Hier seien auch die längeren Chroniken erwähnt, die als ganze überliefert wurden : die *Synopsis Chronica* von Konstantinos Manasses (*Athen. EB* 1217, 13. Jh., und *Vat. Palat.* 124, 14. Jh.) und eine anonyme Weltgeschichte (*Venet. Marc. gr. app.* VII, 18, 15. Jh.), die von einer anderen Hand geschrieben wurde.

2. Klageverse bzw. Bußgedichte

Die besprochenen Texte beziehen sich auf die vier Bücher der *Dialexis*. Aber auch Texte, die sich in derselben Tradition wie die *Klauthmoi* befinden, werden in *Dioptra*-Handschriften überliefert. Diese sind Klageverse bzw. Bußgedichte, oft an die eigene Seele gerichtet. Alle sind in politischen Versen abgefasst. Insgesamt neun Handschriften enthalten solche Gedichte. Diese überliefern auch sonst eher Werke in Versen.

In einem Zweig der X-Fassung wird folgender Text überliefert : Ἕτεροι στίχοι κάλλιστοι πρὸς ἀφορμὴν δακρύων τοῖς βουλομένοις ἄπαυστα θρηνεῖν πράξεις ἀθέσμους. Inc. : Ὁ πάλαι βλύσας ὕδατα. Refrain : Ῥεῖτε δακρύων, ὀφθαλμοί, κρουνοὺς ἡματωμένους ([32]). Die Verse folgen unmittelbar den *Klauthmoi*, die in der X-Fassung als letztes Buch der *Dioptra* überliefert sind. Das Gedicht wird auch unabhängig von der *Dioptra* überliefert. Im Codex *Athen. EB* 550 (18. Jh.) wird es dem Patriarchen Germanos von Konstantinopel zugeschrieben. Drei miteinander verwandte Handschriften überliefern ein noch unediertes Klagegedicht auf den Tod : Στίχοι ἐπὶ τελευτὴν θρηνητικοί. Inc. : Τίς δώσει μου τῇ κεφαλῇ σὺν κατανύξει δῶρον ([33]). Der Codex *Paris. gr.* 929 (16.

(31) *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.), *Vat. Ottob.* 441 (15. Jh.), *Vat. Palat.* 124 (14. Jh.) und *Ath. Dionysiou* 282 (16. Jh.).

(32) *Paris. gr.* 2748 (14. Jh.), *Athen. EB* 550 (18. Jh.), *Vat. Ottob.* 441 (15. Jh.), *Lesb. Leim.* 268 (16. Jh.) und *Neapol. BN* II. B. 25 (13. Jh.). Ausgabe : K. Horna, *Einige unedierte Stücke des Manasses und Italikos* (*Jahresbericht Sophiengymnasium Wien 1901/1902*), Wien, 1902, S. 13-14.

(33) *Cantabr. Emm. Coll.* 59 (14. Jh.), *Vat. Palat.* 124 (14. Jh.) und *Paris. gr.* 2873 (15.-16. Jh.), alle Y-Fassung. Siehe auch I. Vassis, *Initia Carminum Byzantinorum* (*Supplementa Byzantina*, 8), Berlin - New York, 2005.

Jh.) überliefert außer den *Klauthmoi* drei Bußgedichte : 1) Ὦ πῶς ἀγνώμων γέγονα καὶ δόλιος οἰκέτης. Des : Ναί, σῶτερ, οὕτως γένοιτο, μετὰ δακρύων λέγω ([34]) ; 2) Ἐμὲν οὐ πρέπει νὰ λαλῶ οὐδὲ νὰ συντυχαίνω ([35]). 3) Στίχοι θρηνητικοὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ παραδείσου. Inc. : Τοῦ παραδείσου τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ὁ φθόνος. Des. : ᾧ δόξα πρέπει καὶ τιμή, ἀμὴν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ([36]).

3. Sonstige Texte

Antike bzw. archaisierende Texte

Antike Autoren sowie frühbyzantinische Literatur in Nachahmung klassischer Vorbilder kommen eher in Konvoluten und späteren Eintragungen vor. Ihre Präsenz zeugt von einer gewissen klassischen Bildung bei manchen Leserkreisen der *Dioptra*.

Der Codex *Vat. gr.* 1893 (15. Jh.), ein Konvolut, überliefert drei Tragödien von Sophokles (*Aiax, Electra, Oedipus tyrannus*), *Berolin. Phill.* 1591 (15. Jh.) die *Vita Apollonii* von Philostratos. Im Codex *Paris. gr.* 2748 (14. Jh.) steht eine Akrostichis Gregors von Nazianz (*Carmina moralia* 30) : Ἀκροστιχὶς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου. Inc. : Ἀρχὴν ἁπάντων καὶ τέλος ποιοῦ θεόν. Des. : Ὦ τίς φυλάξῃ ταῦτα καὶ σωθήσεται. Die Codices *Oxon. Bodl. Clark.* 1 (13. Jh., Ende) und *Ath. Pantokratoros* 94 (14. Jh.) enthalten das Hexaemeron von Georgios Pisides ([37]). Der zweite Codex ist ein Konvolut.

Einige Texte mit Schulcharakter zeugen von einer gewissen Bildung mancher *Dioptra*-Rezipienten, die über die typisch mönchische hinaus geht. In *Vat. Palat.* 124 (14. Jh.) hat ein etwas späterer Schreiber Biographisches zu Aristoteles, Argumenta zu Euripides, Verse mit Namen von antiken Autoren, Mythenerzählungen etc. geschrieben. In *Hieros. Patr.* 281 (16. Jh.) gibt es rhetorische Abhandlungen und ein Epistolarion. In

(34) Ausgabe bei S.G. Mercati, *Intorno a Μιχαὴλ γραμματικὸς ὁ ἱερομόναχος*, in *Bessarione* 21 (1917), S. 199-207 (aus *Vat. gr.* 578, f. 204). Nachdruck in: S. G. Mercati, *Collectanea Byzantina*, I, Bari, 1970, S. 115-120.

(35) Aus dieser Hs. von E. Legrand herausgegeben (*Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, I, Paris, 1880, S. 17).

(36) S. G. Mercati, *Osservazioni intorno agli Στίχοι θρηνητικοὶ Ἀδὰμ καὶ παραδείσου*, in *Bessarione*, 22 (1918), S. 229-236. Nachdruck in : S. G. Mercati, a.O., S. 136-143. Anschließend weitere Verse (von Μιχαὴλ γραμματικὸς ἱερομόναχος).

(37) Ed. F. Gonnelli, *Giorgio di Pisidia. Esamerone*, Pisa, 1998.

Paris. Coisl. 341 wurden im 16. Jh. Texte mit der *Dioptra* zusammen geheftet, die philologische Interessen widerspiegeln : Briefe der spätbyzantinischen Philologen Georgios Lakapenos und Andronikos Zarides mit grammatikalischen Scholien, Briefe Manuels Moschopoulos, Exzerpten aus der *Anthologia Palatina* und aus Marcus Aurelius, jeweils mit Scholien, und Briefe Manuels II. Paläologos, sowie seine Rede an die Thessalonicher ([38]).

Apokryphen, alchemistische Texte usw.

Auf der anderen Seite stehen Texte von niederem Niveau bzw. volkstümlichem Charakter : Apokryphen, alchemistische Texte, *Iatrosophia*. Der Codex *Paris. gr.* 929 (16. Jh.), der die *Klauthmoi* und ähnliche Gedichte überliefert, enthält auch zwei apokryphe Texte : *Apocalypsis Esdrae prophetae* ([39]) und *Jesu Christi Epistula, Romae, in templo S. Petri inventa*. Weiters enthält er *Aenigmata* Leos des Weisen. Die Codices *Paris. gr.* 2327 (15. Jh.) und *Paris. gr.* 2250 (Anfang 17. Jh.), die miteinander verwandt sind, haben überwiegend magische und alchemistische Texte ; mitunter werden einige *Dioptra*-Verse aus dem Kontext gerissen überliefert. Sie entstammen einer Stelle der *Dioptra*, an der die Menschenwerdung und als deren Folge die Deifizierung des Menschen mit einem Beispiel aus der Alchemie erläutert werden. Der Codex *Petropol. RNB gr.* 116 (14. Jh.) überliefert zum größten Teil theologische Exzerpte, gelegentlich aber auch weniger „orthodoxe" Texte : den Tierkreis (κύκλος ζωδιακός), dem Galen zugeschriebene volksmedizinische Rezepte (Ἰατροσόφην ἐκ τοῦ Γαληνοῦ) und volkstümliche Sprichwörter. *Bucar. Acad. gr.* 140, ein Konvolut, überliefert das Apokryph Αἱ περίοδοι τοῦ ἁγίου ... Ἰωάννου τοῦ θεολόγου συγγραφεῖσαι παρὰ ... Προχόρου ([40]). Die einfache Sprache der *Dioptra* und der politische Vers haben für eine gewisse Verbreitung auch in Kreisen gesorgt, die vom theologischen Kanon weniger beeinflusst waren ([41]).

(38) *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. G. T. Dennis (*CFHB*, 8), Washington, D.C., 1977 ; *Συμβουλευτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλονικεῖς* (mutiliert), ed. V. Laourdas, *Ὁ "Συμβουλευτικὸς πρὸς τοὺς Θεσσαλονικεῖς" τοῦ Μανουὴλ Παλαιολόγου*, in *Μακεδονικά* 3 (1956), S. 290-307.

(39) Titel in den Pariser Handschriften laut H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, II, Paris, 1888.

(40) *Acta Johannis*, ed. Th. Zahn, Erlangen, 1880, S. 1-192.

(41) Hier sei die Schreibernotiz aus dem Codex *Athen. Boulè* 32 (15. Jh, f. 207r) erwähnt ; dieser ist eine Sammelhandschrift mit theologischen und astro-

Weitere Verse

In manchen *Dioptra*-Handschriften gibt es weitere kürzere oder längere Texte von unterschiedlichem Niveau in Versen. Ein Teil der Gedichte ist in *Zwölfsilbern* abgefasst : *Paris. gr.* 2748 (14. Jh.) überliefert Johannes Nesteutes zugeschriebene Anweisungen an die Mönche (Inc. : Τηρῶν, μοναχέ, σωφροσύνης τοὺς ὅρους) (42) ; außerdem zwei Gedichte an die Gottesmutter : eine lobende Akrostichis (inc. : Ἀκατάφλεκτε βάτε, ἀλατόμητον ὄρος, unediert) und die Metaphrase des Akathistos durch Manuel Philes (43). Zwölfsilber auf die Gottesmutter enthält *Vat. Ottob.* 441 aus dem 15. Jh. (inc. : Ἡ τὰς πύλας κλείσασα τῆς ἁμαρτίας (44)). Venet. *Marc. gr. app.* VII, 18 (15. Jh.) überliefert acht Zwölfsilber über die zehn Plagen Pharaos (inc. : Αἰγυπτιακὰς εἰ μαθεῖν πληγὰς θέλεις, unediert). *Vat. Barb.* 294 (16. Jh.) überliefert zwei Gedichte : a) Inc. : Ἄνθρωπός τις ἦν δουλεύων τῷ κυρίῳ. Des. : Ὃς εὐλογητὸς ἐστὶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας b) Inc. : <Ἰ>ν' ἐκμάθῃς μέν, πῶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων κτίστης. Des. (mut. ?) : Ὅπερ χάριν νῦν ἀφικόμην ἐνθάδε (Beide unediert, fehlen bei Vassis). Schließlich ist dazu auch das schon

nomischen bzw. astrologischen Texten, der die *Dioptra* nicht überliefert : Ἐτελειώθη σὺν θεῷ καὶ τὸ παρὸν πινκτίον τὸ πόνημα τὸ σύγγραμμα ἡ εὐτελὴς Διόπτρα διὰ χειρὸς ἁμαρτωλοῦ Μιχαὴλ Ἠνιώτου [...] ἦν δ' ὁ χρόνος πᾶς, ἠγῆ καὶ γράφη τάδε· δυὰς τῶν μονάδων καὶ ἑξὰς τῶν δεκάδων, ἐννὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξὰς τῶν χιλίων : ἰουνίῳ ἄγοντος πέντε καὶ δέκα : ἰνδικτιώνης δευτέρης : ι ξβ'. Ἔτους ι$^{\eta\varsigma}$ξ$^{\omega}$β$^{\omega}$ (1454) (*sic*). Siehe S. Lampros, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις βιβλιοθηκῶν πλὴν τῆς ἐθνικῆς*, I : *Κώδικες τῆς Βουλῆς*, in *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 2 (1905), S. 227-228 (Nachdruck : J. Declerck - J. Noret - C. De Vocht, *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Graecorum qui, in periodico «Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων» olim publici iuris facti, adhuc usui sunt*, I, Leuven - Brüssel, 1981). Die Schreibernotiz ist eine Modifizierung der *Dioptra*-Datierung (Lavr., S. 247).

(42) *Iuris Ecclesiastici graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, II, ed. I. Pitra, Rom, 1868 (Nachdruck 1963), S. 235-236. Vgl. auch Vassis, a.O.

(43) *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, ed. E. Miller, Paris, 1857 (Nachdruck Amsterdam, 1967), App. I.

(44) Aus dieser Hs. ediert durch S. G. Mercati, *Lo scriba del codice Ottoboniano greco. 441 è il patriarca Costantinopolitano Simeone I*, in *BZ* 25 (1925), S. 327-330 ; Nachdruck in Id., *Collectanea Byzantina*, II, Bari, 1970, S. 11-15 ; der Schreiber Symeon von Konstantinopel fügt einige eigene Verse hinzu. Das Gedicht wird auch im Codex *Kozani, Dimotiki Bibliothiki* 31 (1. Hälfte 14. Jh.) überliefert. Der Herausgeber E.Th. Tsolakis schreibt sie Manuel Philes zu (*Τὸ χειρόγραφο ἀρ. 31 τῆς δημοτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης*, in *Ἑλληνικά* 24 (1971), S. 321-336), wahrscheinlich mit Recht.

erwähnte Hexaemeron von Georgios Pisides zu zählen (*Oxon. Bodl. Clark.* 1, 13. Jh., und *Ath. Pantokratoros* 94, 14. Jh.).

Manche Codices überliefern Texte in *politischen Versen* mit religiösen oder weltlichen Themen. Der Codex *Tyb. UB* Mb 2 enthält die eher volkstümlichen Στίχοι πολιτικοὶ περὶ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ κόσμου καὶ ὅπως πλανᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Inc. : Ἐσὺ εἶσε κόσμε τὸ φυτὸν τὸ λέγουσιν τῆς πλάνης ([45]). Ebenfalls von volkstümlichem Charakter sind die politischen Verse zur Kreuzigung im Codex *Tyb. UB* Mb. 3 ; das letzte Gedicht, das „Stabat Mater" (Παρισταμένη τῷ σταυρῷ ἡ πάναγνος παρθένος ([46])), wird auch in *Ath. Dionysiou* 178 (17. Jh.) überliefert. Zwei Codices enthalten die *Synopsis Chronica* von Konstantinos Manasses (*Vat. Palat.* 124, 14. Jh., und *Athen. EB* 1217, 13. Jh.). Der erste überliefert außerdem Verse von Michael Luludes an Manuel Hyalinas, die auch sonst als Anhang der Chronik von Manasses bekannt sind ([47]), inc. : Νότου βασίλισσα ποτὲ σοφίαν Σολομῶντος. Der Codex *Paris. gr.* 2873 überliefert als einziger das Klagegedicht zur Eroberung Konstantinopels Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης. Inc. : Θρῆνος κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς καὶ στεναγμὸς καὶ λύπη ([48]). Neben patristischen Exzerpten bietet der Codex *Paris. gr.* 390 (16. Jh.) den Apollonios-Roman in politischen Versen ([49]).

Sonstige Texte

Der Codex *Paris. suppl. gr.* 93 (17. Jh.) enthält Briefe des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Jeremias II (1572-1595 mit Unterbrechungen). Der

(45) Aus dieser Hs. ediert durch D. R. Reinsch, *Ein bisher unbekanntes Gedicht Περὶ τῆς πλάνης τοῦ κόσμου*, in *Origini della letteratura neogreca. Atti del secondo congresso internazionale «Neograeca Medii Aevi» (Venezia, 7-10 Novembre 1991)*, II, Venedig, 1993, S. 156-176.

(46) Eine Version dieses Gedichtes ed. M. I. Manousakas, *Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα γιὰ τὴ σταύρωση τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier à l'occasion du 25e anniversaire de leur arrivée en Grèce*, II (*Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes*, 92), Athen, 1956, S. 49-74 (hier 65-69).

(47) Ausgabe bei A. Markopoulos, *Συμπληρωματικὰ γιὰ τὸν Μιχαὴλ Λουλούδη*, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ δ΄ διεθνοὺς κρητολογικοῦ συνεδρίου*, II, Athen, 1981.

(48) *Τὸ ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης*, ed. E. Kriaras, Thessaloniki, 1956.

(49) *Διήγησις Απολλωνίου*, ed. G. Kechagioglou, *Απολλώνιος της Τύρου. Υστερομεσαιωνικές και νεώτερες ελληνικές μορφές*, I, Thessaloniki, 2004.

Ath. Iberon 478 (4598) überliefert die Vita des hl. Basileios d. Jüngeren (*BHG* 264). In *Hieros. Patr.* 220 (16. Jh.) steht der Kommentar (ἑρμηνεία) von Johannes Zonaras zu den Auferstehungskanones (Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Ζωναρᾶ ἑρμηνεία τῶν ἀναστασίμων κανόνων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ) ([50]). *Paris. gr.* 2747 (Phialites-Paraphrase) überliefert die Psalmen mit Erklärung Vers für Vers ; sie wurden später an den Codex gebunden. Schließlich enthält *Ath. Lavra* Ω 17 (14. Jh.) das Werk des Nikolaos von Andida Προθεωρία κεφαλαιώδης περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ ἱερουργίᾳ γινομένων συμβόλων καὶ μυστηρίων πονηθεῖσα Νικολάῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀνδίδων ἐκ προτροπῆς καὶ ἀξιώσεως θερμοτάτης τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Φυτείας (*PG* 140, 418-468).

Schlussbetrachtung

Die große Mehrheit der Codices bietet eine Grundbildung für ein eher mönchisches Publikum. Die überlieferten Texte stehen in der Tradition der *Erotapokriseis* und der Florilegien, in der die vier Bücher der *Dialexis* selbst verwurzelt sind. Überliefert werden auch Werke, die, ähnlich wie die *Klauthmoi*, zu den Buß- und Klagegedichten gehören. Aus den Marginalnotizen zu schließen sind ein Teil der Schreiber und der Besitzer der *Dioptra* Mönche und Nonnen. Es ist vielleicht bezeichnend, dass die Äbtissin Theotime die *Dioptra* neben der *Klimax* erwähnt : es sind die zwei Bücher, die sie dem Anapausas-Kloster in Meteora widmet (*Paris. gr.* 2748, f. 190^{v}). Allerdings war die *Dioptra* auch in nicht mönchischen Kreisen präsent : der Codex *Vindob. theol. gr.* 167 wurde nach Auftrag des Sebastos kyr Leon Akropolites geschrieben, die Paraphrase in *Ath. Dionysiou* 178 entstand am Kreis Michaels Kantakouzenos in Moldawien und der durchaus weltlich gesinnte Kreter Leonardos Dellaportas verwendete die *Dioptra* als Hauptquelle für seinen Dialog mit der personifizierten Wahrheit (Anfang 15. Jh.) ([51]).

(50) Teilw. ed. W. Christ, *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur der Byzantiner : über die Bedeutung von Hirmos, Troparion und Kanon in der griechischen Poesie des Mittelalters erläutert an Hand einer Schrift des Zonaras*, München, 1870.

(51) *Ἐρωτήματα καὶ ἀποκρίσεις Ξένου καὶ Ἀληθείας*, in *Λεονάρδου Ντελλαπόρτα ποιήματα (1403/1411)*, ed. M. I. Manousakas, Athen, 1995, S. 205-328. Siehe insb. Einführung S. 62-65. Eine Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen den *Klauthmoi* und dem zweiten Gedicht von Dellaportas, Λόγος ... περὶ ἀνταποδόσεως καὶ ὑπομνηστικὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς (S. 329-334), wäre wünschenswert.

In der nachbyzantinischen Zeit ist das Niveau der *Dioptra*-Leser tendenziell gesunken : die hochsprachlichen Texte sind eher in byzantinischen Handschriften zu finden, die Texte von niederem Niveau eher ab dem 15. Jh. Auch die Paraphrase von Phialites wird im Ganzen oder in Fragmenten in drei byzantinischen Handschriften überliefert und sonst in vier humanistischen Codices des 16. Jh. (drei aus dem Milieu von Andreas Darmarios und einer von Theodosios Zygomalas). Bezeichnend ist auch, dass die meisten *Dioptra*-Handschriften aus dem 13. und 14. Jh. stammen, während die späteren Codices meistens *Dioptra*-Fragmente überliefern. Die theologisch Gebildeten wollten sich offenbar immer seltener mit einem Dialog zwischen Körper und Seele in 7000 politischen Versen befassen. Die theologischen Interessen und der literarische Geschmack entfernten sich allmählich von den byzantinischen Gewohnheiten.

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Summary

The *Dioptra* is largely based on prior texts. Apart from those which serve as its sources, texts written by other authors form part of the *Dioptra*, either as citations or as appendixes. Moreover, the manuscripts preserving the *Dioptra* usually contain other texts, which are *Dioptra*'s context and testify the readers' horizon of expectation. Those texts are mostly florilegia-like collections of theological excerpts, short treatises and *erotapokriseis* thematically related with the dialogic books of the *Dioptra*. Less common are poems of contrition in political verses, similar to the *Klauthmoi*. Those texts appeal to a mainly monastic readership with an average education.

Erklärung zur Tafel :

\+ Anhang vorhanden
\- Anhang fehlt
Codex mutiliert

TAFEL : ANHANGE

Codex	Fassung	Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας	Ἰδοὺ καιρὸς 1	Epilog 1	Κλαυθμοί 1	Τροπικὴ θεωρία	Κλαυθμοί 2	Ἰδοὺ καιρὸς 2	Ὅτι χρήσιμον	Τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν 1	Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου 1	Ἀσώματα δὲ καὶ	Περὶ αὐτεξουσιότητος	Διάκρισις	Ἐκ τῆς ἀλόγου 2	Πέντε εἰσὶ ἐργαλεῖα	Πέντε ... δυνάμεις	Τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς	Τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν	Ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν	Ὁ ἕξιν ἔχων	Γυνὴ καλλωπιζομένη	Περὶ προσευχῆς καὶ	Κλαυθμοί 3	Ἀμενίων	Epilog 2
Ambros. gr. 82	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Athen. EB 550 (52)	x																			+	+	-	+	+	-	-
Batop. 165	x				-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Batop. 166	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Bodl. Clark. 1	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Bodl. th. d. 6	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Bucar. Ac.gr.140	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Cant. Emm. Coll. 59	y	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Hier. Patr. 281	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Hier. Sabb. 604	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Iberon 478	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Iberon 479	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Iberon 480 (53)	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Lavra Λ 180	x	+	+	+	-	+																				
Lavra Ω 17	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Mosq. Syn. 148	y													+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Neapol.II.B.25	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Pantokr. 94	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
Paris. gr. 2748	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Paris. gr. 2872	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paris. gr. 2873	y	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Paris. gr. 2874	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
Par.sup gr.128	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paris. Coisl. 341	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Petrop. 116	y	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tyb. UB Mb 2	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Tyb. UB Mb 3	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
Vat. gr. 1129	y	+	+	+	-	+																				
Vat. Barb. 294	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Vat. Barb. 407	x	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Vat. Ottob. 441	x	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Vat. Palat. 124	y	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Vindob.th.gr.167	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Vindob.th.gr.193	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Xeropot. 143	y	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(52) Unvollständig fotografiert.

(53) Die Anhänge, von einer zweiten Hand geschrieben, folgen der Τροπικὴ θεωρία.

ZUM DATUM DER UMWANDLUNG DER PAMMAKARISTOSKIRCHE IN DIE FETHİYE CAMİİ

Aufgrund griechischer sowie europäischer Berichte wird in der Sekundärliteratur das Jahr 1587 bzw. 1588 als Zeitpunkt für den Auszug des Patriarchats aus der Pammakaristoskirche angenommen (1). Ein Erlaß (*Ferman*) Sultan Murats III., der am 9. Februar 1588 (H.11. Rebi'ulevvel 996) unterschrieben wurde, weist deutlich darauf hin, daß die Kirche spätestens Anfang 1588 von den Griechen verlassen worden war (2). Die

(1) Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen Berichte und Diskussion bei C. MANGO, *The Monument and its History*, in H. BELTING - C. MANGO - D. MOURIKI, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (*DOS*, 15), Washington D.C., 1978, S. 35-38 (1587), im Folgenden als MANGO, *Pammakaristos* zitiert ; P. SCHREINER, *Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels*, in *DOP*, 21 (1971), S. 219-248 (1588) ; für eine Diskussion bes. S. 221, Anm. 12 ; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen, 1977, S. 132-135, bes. S. 133 (1588) : vgl. auch P. SCHREINER, *John Malaxos (16. Century) and his Collections of Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*, in : *Byzantine Constantinople : Monuments, Topography, and Everyday Life* (ed. N. NECİPOĞLU), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2001, S. 204-214, bes. S. 207 (1587). In der früheren Literatur wurde gelegentlich auch ein anderes Datum angegeben, und zwar 1586, siehe M. I. GEDEON, *Χρονικὰ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ οἴκου καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ*, Konstantinopel, 1884, S. 69 ; vgl. H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye Camii in Istanbul*, in : *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 13-14 (1963-64), S. 128-193, bes. 139-140 (1586 für den Auszug und 1591 für die Konvertierung), im Folgenden als HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche* zitiert ; S. EYİCE, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi. İstanbul'da Palaiologos'lar Devri Anıtları*, Istanbul, 1980 (dritte Auflage), S. 23 ; T. F. MATHEWS, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul*, University Park-London, 1976, S. 346-365, bes. S. 346.

(2) Der Erlaß befindet sich im Archiv des Premierministeriums in Istanbul (Mühimme Defteri Nr. 62), vgl. G. NECİPOĞLU, *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2005, S. 523, Anm. 66. Der Sultan muß schon damals die Umwandlung beschlossen haben. Ein anderer Erlaß im gleichen Archivmaterial, der im September/Oktober 1587 (H. Şevval 995) unter-

genaue Konvertierungszeit der Kirche in die Fethiye Camii scheint jedoch nicht endgültig geklärt zu sein (3). Obwohl mehrere dieser Berichte (4) – wie z.B. Matthaios, der Metropolit von Myra (5), Michael Heberer von Bretten (6), Reinhold Lubenau (7), John Sandersen (8) oder Domenico aus Jerusalem (9) – den Eindruck erwecken, als ob die Kirche

schieben wurde, erwähnt eine bereits konvertierte Kirche, wobei NECİPOĞLU, ebd., S. 59, zufolge die „Fethiye" gemeint sein kann, vgl. auch a. O., S. 523, Anm 75. Diese kann auch eine andere im gleichen Zeitraum konvertierte Kirche gewesen sein, wie z. B. die Hırami Ahmet Paşa Camii in der Nachbarschaft der Fethiye Camii, also der Pammakaristoskirche.

(3) Nicht „Siegesmoschee", wie man hin und wieder das Wort „Fetih" bzw. „Fethiye" (Eroberung) unzutreffend übersetzt findet.

(4) Alle diesbezüglichen Berichte können hier nicht erwähnt werden, siehe MANGO, *Pammakaristos*, S. 35-38.

(5) A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας ἢ Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων καὶ σπανίων ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑῴαν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Παλαιστινῶν*, I, St. Petersburg, 1891, S. 450-453.

(6) Zu HEBERER VON BRETTEN siehe auch *Aegyptiaca servitus*, Heidelberg, 1610, S. 387. Er weilte zwischen 1587 und 1588 in Istanbul.

(7) R. LUBENAU, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau* (hrsg. von W. SAHM), in *Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, IV, I. Teil, Königsberg, 1914, S. 172, schrieb : „Es ist auch noch bei meiner Zeit das Patriarchat zu Constantinopel zu sehen gewesen, welches nach, ehe ich von dannen mich begeben (1588), den Griechen genohmen und zerstort worden, und aus der Kirchen, so zu S. Lucas genant wahr, eine turckische Kirche wie man vermeinet, vor den Amurathem [Murat III], gebauet worden, mitt Verheisung, man wollte den Griechen das Palatium Constantini einreumen. Ob es aber geschehen, ist mihr nicht wissende. Diese Gebäude wahr starck mitt Mauern umgeben, darein der Patriarch wohnet." Auch Lubenau war zwischen 1587 un 1588 in Istanbul. Zur zweifelhaften Zuverlässigkeit seines Berichtes siehe R. H. W. STICHEL, *„Vergessene Portraits" spätbyzantinischer Zeit. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiserliche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel*, in *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, 1 (1998), S. 75-100.

(8) *The Travels of John Sandersen*, ed. W. FOSTER (*The Hakluyt Society*, 2nd ser., no. LXVII), London, 1931, S. 69.

(9) Cf. *Domenico's Istanbul*. Translated with an Introduction and Commentary by M. AUSTIN, edited by G. LEWIS, Wiltshire, 2001, S. VIII. Kopien des Buches von Domenico (*Vera Relatione della Gran Città di Costantinopoli)* befinden sich in den folgenden Bibliotheken : *London, British Library, Harleian Ms.* 3408 ; (von mir nur gesehen) *Berlin, Staatsbibliothek*, Ms. Ital. Fol. 12, S. 488-556 ; für die als „Moradie" genannte Fethiye Camii S. 492 (*Relatione di*

früh konvertiert worden sei, geht aus einer einzigen osmanische Quelle, die im Zusammenhang mit der Konvertierung hin und wieder Berücksichtigung fand – und zwar aus dem Buch von Ayvansarâyî Hüseyin Efendi (gest. 1787) – ein völlig anderes Datum hervor. Der Autor schrieb : „Aufgrund einer Auseinandersetzung, die sich im Jahre 1000 (1591/1592) ereignete, wurde [die Kirche] von deren Händen [der Griechen] weggenommen und durch den derzeitigen Sultan Murat den Dritten (1574-1595) zur Moschee umgewandelt. Im Hof befindet sich eine Medrese, die vom damaligen Großwesir Sinan Paşa erbaut wurde ([10])". Es soll hier zunächst notiert werden, daß das angegebene Jahr Hicri 1000, das in der Sekundärliteratur stets mit 1591 gleichgesetzt wird,

Costantinopoli et Pera Turco) : „La [cosi]detta Moradie fatto da Sultan Murat in vita sua, dove era prime il Patriarcato di Costantinopoli" ; *Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds. ital.* 254. Wann genau Domenico Istanbul verlassen hat, ist nicht sicher. Austin nimmt an, daß der Arzt zwischen 1578/1579 und 1588/1589 in Istanbul lebte. Nach E. JACOBS, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Bibliothek im Serai zu Konstantinopel*, I, Heidelberg, 1919, S. 76, sei der Chefarzt zwischen Dezember 1574 und Januar 1593 am osmanischen Hof tätig gewesen. Zweifel daran, ob Domenico selbst Augenzeuge aller Geschehnisse war, worüber er schrieb, siehe bei JACOBS, ebd., S. 49.

(10) *Hadîkatü'l Cevâmi. İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mi'mari Yapılar*, AYVANSARÂYÎ HÜSEYÎN EFENDİ, ALÎ SÂTI' EFENDİ, SÜLEYMÂN BESÎM EFENDİ, Hazırlayan, A. N. GALİTEKİN, Istanbul, 2001 (neue Edition), S. 215. Der Originaltext lautet vollständig: "Câmi'-i mezbûr kilisadan münkalibdir. Hîn-i fethde ibkâ olunan kilisalardan olub, bin târihinde vukû'bulan bir nizâ'üzerine yedlerinden ahz olunarak, sultân-ı zemân Murad Hân-ı Sâlis hazretleri câmi'-i şerîfe tebdîl eylemişdir. Vezâyifi Ayasofya-i kebîr hareminde vâki` türbesinde verilür. Ve havlısında sadr-ı a`zâm-ı vakt bulunan Sinân Paşa'nın bir medrese *ve İsmihân Sultân bir medrese binâ eylemişlerdir.* Ve iç kapusı ittisâlindeki çeşme ile bâb-i hâricî fevkindeki âlî mekteb Maktûl Dâmâd İbrahim Paşa'nın dâmâdı Kethüdâyi Sadr-ı âlî olan Maktûl Kethüdâ Bey Mehmed Ağa'nındır *Sultân Ahmed Hân-ı Sâlis'in - tâbe serâhu - hâtime-i devleti olmuşlardır.* Mahallesi vardır". Die kursiv geschriebenen Stellen finden sich nicht in jeder Kopie der Schrift von Ayvansarâyî ; siehe dazu ebd., S. 215, Anm. 1 und 2. Es soll hier vermerkt werden, daß in der Sekundärliteratur in der Regel die unzutreffende Übersetzung von J. VON HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 9, Graz, 1963 (Nachdruck von Pest, 1827-1835), S. 77, verwendet wird, wonach die Kirche nach großem Streit in eine Moschee verwandelt worden sei. Diese Aussage findet sich bei Ayvansarâyî nicht, wie oben zitiert wurde. Eine spätere Inschrift (1845/46) über dem Westportal erwähnt auch dieses Datum, siehe HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 140, Anm. 30 ; vgl. A. OGAN, *Aya Maria Pammakaristos. Fethiye Camii*, in *Belleten* 23 (1949), S. 272-308, Taf. 32, Abb. 5.

sowohl in 1591 als auch in 1592 umgerechnet werden kann, da der Autor keinen Monat nennt. Da das Datum von Ayvansarâyî mit der Zeitangabe der oben erwähnten Reisenden nicht übereinstimmt, wird meistens ein Kompromiß angeboten, indem gesagt wird, daß die Kirche um 1587 bzw. 1588 den Griechen weggenommen und schließlich im Jahr 1591 in eine Moschee umgewandelt worden sei ([11]). Ayvansarâyî nennt hier zwar ein Datum für eine Auseinandersetzung und begründet damit die Wegname der Kirche, schweigt aber über den Grund für dieses Ereignis. Ob dieser Vorfall tatsächlich innerhalb des von ihm genannten Zeitraums passierte oder der Autor vielmehr eine um das Jahr 1586/1587 zwischen den beiden Ex-Patriarchen Theoleptos II. und Jeremias II. stattgefundene Auseinandersetzung irrtümlich ins Jahr 1591/1592 setzte, wissen wir nicht ([12]). Es geht aber aus seiner Schilderung nicht hervor, ob die Konvertierung unmittelbar nach dem Auszug erfolgte, zumal sein Buch fast zweihundert Jahre nach diesen Ereignissen verfaßt wurde und seine Informationsquellen unbekannt sind.

Abgesehen davon wird in der Sekundärliteratur der türkische Name der Moschee öfter mit der Eroberung von Georgien (H. 986/1578/1579) bzw. Aserbaidschan (H. 993/1585) zur Zeit des Sultans Murat III. in Verbindung gebracht ([13]), doch kommen diese beiden Ereignisse in den mir bekannten osmanischen Quellen im Zusammenhang mit der Fethiye Camii nicht vor. Wie auch aus dem Buch von Ayvansarâyî hervorgeht, wurde an der Westseite der Moschee vom Großvezir Sinan Paşa eine Medrese errichtet, die heute nicht mehr erhalten ist ([14]). Der Großvezir Sinan Paşa behielt seine Posten aber nicht ununterbrochen. Weder bei der Eroberung von Georgien noch bei der Eroberung bei Aserbaidschan hatte er das Amt inne ([15]). Seine erste Amtszeit fiel zwischen 1580 und 1582,

(11) Als Beispiel siehe v. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204-1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 1), Wiesbaden, 1994, S. 85, im Folgenden als KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten* zitiert ; vgl. auch HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 139.

(12) Vgl. oben Anm. 5.

(13) Beispielsweise siehe A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. Their History and Architecture* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*), London, 1974 [Nachdruck von London, 1912], S. 148.

(14) Auf ihrer Stelle wurde Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts eine neue Medrese errichtet.

(15) Sein großter Erfolg war die Eroberung von Yemen im Jahre 1568, also noch während der Regierunszeit von Selim II. (1566-1574), als er Gouverneur

wo die Kirche noch in der Hand der Griechen war. Seine zweite Amtszeit zwischen 1589 und 1591 stimmt zwar mit dem von Ayvansarâyî angegeben Datum überein, doch die beiden Eroberungen lagen da schon etliche Jahre zurück und hatten mit Sinan Paşa nichts zu tun. Seine dritte Amtzeit fällt in die Jahre 1593 bis 1595 (auch nach dem Tod des Sultans Murat III) ([16]), doch ist dies im Zusammenhang mit der Fethiye Camii bisher unberücksichtigt geblieben, obwohl innerhalb dieser Zeit auch einige Eroberungen Zustande kamen, wo Sinan Paşa selbst eine wichtige Rolle spielte. Die Frage lautet also : Wann wurde die Pammakaristoskirche, die im Jahre um 1587/1588 von den Griechen verlassen wurde, in die Fethiye Camii konvertiert, und wie lange stand sie unbenutzt da Weiterhin : Welche Bedeutung hat das von Ayvansarâyî angegebene Datum und worauf ist ihr türkischer Name zurückzuführen ?

Im Folgenden soll auf einige osmanische Quellen aufmerksam gemacht werden, die auf diese Fragen neues Licht werfen können, wodurch auch eine zeitliche Lücke geschlossen wird, die das Nachleben der Pammakaristoskirche in osmanischer Zeit betrifft. Die Anregung zu den folgenden Überlegungen erhielt ich durch die kürzlich veröffentlichte Sammlung osmanischer Quellen, nämlich des „İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri" aus dem Jahr 1600 („Eintragungsheft bzw. Register der Istanbuler Stiftungen", im folgenden Tahrîr Defteri II genannt), die einige zwar nur indirekte, aber dennoch wichtige Nachrichten über die Kirche beinhaltet. Das im Katasteramt von Ankara aufbewahrte Tahrîr Defteri II wurde von Mehmet Canatar in osmanischer Sprache, aber mit lateinischen Buchstaben transkribiert wiedergegeben ([17]). Obwohl die Fertigstellung des Heftes mit H. 1009 (1600) – zwischen dem 13.07.1600 und dem 11.08.1600 – ziemlich sicher ist, geht der genaue Beginn der Niederschrift daraus nicht hervor. Nach Canatar handelt es sich um das Jahr 1595 ([18]), wobei dieses Datum mit einer gewissen Toleranz plus/minus einiger Monate angenommen werden kann.

von Ägypten war. Daher stammt sein Beiname „Eroberer von Yemen". Diese Eroberung kann aber nicht mit der Fethiye Camii in Verbindung gebracht werden.

(16) Für eine allgemeine Darstellung der Regierungszeit des Sultans Murat III. siehe N. SAKAOĞLU, *Murad III*, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 5, Istanbul, 1994, S. 498-503.

(17) *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, 1009 (1600) Târîhli*, Hazırlayan (ed.), M. CANATAR, Istanbul, 2004 ; im Folgenden als *Tahrîr Defteri II* zitiert.

(18) *Tahrîr Defteri II*, S. XV.

Es soll hier zunächst die Aufmerksamkeit auf ein bereits 1970 veröffentlichtes und auf das Jahr 1546 bezügliches Tahrîr Defteri (im Folgenden als Tahrîr Defteri I genannt) gelenkt werden. In diesem Defter (= Heft bzw. Register) wird die Pammakaristoskirche im Zusammenhang mit einer Stiftungsurkunde (aus dem Jahr H. 920 Zilhicce = Januar/Februar 1515) folgenderweise erwähnt: „Acht Stück Kämmerchen und die Toilette und das [mit einem Holzzaum oder einer Mauer] umgegebene Grundstück (*Muhavvata*) neben der genannten Moschee [gemeint ist die Kâtip Müslihuddin Moschee in Draman]. Begrenzt durch das Eigentum des Faik Bey und die Umfassungsmauer (*Hâit*) der Kirche des Patriarchen (*Kenise-i Badriyah*) und die Hauptstraße (*Târık-ı âm*) ([19])".

Mit dieser Beschreibung wird die genaue Lage einiger Stiftungseinrichtungen festgelegt, die sich unmittelbar neben der Pammakaristoskirche befanden. Es ist dabei nichts Außergewöhnliches, daß die Kirche sowohl während der Niederschrift der Stiftungsurkunde im Jahr 1515 als auch des Eintragungshefts im Jahre 1546 als Kirche des Patriarchen (*Kenise-i Badriyah)* bezeichnet wird, da an der Zugehörigkeit der Kirche zu diesen Zeiten kein Zweifel besteht. Doch ist es seltsam, daß diese Adresse ohne eine Änderung auch im Tahrîr Defteri II wiederholt wird und die Pammakaristoskirche hier immer noch als Kirche des Patriarchen (*Kenise-i Patrik*) erscheint ([20]). Weiterhin wird an einer Stelle des Defter – im Zusammenhang mit der Adresse einer anderen Stiftungseinrichtung – ein Brunnen erwähnt und ebenfalls im Quartier des Patriarchen (*Patrik Mahallesi*) platziert ([21]), womit ohne Zweifel die Umgebung der Pammakaristoskirche gemeint ist.

Es stellt sich daher die Frage, weshalb der Name der Pammakaristoskirche bzw. des Quartiers *(Patrik Mahallesi)* im Tahrîr Defteri II nicht als Fethiye Camii bzw. Fethiye Camii Mahallesi korrigiert wurden, wenn die Kirche spätestens im Jahr 1591/1592 bzw. schon früher kon-

(19) *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri, 953 (1546) Târîhli*, Neşredenler (ed.), O. L. BARKAN - E. H. AYVERDİ, Istanbul, 1970, S. 418, Nr. 2441 (Vakf-ı Sâhib´ül-Câmii). Der Originaltext lautet: „Höcerât- 8 Bab ve kenif ve muhavvata der nezd-i câmi´i mezbûr. Hudûdı mülk-i Fâik Beğ ve hâit-i Kenise-i Badriyah ve târık-ı âm" ; im Folgenden als *Tahrîr Defteri I* zitiert.

(20) *Tahrîr Defteri II*, S. 683, Nr. 3122 (Vakf-ı Sâhib´ül-Camii).

(21) *Tahrîr Defteri II*, S. 662, Nr. 3031. (H. 956 Şaban = September/Oktober 1548).

vertiert worden sein soll. Darauf können zwei Antworten gegeben werden.

Eine mögliche Antwort wäre: Der Schreiber des Defter hat, ohne die Konvertierung der Moschee zu beachten, die Informationen des vorherigen Defter abgeschrieben. Es ist zwar bekannt, daß einzelne Stiftungsurkunden, wie oben dargestellt, nicht mit dem jeweiligen Tahrîr Defteri zeitgenössisch sind, da sie in einem Turnusverfahren etwa alle fünfzig Jahre (höchstens) in einem neuen Defter zusammengetragen wurden, doch werden in der Regel in einem neuen Defter die Änderungen gegenüber dem vorherigen korrigiert, wie aus mehreren Stellen nachvollgezogen werden kann. Die Fertigstellungen solcher Hefte zog sich über etliche Jahre hin, wobei es nicht nur um das Kopieren ging, sondern um eine sorgfältige Musterung der Stiftungseinrichtungen, wofür man natürlich das vorherige Defter vergleichsweise heranzog (22). Doch im Falle einer Beschreibung in der Nachbarschaft der *Kenise-i Patrik* bzw. in der *Patrik Mahallesi* wäre die Adresse völlig falsch, es sei denn, daß um diese Zeit noch keine Fethiye Camii existierte, was bedeuten würde, daß die Kirche entweder weiterhin in der Hand der Griechen war oder leer stand, der Eintrag im Tahrîr Defteri II also gerade in einer Übergangsphase erfolgte.

Diese Möglichkeit scheint zunächst ohne weitere zeitgenössische Parallelquellen unbeweisbar zu sein, doch das Geschichtswerk des Selânikî Mustafa Efendi (*Târih-i Selânikî*), das in Bezug auf die Fethiye Camii noch niemals berücksichtigt wurde, gibt uns eine indirekte und wertvolle Information über die Konvertierungszeit der Kirche im Zusammenhang mit einem Amtswechsel, der gegen Ende 1593 stattfand : „ ...Es wurde befohlen, daß seinen Posten [des Schreibers (*kâtib*) Mehmet Bey] der Yahya Bey, der Bauaufseher (*binâ emîni*) der Fethiye Camii,

(22) Nur im Falle der Adressen der Stiftungseinrichtungen, die sich in der Nähe der Kıztaşı Mahallesi (Quartier des *Columna Virginea*) befinden, wurde keine Änderung eingetragen, obwohl die Säule bereits 1550 in die Süleymaniye transportiert worden war und sich nicht mehr an ihrer Stelle in der Nähe der Hâfiz Ahmet Paşa Camii erhob (vgl. *Tahrir Defteri I*, S. 291, Nr. 1711 ; S. 305, Nr. 1792 ; S. 412, Nr. 2407 und *Tahrîr Defteri II*, S. 457, Nr. 2032 ; S. 479, Nr. 2135 ; S. 674, Nr. 3091). Der Name Kıztaşı wurde bekanntlich später auf die Markianssäule übertragen, auch der Stadtteil wurde irgendwann „Kıztaşı Mahallesi" genannt, doch wissen wir nicht genau, wann diese Namenänderung stattfand. Zur *Columna Virginea* siehe N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER - A. EFFENBERGER, *Die „columna virginea" und ihre Wiederverwendung in der Süleymaniye Camii*, in *Millennium*, 1 (2004), S. 369-407.

übernehmen soll. Gegen Ende des Monats Rebi'ulevvel 1002 (November/Dezember 1593) (23)".

Es ist daraus zu ersehen, daß in der Fethiye Camii gegen Ende des Jahres 1593 ein Bauaufseher, *Binâ emîni*, tätig war, was bedeutet, daß das Gebäude sich in einer umfangreichen Umbauphase befand. Es kann sein, daß diese gerade kurz vor dem Abschluß stand, weswegen dem Yahya Bey ein anderer Posten übertragen wurde. Eine weitere Quelle, und zwar ein Erlaß Sultan Murats III., der ca. vier Monate nach dem von Selânikî Mustafa Efendi angegeben Datum, und zwar am Montag, dem 21. März 1594 (H. 28. Cemâziyelâhir 1002) unterschrieben wurde, bestätigt diese Überlegung. Der Erlaß, der auf einem bereits vorher ergangenen Befehl Bezug nimmt und an den Richter von Istanbul sowie an den Chefarchitekten gerichtet ist, regelt die Angelegenheiten der muslimischen Besiedlung im Umfeld der Fethiye Camii (24).

(23) SELÂNİKÎ MUSTAFA EFENDİ, *Târih-i Selânikî I (971-1003/1563-1595)*, Hazırlayan (ed.) M. İPŞİRLİ, Ankara, 1999, S. 345 ; im Folgenden als *Târih-i Selânikî* zitiert. Der Originaltext lautet vollständig : „Ve bu esnâda Sipâhî oğlanları kitâbetinden Yeniçeri kâtibi olan harem-i muhteremden çıkan Mehmet Beğ kalîlü'l-bidâ'a sû-i mizâca mübtelâ hasta-ciğer derdmend olmağın yeniçeri tâ'ifesi Kefen-iğnesi dimekle mulakkab eylediler. Ve çokça câ'izesi gitmekle bir uğurdan harcın çıkarmak ümîdine ziyâdece oğlan kapuya çıkarmak sevdasından ziyân idüp ma`zul buyurıldı. Yerine tımarlu müteferrikalardan Fethiye Câm`i binâsına emin olan Yahya Beğ kâtib olmak fermân olundı. Fi evâhir-i rebî`ulevvel, sene 1002".

(24) AHMET REFİK, *Onbirinci Asr-ı Hicrî'de İstanbul Hayatı (1592-1688)*, Istanbul, 1998 (neue Auflage), S. 13-14, Nr. 27. Der Originaltext lautet (Akzente sind von der Verfasserin gesetzt) : „İstanbul kadısına ve mimâr başına hüküm ki. Süddei saâdetime mektub gönderüb mahrûsei İstanbulda Camii Fethiye etrâfında olan hâlî yerler cemâati kesîre olmak içün müslümanlardan tâlib olanlara birer evlek behâsile virile deyû mukaddemâ fermânı âlîşân olmuşken bâzı kimesneler fuzûlen dörder ve beşer evlek havlu çeküb bu takdirce cemâati kesîre olmamağın fermânı sâbık üzre herkese tahmînî sahîh ile birer evlek ve bâzısına nısıf evlek üzre taksim olunmak içün hükmü hümâyûnum recâsına arz eyledüğün ecilden buyurdum ki...vardukda bizzât mahalli mezbûra varub ânun gibi fermânı celîlül kadrime mugayir birer evlekden ziyâdeye fuzûlen havlu çekenlerin havlularını bozub tahmînî sahîh ile birer evlek ve nısıf evlek üzre tâlib olanlara tevzî eyliyesin. Fi 28 Cemâziyelâhir 1002". Dieser Ferman wurde bereits von SEMAVİ EYİCE und später von MÜLLER-WIENER jeweils in Fußnoten erwähnt, im Zusammenhang mit den möglichen Konvertierungszeiten der Kirche aber nicht diskutiert.

Sowohl das Tahrîr Defteri II als auch Târih-i Selânikî und dieser wiederholte Erlaß von Murat III. weisen darauf hin, daß die Kirche etwas später konvertiert wurde als man bisher angenommen hat.

Der Umwandlung muß Ende 1593/Anfang 1594 vollgezogen worden sein, da sich der Sultan danach um die muslimische Besiedlung der Umgebung der Moschee kümmerte. Damit ergeben zunächst die Einträge im Tahrîr Defteri II als *Kenise-i Patrik* bzw. *Patrik Mahallesi* einen Sinn, da nämlich die Kirche und die Umgebung zur Zeit der Niederschrift – zumindest dieser Teile des Defter – noch nicht als Fethiye Camii bzw. Fethiye Camii Mahallesi etabliert waren.

Das Datum 1593/1594 ergibt insofern einen Sinn, als es erklären könnte, weshalb die Moschee als „Fethiye" bezeichnet wurde. Die Eroberung von Aserbaidschan bzw. von Georgien lag zu diesem Zeitpunkt, wie oben erwähnt, schon etliche Jahren zurück, doch im Oktober/November 1593 – also kurz vor dem Ende der Bauarbeiten – langte am osmanischen Hof ein Brief aus Ungarn ein, der die Eroberung (= *Fetih*) zweier Festungen ankündigte, nämlich von Polata (Palota) und Pespirim (Veszprém), was für die osmanische Europapolitik von erheblicher Bedeutung war ([25]) und für die Namensgebung der Moschee die entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben dürfte. Diese Vermutung wird auch durch die im Gelände der Fethiye Camii von Sinan Paşa errichtete Medrese bekräftigt, zumal dieser nicht nur der Hauptakteur beider Eroberungen, sondern auch der Verfasser dieses in Istanbul so große Euphorie auslösenden Briefes war.

Es scheint, daß die nichtosmanischen Berichte hinsichtlich des Konvertierungsdatums nicht ganz zutreffend sind, da sie den Auszug aus der Kirche und die Konvertierung zeitlich gleichsetzen. Der Bericht von Ayvansarâyî bzw. sein Datum 1591/1592 können m.E. so interpretiert werden : Das 1587 verlassene Gelände stand wahrscheinlich ein paar Jahren leer und erst im Jahre 1591/1592 wurde mit den Umbauarbeiten begonnen. Dies würde bedeuten, daß die Arbeiten von 1591/1592, also während der zweiten Amtzeit des Großwesirs Sinan Paşa, bis 1593/1594, seiner dritten Amtzeit angedauert hätten ([26]). Ob das am 5. Mai 1593 sich ereignende Erdbeben die Bauarbeiten behinderte, bleibt im Dunkeln ([27]).

(25) *Târih-i Selânikî*, S. 335-336 ; vgl. auch NAÎMÂ MUSTAFA EFENDÎ, Naîmâ Târihi I, Hazırlayan (ed.), Z. DANIŞMAN, Istanbul, 1967, S. 82-83.

(26) Nach KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten*, S. 85, müssen die Bauarbeiten von 1587 bis 1591 gedauert haben, doch gibt er leider keine Quelle für diese Behauptung an.

(27) *Târih-i Selânikî*, S. 312.l.

Das Gebäude bzw. das Gelände scheint etliche Jahre unbenutzt gestanden haben, weswegen es weiterhin als Kirche des Patriarchen und die Umgebung noch immer als Quartier des Patriarchen bezeichnet wurden.

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SUMMARY

The article focuses on the converting date of the Pammakaristos Church. It has been generally accepted that the church was transformed into a mosque (Fethiye Camii) in 1587/1588. The Ottoman sources let to suggest that this event has most probably took place in 1593/1594.

WHAT CAN ONE KNOW ABOUT MICHAEL PSELLUS' LXX TEXT ? EXAMINING THE PSELLIAN CANTICLES QUOTATIONS (*)

1. Introduction

1.1. The Byzantines and their catenae

No scholar of the Greek versions on any book of the Old Testament can neglect the wealth of the source material found in the *catenae* (1). These

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(1) Introductions to the genre of the *catenae* are to be found in R. Devreesse, *Chaînes exégétiques grecques*, in L. Pirot (ed.), *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, I, *Abdeh-Chronologie*, Paris, 1928, coll. 1084-1233 ; G. Dorival, *Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes*, in C. Mondésert (ed.), *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible* (*Bible de tous les temps*, 1), Paris, 1984, pp. 360-386 ; Id., *La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques*, in *REB* 43 (1985), pp. 209-226 ; Id., *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes. Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, I (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents*, 43), Leuven, 1986, pp. 1-98 ; S. Leanza, *La letteratura esegetica in frammenti : la tradizione catenaria*, in *Augustinianum*, 37 (1997), pp. 25-36 ; Id., *Problemi di ecdotica catenaria*, in A. Garzya (ed.), *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi* (*Collectanea*, 2), Naples, 1989, pp. 247-266 ; Id., *L'esegesi biblica cristiana antica : scolii e catene*, in C. Moreschini, *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica. Atti del Terzo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi* (*Collectanea*, 9), Naples, 1995, pp. 203-227 ; C. T. Krikonès,

exegetical chains make up a field which is extremely fertile on various levels, one of them being that of biblical textual criticism. To name but one of the many useful purposes of the *catenae* : next to the commentaries and homilies of the Fathers, the *catenae* are the most important source for finding Hexaplaric readings. More specifically, a lot of new discoveries and developments can be made in this area, since the occurrence of Frederick Field's last edition of the *Hexapla* (1875) ([2]).

Although the catenaric genre is practiced mainly in the Byzantine era ([3]), mostly patristic authors tend to appear in these exegetical chains ([4]). Only seldom Byzantine writers occur in the exegetical genre which originated in their own time. After all, thus the *communis opinio*, Byzantine exegesis does all but copying the Fathers. Therefore, these Byzantine exegetical activities would be of no use for text-critical purposes in biblical research ([5]). In 1897 Karl Krumbacher wrote that Byzantine exegetes kept to the LXX text, without devoting any concern to other

Συλλογαὶ Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἑρμηνευτικαὶ σειραί (catenae), Thessaloniki, 1990 ; and, most recently, C. CURTI & M. A. BARBÀRA, *Greek Exegetical Catenae*, in A. DI BERARDINO (ed.), *Patrology. The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750)* (transl. A. WALFORD), Cambridge, 2006, pp. 605-654.

(2) *Origenis exaplorum quae supersunt ; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari, concinnavit, emendavit, et multis partibus auxit F. FIELD, Hildesheim, 1964 (= Oxford, 1875). The great use of the *catenae* for Hexaplaric purposes is illustrated by e.g. G. DORIVAL, *L'apport des chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des* Hexaples *d'Origène (à propos du Psaume 118)*, in *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 4 (1974), pp. 45-74 or A. LABATE, *L'apporto della catena Hauniense sull' Ecclesiaste per il testo delle versioni greche di Simmaco e della LXX*, in *Rivista Biblica*, 35 (1987), pp. 57-61.

(3) Cf. e.g. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)* (*Burt Franklin : Bibliography & Reference Series*, 13 ; *Byzantine Series*, 27), New York, 1970 (= München, 1897[2]), pp. 122-139 and H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, 2, 1), München, 1977 (= 1959), pp. 413-422.

(4) Drawing the chronographical line between patristic and Byzantine exegesis of course is a problematic affair ; cf. A. KAZHDAN, in collaboration with L. F. SHERRY & C. ANGELIDI, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)* (*Institute for Byzantine Research, Research Series*, 2), Athens, 1999, pp. 2-3.

(5) Cf. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 122-123 and BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 414.

Greek translations, like those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion ; moreover : "für die biblische Textkritik hörte jedes Verständnis auf" (6). Undoubtedly this kind of conviction has caused such a blatant vacuum in the scholarly research on this matter, whereas in the field of patristic studies the examination of the biblical text-critical value of the Fathers is a path well-trodden (7). However, it looks as if the line has sometimes been drawn rather subjectively and without substantial arguments.

Against this background, a specific question should be raised. How could one react when it turns out that a Byzantine author in fact occurs in a *catena* and that moreover he proves himself being perfectly aware of the text-critical difficulties concerning the Greek Old Testament text ? It would seem that an assertion such as that of Krumbacher's needs adjustment. It is exactly this kind of situation one runs into when examining the *catenae* on the Old Testament book of Canticles.

1.2. The Byzantines and the book of Canticles : Michael Psellus

With regard to the book of Canticles, five main groups of *catenae* can be discerned, supplemented by some other fragmentary types (8). One of these five chains can be considered to be somewhat of an outsider, viz. the *Trium Patrum catena* (*CPG* C 81 ; type B) (9). This type consists of

(6) KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 122-123. Compare however to K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Was verraten Katenen über die Exegese ihrer Zeit ?*, in G. SCHÖLLGEN & C. SCHOLTEN (ed.), *Stimuli. Exegese und ihre Hermeneutik in Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Ernst Dassmann* (*Jarhbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 23), Münster, 1996, pp. 284-296.

(7) Significant is e.g. Jean-Noël Guinot's voluminous monograph on the exegesis of Theodoret of Cyr (ca. 393-458), the entire second half of which is dedicated to his text-critical method : J.-N. GUINOT, *L'exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (*Théologie historique*, 100), Paris, 1995.

(8) Useful information on the Canticles *catenae* can be found in M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, IV, *Concilia, catenae*, Turnhout, 1980, C 80 - C 87 (pp. 222-224) ; G. KARO & I. LIETZMANN, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1902, pp. 312-319 ; DEVREESSE, *Chaînes exégétiques grecques*, coll. 1158-1161 ; CURTI & BARBÀRA, *Greek Exegetical Catenae*, pp. 628-631. The most extensive descriptions are provided by the very useful work of M. FAULHABER, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen* (*Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft*, 4), Wien, 1902.

(9) This can be illustrated by the scheme given by Faulhaber : the *Trium Patrum catena* stands alone from the other chains. Cf. FAULHABER, *Hohelied-*,

two recensions ; the first (B^1) originated between the end of the seventh and the ninth century. It seems likely that the author who compiled this *catena* also wrote the *Trium Patrum catena* on Ecclesiastes and the Ps.-Procopius *catena* on Proverbs ([10]). The title ([11]) uses the term κατὰ παράφρασιν ; the compiler aimed at a continuous and fluent exegesis. Because of this uniformity, the chain is somewhat less useful for the reconstruction of the separate exegesis of the three Fathers, viz. Gregory of Nyssa, Nilus of Ancyra and Maximus the Confessor. Towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century the B^2 recension was compiled, including the entire B^1 text and additional exegesis of Theodoret of Cyr and of Michael Psellus. This *recensio plenior* was edited for the first time in 1624 ([12]), albeit without Theodoret's frag-

Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen, p. 65. Faulhaber and *CPG* list the *Trium Patrum catena* as type B ; in Karo-Lietzmann it is type IV.

(10) Cf. *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten Commentarius qui dicitur Catena Trium Patrum*, cuiusque editionem principem curavit S. Lucà (*CCSG*, 11), Turnhout - Leuven, 1983, p. XXXIX.

(11) Ἑρμηνεία κατὰ παράφρασιν τοῦ ᾄσματος τῶν ᾀσμάτων συλλεγεῖσα ἀπό τε τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ἑρμηνειῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Νείλου καὶ ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐννοιῶν τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου. Faulhaber reasons that the presence of Cyril's name is due to "ein Überlieferungsfehler", and that B^2's title ([...] τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης, τοῦ ἁγίου Νείλου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου) is the correct one ; cf. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen*, pp. 18-19 and especially L. Bossina, *Per un'edizione della* Catena dei Tre Padri *sul* Cantico : *Cirillo di Alessandria o Nilo "Ancirano" ?*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 1 (2001), pp. 29-51 and Id., *Trasposizioni di fogli nel Vindobonense theol. gr. 314 : come ripristinare il testo di Teodoreto e della* Catena dei Tre Padri, in *Medioevo Greco*, 2 (2002), pp. 63-72. Santo Lucà's assertion (S. Lucà, *Gli scolii sull'Ecclesiaste del Vallicelliano greco E 21*, in *Augustinianum*, 19 [1979], p. 293, n. 37) that the compiler of *3PCat* also compiled another *catena*, still unedited, with excerpts from Gregory, Cyril, Nilus and Maximus, seems unsubstantiated and incorrect ; elsewhere the same author stays mute concerning this theory.

(12) *Expositio Cantici Canticorum per paraphrasim collecta ex sancti Gregorii Nyssae Pontificis, et sancti Nili, et sancti Maximi commentariis*, in F. Ducaeus [Fronton du Duc] (ed.), *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum seu Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, II, Paris, 1624, coll. 681-761. Already in 1563 Francisco Zini provided a translation in Latin : Francisco Zini, *Beati Theodoreti episcopi Cyrensis, in Canticum canticorum explanatio, interjectis Maximi, Nili, Psellique notationibus, Francisco Zino interprete. Index rerum et verborum*, Romae, 1563, apud Paulum Manutium, Aldi f[ratrem] (reprinted : Venetiis, 1573, apud Hieronymum Polum). Cf. L. Bossina & E. V. Maltese, *Dal '500 al Migne. Prime*

ments ([13]) ; later it is reprinted in *PG* 122, 537-685. A new edition is currently being prepared by Luciano Bossina. Thus, one of the characteristics that render the *Trium Patrum catena* ([14]) rather singular is its rather late date of compilation, when compared to the other four types of Canticles *catenae*. Moreover, and related to this observation, it features the names of Maximus the Confessor ([15]) and Michael Psellus, the only Byzantine authors to appear in the whole of the Canticles *catenae* ([16]).

Precisely in the person of Psellus (1018 - ca. 1081) one meets a very interesting study object. Firstly, already his presence in a *catena* contradicts the assertion that the Byzantines, in compiling these exegetical chains, merely copied patristic homilies and commentaries (cf. *supra*) : Michael Psellus has written a poetical exegesis of the book of Canticles ([17]). In this respect, it might be true that within this poem Psellus follows Gregory of Nyssa's fifteen sermons very closely, but as

ricerche su Pier Francisco Zini (1520-1580), in M. Cortesi (ed.), *I Padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV-XVI. Atti del Convegno di studi Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze, 25-26 giugno 1999* (*Millennio Medievale*, 10 ; *Atti di Convegni*, 10), Florence, 2002, p. 266.

(13) These can be found in *PG* 81, 28-213 (reprint of the edition by J. L. Schulze (ed.), *Theodoreti opera*, II, Halle, 1769, pp. 1-164 [ex *Monac.* 559]).

(14) For the sake of convenience, from now on the *Trium Patrum catena* on the book of Canticles shall be referred to as *3PCat.*

(15) The precise nature of Maximus' exegesis however is problematic, cf. J. Kirchmeyer, *Un commentaire de Maxime le Confesseur sur le Cantique ?*, in F. L. Cross (ed.), *Papers Presented to the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1963. Part II : Patres Apostolici, Historica, Liturgica, Ascetica et Monastica* (*Studia Patristica*, 8 ; *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 93), Berlin, 1966, pp. 408-410 and Lucà (ed.), *Anonymus in Ecclesiasten Commentarius*, pp. xxv-xxxix.

(16) If Kazhdan's dividing line (cf. *supra* n. 4) would be followed, Maximus the Confessor would not be a Byzantine author *stricto sensu*. Be that as it may, concerning Michael Psellus there should not be any doubt.

(17) This is Psellian work n° 1054/Poe.2, according to the numbering provided in P. Moore, *Iter Psellianum. A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for All Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography* (*Subsidia Mediaevalia*, 26), Toronto, 2005. For the minor Psellian works, I apply this double numbering : the first figure is Moore's continuous numbering of all of Psellus' writings, whilst the second refers to the particular section to which the work belongs, viz. letters (*Ep.*), orations (*Or.*), theological (*The.*) and poetical works (*Poe.*). Psellus' *In Canticum* consists of 1226 στίχοι πολιτικοί, and comments on Ct 1,5-6,9.

was asserted in the past ([18]), the Byzantine writer also introduces other elements. His very extensive poem (over 1200 verses) has been preserved in a direct tradition, as well as indirectly, viz. in *3PCat*.

Secondly, the exegetical activities of Psellus contradict the affirmation of Krumbacher quoted above, i.e. that the Byzantine notion of the text-critical issues concerning the Greek Old Testament text was virtually non-existing. To name but one example : in one of his theological works, Psellus elaborates on the difference between the Greek and Hebrew text of Prov 8,22 and subsequently compares the Greek text to that of ὁ [...] Ἑβραῖος ([19]). The citation is the same as given in Field's edition of the *Hexapla* ([20]). So it seems as if Psellus was in fact well aware of the complicated situation pertaining to the LXX texts/revisions/recensions ([21]), and that he was skilful enough to apply these different texts occasionally.

1.3. Can Psellus be useful in doing LXX textual criticism ?

As said before, the common view on the value of Byzantine exegesis for LXX text-critical purposes, is a pejorative one ([22]). According to Krum-

(18) It is regrettable that this poetic exegesis of Michael Psellus has been studied so little. The only article devoted to the subject is that of Sandro LEANZA, *L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello sul* Cantico dei Cantici, in U. CRISCUOLO & R. MAISANO (ed.), *La poesia bizantina. Atti del terza Giornata di studi bizantini sotto il patrocinio della Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Macerata, 11-12 maggio 1993)* (*«Ἰταλλοελληνικά» Quaderni*, 8), Naples, 1995, pp. 143-161. On this matter, cf. *infra*.

(19) 572/The.30 (MOORE) ; cf. *Michaelis Pselli Theologica*, I, ed. P. GAUTIER (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1989, p. 41, lines 113-114.

(20) Cf. FIELD, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, II, p. 326.

(21) In an *Introductio in Psalmos* (1105/Poe.53 [MOORE]), the author elaborates very extensively (over one hundred verses !) upon the nature of the different Greek biblical texts : LXX, the revisions by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, the anonymous *Quinta* and *Sexta* and Lucian's recension. Cf. *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* ed. L. G. WESTERINK (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1992, pp. 320-324, vv. 566-682. The same is done more briefly in a *Commentarius in Psalmos* (1106/Poe. 54 [MOORE]), in which five translations/revisions are tersely enumerated : LXX, the Three and *Quinta* ; cf. WESTERINK (ed.), *Poemata*, pp. 331-332, vv. 98-131. Both works, in the past ascribed to Psellus, are in fact spurious. Cf. MOORE, *Iter Psellianum*, pp. 505-506 and WESTERINK (ed.), *Poemata*, pp. XXVI-XXVII, 303 and 327. In a future article the present author will examine these texts more thoroughly.

(22) Illustrative are the views of Beck and Krumbacher given above (n. 5).

bacher there is no quality control whatsoever on the LXX text applied in Byzantium : the Hexaplaric (Egyptian) text is indiscriminately mixed with the alternative recensions of Hesychius (Alexandria) and Lucian (Antiochia) ([23]). Of course this causes problems for biblical textual criticism. One could argue however that the pendulum could swing back : by studying the biblical text used in Byzantium (evidently, with the uttermost care and precautions) one could gain information, e.g. concerning these recensions. Theoretically speaking the conclusion could be that the exegesis of a Byzantine author in fact could be useful for gaining biblical text-critical information. Yet this is a reasoning unheard of in the field of Byzantine research.

Against this background this article aims at expressing some thoughts on this matter. To such an end, Michael Psellus seems to be a good example : although being a Byzantine writer (even living very late), he nonetheless appears in a *catena*, and even shows an undeniable knowledge of the LXX text-critical problems, occasionally quoting the different Christian and Jewish translations/revisions verbatim. Thus, Michael Psellus seems to be a Byzantine author reliable of being studied in order to get an impression of the link between Byzantine exegesis and the textual criticism of the LXX text.

Putting Krumbacher's assertion on trial, I attempt to answer the question whether one can draw conclusions concerning the character of Psellus' biblical *Vorlage* ([24]). At this point no immediate consideration is given to *3PCat* ([25]), as in that *catena* Psellus does not provide any explicit information or comment on the textual criticism or the Hexaplaric text of the book of Canticles. Moreover, the lemma text of the *catena* is not a good study object, for these lemmata are generally considered to be unreliable ([26]) ; their position (separated from the rest of the commentary)

(23) KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 123. At this point, I do not further touch on the problems concerning the existence and scope of these recensions. One should consult e.g. N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (transl. W. G. E. WATSON), Leiden - Boston, MA - Köln, 2000, pp. 223-257.

(24) I use the term *Vorlage* to designate the Greek biblical text which was known to and used by Michael Psellus.

(25) *3PCat* will be the subject of future research.

(26) Cf. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 414 : "den lemmata der Katenen ist nicht in allen Fällen Vertrauen zu schenken".

makes them vulnerable to the introduction of secondary variants ([27]). However, it is evident that the poetic exegesis on the book of Canticles is not the only text one can examine to gain a view on Psellus' Greek text of the book of Canticles. Psellus, as could be expected, quotes from the book of Canticles elsewhere too. Therefore, before studying *3PCat* and Psellus' poetic commentary ([28]), an attempt will be undertaken to answer the question whether any conclusions concerning Psellus' Canticles *Vorlage* can be drawn from studying his quotations of that book, viz. in other Psellian works ([29]). These quotations are more reliable than the lemma text of the *catena*, because, appearing in a running text, they are less vulnerable. Thus, the quotations that Psellus gives of the book of Canticles will be examined. The central question will be whether it is possible, by means of a random check, to identify the nature of the LXX text which Psellus cited from.

2. The Psellian Canticles quotations

Thanks to the very exhaustive and admirable work of Paul Moore, who lists all works ascribed to Psellus (the number of writings exceeding 1700 !) ([30]), one can start scanning these writings for citations of the book of Canticles. When looking through Psellus' works (as mentioned already : excluding his poetic Canticles exegesis, and its copy in *3PCat*), I found thirteen allusions to the book of Canticles and thirteen quotations ([31]). Subsequently, these quotations were compared to the critical

(27) Cf. *Nilus von Ancyra, Schriften*, I, *Kommentar zum Hohelied* bearbeitet von H.-U. Rosenbaum (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 57), Berlin - New York, 2004, p. 18*.

(28) Occasionally however, these two texts will be taken into consideration.

(29) Apart from this methodological concern there is also a practical issue : the author is awaiting the *3PCat* edition by Luciano Bossina (Göttingen). I thank Dr. Bossina for being so kind to keep me posted of his progresses.

(30) Moore, *Iter Psellianum*, pp. 17-567.

(31) Cf. the scheme attached at the end of this contribution. Evidently the line between a coincidence and an allusion, between an allusion and a quotation, and between a meaningful and a meaningless variant, is very thin and precarious. Therefore, only the author is responsible for the present overview. Although provided in the scheme, I do not count the quotation of Ct 5,12 in 940/Or.46 (Moore), an oration which is considered spurious by Elizabeth Fisher (*Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae* ed. E. A. Fisher [*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*], Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1994, p. 366) and Paul Moore (Moore, *Iter Psellianum*, p. 365). In the scheme the meaningful variants

apparatuses to the LXX editions of the book of Canticles, as provided by Alfred Rahlfs ([32]) and Jay Treat ([33]). In the thirteen quotations, I counted eight meaningful variants ([34]), five of which appear in Psellus' citation of Ct 8,1-2 (on this matter, cf. *infra*). When examining these eight meaningful variants, one notices that some of them occur in the critical apparatus to LXX Canticles. The sources offering the most of these variants are (a) the *catena Procopii* on the book of Canticles (*CatP*), (b) Philo of Carpasia's commentary on that book and finally (c) *cod. Laud. gr.* 30A.

(a) *CatP* is the most important chain on the book of Canticles ([35]). It occupies a central position and is the main source of a number of derivates. It brings together the exegesis of some ten writers from the

are underlined. A special case is the difference ποιήσωμεν (in 938/Or.44 [MOORE]) – ποιήσομεν (LXX) in Ct 1,11 : I hold this for a meaningful variant, yet caution is in order. Earlier in the same paragraph Psellus already uses a subjunctive (also in the first person plural). This other subjunctive form could have prompted the ποιήσωμεν. On the other hand, it is equally possible that because of the following ποιήσωμεν, Psellus wrote down the other subjunctive. Either way, one may not exclude the *possible* presence of that subjunctive in Psellus' *Vorlage* ; I give it the benefit of doubt.

(32) *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, II, ed. A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart, 1982 (= 1935), pp. 260-271.

(33) J. C. TREAT, *Lost Keys. Text and Interpretation in Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses*, diss. doct., The University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1996, pp. 71-353.

(34) A special case is καταφιλήσω (Ct 8,1), as written in 644/The.102 (MOORE) ; cf. *Michaelis Pselli Theologica*, II, ed. L. G. WESTERINK (†) et J. M. DUFFY (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Munich - Leipzig, 2002, p. 118, line 3. The manuscript reads καὶ φιλήσω, but Paul Gautier, who first edited this Psellian fragment, changed it to καταφιλήσω, thus adjusting it to the theological argument and text, given by Psellus after the quote (WESTERINK & DUFFY (ed.), v. 25). (For Gautier's *editio princeps*, cf. P. GAUTIER, *Collections inconnues ou peu connues de textes pselliens*, in A. PERTUSI [ed.], *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi. Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*, I, Bologna, 1981, p. 62 [critic. app. p. 69].) Neither καὶ φιλήσω nor καταφιλήσω occurs in the critical apparatuses of Rahlfs or Treat.

(35) Valuable information on *CatP* can be found in these three articles, which were the source of this short description : J.-M. AUWERS, *Ct 2,1 au miroir de la chaîne de Procope*, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 79 (2003), pp. 329-346 ; M.-G. GUÉRARD, *Le Contenu de l'*Épitomé *de Procope sur le* Cantique, in M. F. WILES, E. J. YARNOLD & P. M. PARVIS (ed.), *Papers presented at the Thirteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 1999. Critica et Philologica*, Nachleben, *First Two Centuries, Tertullian to Arnobius, Egypt before Nicaea, Athanasius and his Opponents* (*Studia Patristica*, 36),

third-fifth century ([36]), and a few pericopes of Procopius himself († ca. 526). The total number of pericopes, going from 352 to 379, varies according to the different editions and manuscripts. As is illustrated by its title ([37]), this *catena* is but a résumé of an original compilation, which did not survive. The relation between the original and the epitome is not recognizable at all times neither is it clear whether Procopius was the compiler of the original, of the epitome or of both. *CatP* was first edited by Angelo Mai, who consulted a late and poor manuscript (*Vatic. gr.* 1442) often providing wrong attributions ([38]). This edition is reprinted in *PG* 17, 253-288 (Origen's fragments) and *PG* 87[2], 1545-1753 (all the other parts of the chain, with corrections from the better manuscript *Brux.* 3896). Since the critical edition of *CatP* has not appeared yet ([39]), I am obliged to use the *PG* text.

(b) Philo, bishop of Carpasia (Cyprus), wrote a commentary on the book of Canticles ([40]) at the beginning of the fifth century ([41]). Parts of it are also to be found in the *catenae* of Procopius and Ps.-Eusebius.

Leuven, 2001, pp. 9-22 ; M.-G. GUÉRARD, *Procope de Gaza,* Épitomé sur le Cantique des cantiques : *les trois plus anciens témoins,* Paris. Gr. *153, 154, 172,* in *Byz.*, 73 (2003), pp. 9-59.

(36) Apollinaris Laodicenus ; Cyril of Alexandria ; Didymus of Alexandria ; Gregory of Nyssa ; Isidore of Pelusium ; Nilus of Ancyra ; Origen of Alexandria ; Philo of Carpasia ; Procopius of Gaza ; Theodoret of Cyr.

(37) Προκοπίου χριστιανοῦ σοφιστοῦ εἰς τὰ ᾄσματα τῶν ᾀσμάτων ἐξηγητικῶν ἐκλογῶν ἐπιτομὴ ἀπὸ φωνῆς Γρηγορίου Νύσσης καὶ Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ὠριγένους τὲ καὶ Φίλωνος τοῦ Καρπαθίου, Ἀπολιναρίου, Εὐσεβίου Καισαρείας καὶ ἑτέρων διαφόρων. In more recent manuscripts the title continues : ἤγουν Διδύμου, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰσιδώρου, Θεοδορίτου (sic) καὶ Θεοφίλου. The title however is not without problems, cf. FAULHABER, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen,* pp. 31-34.

(38) A. MAI, *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum series,* IX, Rome, 1837, pp. 257-430.

(39) The critical edition of *CatP* is currently being prepared by Jean-Marie Auwers (Louvain-la-Neuve) and will appear in the *Series Graeca* of *Corpus Christianorum.* I thank Prof. Dr. Auwers for his helpful advice and for his willingness to grant me insight into his data.

(40) The Greek text is edited in *PG* 40, 27-154, and reprinted, with a few minor adjustments, in K. CHATZIÔANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πηγάς. Τόμος Γ' – Μέρος Α'. Γράμματα – Ἐπιστῆμαι (ἰατρική) – Τέχναι, ἀπὸ τῶν Ὁμηρικῶν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 395 Μ.Χ.*, Nicosia, 1975, pp. 412-533.

(41) Cf. J. QUASTEN, *Patrology,* III, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature. From the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon,* Utrecht -

(c) Cod. *Laud. gr.* 30A [K.96] (manuscript 147 in Rahlfs's index) ([42]) is a minuscule parchment, containing among other texts the *catena Polychronii* on Canticles. The date (12th century) suggested by Karo & LIETZMANN, Faulhaber and Rahlfs is incorrect : according to Irmgard Hutter the manuscript is from the beginning or midst of the 13th century, coming from the province, possibly from Nicaea ([43]).

When examining the eight meaningful variants, attested in the Psellian quotations, one can conclude that in five of them Psellus agrees with the lemma text of the *catena Procopii*. Four times the Psellian variant occurs in Philo of Carpasia's commentary and three times in *Laud. gr.* 30A. A number of witnesses agree in one Psellian variant. These three sources will now be examined one by one.

2.1. Psellus and CatP

The large number of *CatP* variants strikes the eye. When one compares the Psellian quotations to the same verse given in the lemma text of *CatP* ([44]), one observes that, apart from the words being read in all three sources (LXX, Psellus, *CatP*) and apart from the five variants that Psellus and *CatP* share against LXX, one finds two variants which *CatP* and LXX have in common, against Psellus (viz. ἐν ἐμοί in Ct 1,6 and absence of καί in Ct 8,2), and three readings which *CatP* has independent from Psellus as well as from LXX (viz. ἐνδύσομαι in Ct 5,3, and twice omitted σε in Ct 8,1) ([45]).

Antwerp - Westminster, 1960, pp. 394-395. Other information on Philo's commentary can be found in S. SAGOT, *Une récente édition du «Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques» de Philon de Carpasia*, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 35 (1981), pp. 358-376 and A. CERESA-GASTALDO, *L'esegesi biblica nel «Commento al Cantico dei Cantici» di Filone di Carpasia*, in T. ALIMONTI *et al.* (ed.), *Forma futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino*, Turin, 1975, pp. 79-87.

(42) Cf. A. RAHLFS, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (*Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens*, 2), Berlin, 1914, p. 173 ; KARO & LIETZMANN, *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, p. 314 ; FAULHABER, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen*, pp. 40-41.

(43) I. HUTTER, *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, I (*Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, 1), Stuttgart, 1977, p. 87.

(44) In all these analyses I equate συκῆ, which Leendert Westerink prints in his edition of Psellus' *De omnifaria doctrina*, with LXX συκῆ (Ct 2,13). See *Michael Psellus. De omnifaria doctrina.* Critical Text and Introduction by L. G. WESTERINK, Nijmegen, 1948, p. 95, line 11-12.

(45) With respect to all these mutual relationships only those variants are provided which are deemed meaningful.

Considering the readings which *CatP* and LXX have in common against Psellus, one could take a look at the Psellian variants of his poetic Canticles commentary and of the *3PCat* (46), to see if they support the currently examined Psellian quotes. At Ct 1,6, *3PCat* offers the LXX text (ἐν ἐμοί), and Westerink ἐμοί. (Since Psellus' poetical Canticles exegesis ends in Ct 6,9, the variant in Ct 8,1 cannot be evaluated.)

With respect to the three readings that *CatP* has independently from Psellus as well as from LXX, the double omitted σε in Ct 8,1 is exclusively attested in *CatP*. The ἐνδύσομαι (Ct 5,3) can be read in various other sources besides *CatP* ; yet Psellus in his *Chronographia* gives the LXX reading ἐνδύσωμαι, which seems to plead against a link between the lemma text of *CatP* and Psellus' *Vorlage*. However, as well in *3PCat* as in Westerink, the Psellian lemma has ἐνδύσομαι, precisely as in *CatP*.

The conclusion then would be that Psellus has five non-LXX variants equally attested in *CatP* on the one hand, but that *CatP* and LXX have two common variants, which are alien to Psellus, on the other. Finally, *CatP* has three readings which do not occur in Psellus nor in LXX ; one of them however, viz. ἐνδύσομαι in Ct 5,3, does occur in Psellus' *3PCat*/ Westerink lemma.

2.2. Psellus and Philo of Carpasia

Apart from the readings which Psellus and LXX have in common with Philo and besides the four variants that Psellus and Philo share against LXX, there are three readings (viz. ἐγώ and ἐν ἐμοί in Ct 1,6 and δῴη in Ct 8,1) lacking in Psellus, yet present in Philo and LXX. Finally there is one Philo variant neither attested in Psellus nor in LXX, viz. ἐνδύσομαι in Ct 5,3.

As for the reading from Ct 1,6 (ἐνδύσομαι) the same argument can be given as in the case of *CatP*. It is no surprise that Philo does not read the δώσει from Ct 8,1, for the latter is a reading offered only by Psellus and

(46) For *3PCat* the edition of *PG* 122, 539-662 is used, and for Psellus' poetical commentary (1054/Poe.23 [MOORE]) WESTERINK (ed.), *Poemata*, pp. 13-67. Both works have their limitations : *PG* because it reprints a very old edition (DUCAEUS, *Expositio Cantici Canticorum*, col. 681-761), and the *Teubner* edition because Westerink does not provide a critical apparatus for the lemma texts (cf. his comment on p. 13 : "in lemmatis libros principales secutus varias lectiones non citavi"). Both texts start with Ct 1,5 and end in Ct 6,9.

CatP ([47]). As concerns the relationship between Psellus and Philo, no useful information (other than that provided for *CatP*) can be detracted from the Psellian lemmata in *PG* and Westerink.

In this respect, one could conclude that on the one hand Psellus has four non-LXX variants, which also occur in Philo. On the other hand however, Philo and LXX have three common variants, which are alien to Psellus. Finally, Philo attests one reading that does not occur in Psellus nor in LXX, yet is present in Psellus' *3PCat*/Westerink lemma.

2.3. Psellus and Cod. Laud. gr. *30A*

As already mentioned above, Psellus shares three variants with *Laud. gr.* 30A, against LXX. Three *Laud. gr.* readings are supported by LXX, and not by Psellus, viz. ἐγώ and ἐν ἐμοί in Ct 1,6 ; δῴη in Ct 8,1 and absent καί in Ct 8,2. Two variants are given by *Laud. gr.*, but not by Psellus and LXX : ἐνδύσομαι in Ct 5,3 and σου in Ct 8,1. As concerns the relationship between Psellus and *Cod. Laud. gr.* 30A, no useful information (other than that provided for *CatP*) can be detracted from the Psellian lemmata in *PG* and Westerink.

The conclusion then would be that Psellus offers four non-LXX variants, which also occur in *Laud. gr.* 30A on the one hand, but that the manuscript and LXX have three common variants, which are alien to Psellus, on the other. Finally, *Laud. gr.* 30A has two readings which do not occur in Psellus nor in LXX. One of them however, viz. ἐνδύσομαι in Ct 5,3, is read in Psellus' *3PCat*/Westerink lemma.

2.4. Preliminary conclusions

Having compared Psellus' Canticles quotations to LXX itself, one notices that at various points the Byzantine scholar provides readings which are alien to LXX. Such a conclusion does not seem odd, for this is a phenomenon appearing rather often in quotations : one cites by heart or adapts the text to one's own ideas etc.

Yet in this case, the number of variants seems rather high : eight meaningful variants in thirteen quotations. Also noticeable is the large per-

(47) According to FIELD, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, II, p. 616, δώσει is to be read also in Aquila's revision.

centage of similarities to respectively *CatP* (5 out of 8 readings), Philo of Carpasia (4/8) and *cod. Laud. gr.* 30A (3/8).

The question is what could be concluded on the basis of these observations. The text to which the Psellian quotations are linked in the strongest way, is the lemma text of *CatP*. However, as mentioned above, the lemma text of any *catena*, and thus of *CatP* too, is a text one has to be suspicious about. Nevertheless, the Psellian quotations appear in a running text, and thus can be trusted.

The question to answer pertains then to a possible link between Psellus' *Vorlage* and *CatP*. Moreover, if this link could be affirmed, would it be meaningful ([48]) ? How could one explain the similarities between the citations and *CatP* ?

At the time Psellus writes his works in which his Canticles quotations appear (ca. second half of the eleventh century), *CatP* is approximately five centuries old. The conclusion could be that Psellus, more than five centuries later, offers a text showing similarities with the lemma text of *CatP*. However, before making such an observation, one must keep in mind that, from the eight Psellian variants, five occur in Psellus' quotation of Ct 8,1-2.

3. Gregory of Nyssa and the poetical exegesis of Michael Psellus – the case of Ct 8,1-2

The subject of this chapter is the poetical exegesis on Canticles provided by Michael Psellus. This exegetical poetry has reached us indirectly (viz. in *3PCat*) and directly. Of this direct tradition the *editio princeps* (based upon a single codex, *Vatic. gr.* 1266) is provided by Iohannes Meursius (Johannes van Meurs) in 1617 ([49]). In 1992 Leendert Westerink reedited it. In addition to the witnesses of the direct traditions, he took into consideration the indirect *catena* tradition, of the latter however only

(48) Relatively speaking, the number of quotations, and the number of meaningful variants is very little. This makes any assumption on Psellus' *Vorlage* very hypothetical. Yet at this point a reasonable theory concerning this *Vorlage* is tried to be formulated, because later the present author aims at holding up that theory against the light of an examination of Psellus' poetical *In Canticum* exegesis.

(49) I. Meursius (ed.), *Eusebii, Polychronii, Pselli in Canticum Canticorum expositiones*, Leyde, 1617, pp. 75-112. Reprinted in *Joannes Meursi operum volumen VIII ex recensione Joannis Lami*, Florence, 1746, pp. 213-260.

using one codex, *Vindob. theol. gr.* 314, which he considered to be the "archetypus omnium codicum catenae" ([50]).

Throughout the years the *communis opinio* has uttered depreciating words concerning the content of this poetical exegesis : it would have lacked exegetical relevance and originality, being but a mere copy of Gregory's homilies ([51]). Sandro Leanza ([52]) however has demonstrated that Psellus also used other sources and that he often went his own way ([53]). According to Leanza, Gregory indeed was Psellus' primal source, but there are also elements which seem to give proof of a more expanded horizon. In this respect, e.g. Basil of Caesarea seems to have influenced him ([54]).

One of the reasons why scholars stressed the Gregorian content of Psellus' exegesis, is the observation that, precisely like Gregory's homilies, Psellus' contribution (in *3PCat* as well as in the direct tradition) ended at Ct 6,9. In 1981 however, Paul Gautier edited a new Psellian frag-

(50) WESTERINK (ed.), *Poemata*, p. XII. Cf. also LEANZA, *L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello*, pp. 146 and 148 (on pp. 148-150, Sandro Leanza draws attention to various manuscripts containing Psellus' poem, which are not mentioned by Westerink).

(51) Cf. e.g. Westerink in his introduction to Psellus' *In Canticum* : "paucis exceptis nihil est nisi paraphrasis commentarii Gregorii Nysseni, cui tam arte adhaeret ut, ubi ille desinit, et Psellus finem faciat (Cant 6,9). sane et initium cantici (1,1-4) sine commentario relinquitur, fortasse quia in codice Gregorii quo Psellus utebatur primus eius sermo deerat" (WESTERINK (ed.), *Poemata*, p. 13).

(52) LEANZA, *L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello*, pp. 150-161.

(53) Moreover, the poetical commentary of Michael Psellus itself has been a starting point for other exegesis : the commentary on Canticles of Neophytos Enkleistos (12th-13th century) depends directly on the one Psellus wrote. Cf. *Origene. Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici.* Testi in lingua greca. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento a cura di M. A. BARBÀRA (*Biblioteca patristica*, 42), Bologna, 2005, pp. 83-84 ; LEANZA, *L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello*, pp. 155-156 ; BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 633, and J. IRMSCHER, *La fortuna dei Libri Sapienziali dell'Antico Testamento a Bisanzio*, in *Letture cristiane dei Libri Sapienziali. XX Incontro di studiosi delle antichità cristiana, 9-11 maggio 1991* (*Studia Ephemeridis «Augustinianum»*, 37), Roma, 1992, p. 61. For the text of Neophytos' commentary, see I. P. TSIKNOPOULOU, *Σύμμεικτα τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου (Ἑλληνικά, ἱεραὶ παραδόσεις, παραβολαί, Ἄσμα Ἀσμάτων, θαυματουργικά, φυσικά)*, in *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 25 (1961), pp. 223-244.

(54) Cf. LEANZA, *L'esegesi poetica di Michele Psello*, p. 154.

ment, commenting Ct 8,1-2 ([55]). So apparently the Byzantine writer was capable of providing his own Canticles exegesis, independently of Gregory. The short ἑρμηνεία (30 lines in the Teubner edition) is constructed in this way : Psellus states that Ct 8,1-2, a passage on which the reader has questioned Psellus, is a marvelous one. He illustrates this by quoting the lines and subsequently explaining them. During this explanation Psellus occasionally refers to the Greek text. This short exegetical treatise is very interesting, because the Canticles verses are fully quoted at the beginning, and parts of them again are in the text ([56]). These are the only Psellian quotations not pertaining to that part of the book of Canticles which is covered by Gregory (viz. Ct 1,2-6,9) ([57]), which makes them very interesting for text-critical research.

When studying this Psellian exegesis of Ct 8,1-2 however, one is confronted with two problems. The first difficulty is that there is only one witness, viz. *Vatic. gr.* 483 (13th/14th-century ; parchment) for this exegetical fragment ([58]). Because it concerns a *codex unicus*, the value of this quotation could evidently be doubted and moreover should be read with care. The second problem concerns the initial position of the citation of Ct 8,1-2. As said before, the lemma text of any *catena* is not a good study object, for these lemmata are generally considered to be unreliable. Their position (separated from the rest of the commentary) makes them vulnerable to the introduction of secondary variants. One could utter the same objections concerning this quotation. The biblical verses are somewhat separated from Psellus' exegesis, and therefore seem to be less reliable. However, they are preceded by a very short introduction by Psellus (<Θ>αυμάσιον οἷον τὸ μέρος τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀισματος [*sic* Westerink & Duffy], περὶ οὗ δή με ἠρώτησας· τίς δώσει σε [...]), and therefore they are not entirely separated from the commentary. Additionally, parts of the

(55) Cf. Gautier, *Collections inconnues ou peu connues de textes pselliens*, p. 62 (critic. app. p. 69) and Westerink & Duffy (ed.), *Theologica*, II, pp. 118-119.

(56) Thus, some parts of the Canticles lines occur twice, viz. τίς δώσει σε [...] θηλάζοντα μαστοὺς μητρός μου ; εὑροῦσά σε ἔξω ; καταφιλήσω ; παραλήψομαι ; ταμιεῖον ; τῆς συλλαβούσης με.

(57) In his *Autobiographia* Psellus alludes to Ct 8,5, an allusion which is not useful for detracting text-critical information on Psellus' LXX *Vorlage*. Cf. *Michele Psello. Autobiografia. Encomio per la madre*. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario a cura di E. Criscuolo, Naples, 1989, p. 111.

(58) Cf. Westerink & Duffy (ed.), *Theologica*, II, p. xiv.

quotation are repeated in Psellus' commentary, and thus support the quotation ([59]).

After having examined the Canticles text of Ct 8,1-2 as it appears in Psellus' short ἑρμηνεία, the conclusions are that in those two lines there are a lot of variations when compared to LXX. There are five variants which we deem meaningful. Three of them appear equally in *CatP*, three in Philo Carpasianus, and two in *cod. Laud. gr.* 30A. In combination with the previous analyses this strengthens the connection to *CatP*.

4. Conclusions concerning Psellus' LXX *Vorlage*

Having studied the Greek biblical text of the book of Canticles surfacing in the quotations that Psellus gives of that book, one could conclude that there are resemblances to the lemma text of *CatP*. Most of these variants, however, occur in Psellus' quotation of Ct 8,1-2. The short Psellian commentary which we have on those verses is interesting because of the fact that Gregory's sermons on the book of Canticles – generally considered to be Psellus' main source when it concerns Canticles exegesis – end in Ct 6,9. As to the Canticles quotations in that commentary however, there are two difficulties : firstly, the biblical quotations are in a vulnerable position, and secondly, it concerns a *codex unicus*. Could one draw any sound conclusions ?

One could be tempted to conclude that Psellus used *CatP* as his *Vorlage*. However, we believe that this would be an assertion that must not be made (one should keep in mind the doubtable value of a lemma text of a *catena*, cf. *supra*). Psellus' commentary on Ct 8,1-2, offering the most agreements with *CatP*, is transmitted via *Vatic. gr.* 483, which is a codex from the 13th-14th century. According to the lists of manuscripts provided by Rahlfs ([60]), Faulhaber ([61]) and Auwers ([62]), most of the manuscripts containing excerpts of *CatP*, are from the 16th-17th century. Four

(59) For the issues concerning καταφιλήσω (Ct 8,2), cf. *supra* n. 34.

(60) Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, pp. 415-420.

(61) Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen*, pp. 20-24.

(62) J.-M. Auwers, *Regards croisés sur le Cantique des cantiques. Manuscrits de l'Épitomé de Procope* ; http://www.hecc.ucl.ac.be/canticum/ Mss3.html (access 02/28/2007).

manuscripts are older: *Paris gr.* 153 (12th century), 154 (13th century) and 172 (15th century), and *Barber. gr.* 388 (13th century). Recently scholars have argued that these elder manuscripts are the most reliable for reconstructing *CatP* (63).

If the manuscripts of both groups (*CatP* and Psellus' commentary on Ct 8,1-2) would be reliable, one could observe that there are similarities between the Bible text used in the 6th century in Gaza on the one hand and in the 11th century in Constantinople on the other. However, since the manuscript tradition does not always respect the lemma text of a *catena*, we must be careful in drawing rash conclusions. Therefore, we can only observe that the manuscript of Psellus' commentary on Ct 8,1-2 (whether it provides the actual biblical text used by Psellus or not), being equally old as the oldest manuscripts of *CatP*, confirms the lemma text of that *catena*.

So at the end of the line, there is not much to be said concerning the precise character of Psellus' *Vorlage*, apart from the apparent link to the lemma text of *CatP*. In that way one could say that after all, Karl Krumbacher's old assertion seems correct, when he stated that during the Byzantine era there was no quality control regarding the Greek Old Testament text. Yet the present author thinks that one should not accept such a view *a priori*. After all, as mentioned above, Psellus contradicts another claim of Krumbacher, viz. that Byzantine exegetes would not care about LXX textual problems, as e.g. those pertaining to the different Christian and Jewish recensions and revisions.

As for the book of Canticles, the number of Psellian quotations is relatively small, which complicates the comparison to the LXX text. When the same investigation would be done into another biblical book, such as Psalms (64), it would be possible that more conclusions could be made. At this moment the present author holds the opinion that this study of the Byzantine Canticles quotations was not in vain. In further research the

(63) E.g. GUÉRARD, *Procope de Gaza*, pp. 30-31 : "Le manuscrit qui offre le texte de la meilleure qualité et les attributions les plus sûres, celui qui est probablement le moins éloigné de Procope, est le *Paris. Gr.* 153". CURTI & BARBÀRA, *Greek Exegetical Catenae*, p. 630 : "In reality [*Barberinianus gr.* 388] is a reliable witness [...] of the Procopian Epitome itself". (According to the latter though, *Barber. gr.* 388 is to be dated in the 14th-15th century.)

(64) I give the example of the book of Psalms for two reasons : firstly, because Psellus gives proof of a great interest in that book, and secondly because its patristic and Byzantine *Nachleben* has been very extensive and interesting.

results of this inquiry shall be completed with an examination of Psellus' actual exegesis of the book of Canticles, viz. in 1054/Poe.2 and in *3PCat.*

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RÉSUMÉ

En règle générale, dans le domaine de la critique textuelle de la Bible, on considère qu'on peut négliger les œuvres exégétiques byzantines. Toutefois, en ce qui concerne le Cantique des Cantiques, l'œuvre de Michel Psellos mérite peut-être quelque intérêt. Cet article cherche à identifier le texte du Cantique utilisé par Psellos et à voir dans quelle mesure il s'écarte ou non de celui de la Septante. Un rapport avec la chaîne exégétique de Procope semble pouvoir être démontré, encore qu'il faille rester prudent.

Ct	(Source) ([65])	Psellus	LXX ([66])
1,1	585/The.43 (GAUTIER, p. 270, line 5)		(allusion)
1,3	138/Ep.138 (KURTZ & DREXL, p. 116, lines 23-24)	μῦρον [γάρ φησιν ὁ Σολομὼν] ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου	Μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σου
1,3-4	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 261, lines 85-91)	(allusion)	
1,5 *et passim*	*Autobiographia*, § 23a (CRISCUOLO, p. 135, line 1428)	αἱ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ θυγατέρες	θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλήμ
1,6	635/The.93 (GAUTIER, p. 71, line 18)	μὴ βλέψητε γάρ με [φησὶν] ὅτι εἰμὶ μεμελανωμένη	μὴ βλέψητέ με, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι μεμελανωμένη
1,6	635/The.93 (GAUTIER, p. 71, line 19)	ὅτι παρέβλεψέ με ὁ ἥλιος	ὅτι παρέβλεψέν με ὁ ἥλιος
1,6	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 262, lines 115-116)	ὁ ἥλιος παρέβλεψεν [ἐκ γενέσεως]	ὅτι παρέβλεψέν με ὁ ἥλιος
1,6	635/The.93 (GAUTIER, p. 72, line 22)	υἱοί [φησὶ] μητρός μου ἐμαχέσαντό με	υἱοὶ μητρός μου ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν ἐμοί
1,6	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 262, line 116)	οἱ τῆς μητρὸς υἱοὶ ἐμαχέσαντο	υἱοὶ μητρός μου ἐμαχέσαντο ἐν ἐμοί
1,8 ; 5,9 ; 6,1	1075/Poe.23 (WESTERINK [1992], p. 283, v. 158)	(allusion)	

(65) Considering the numbering of the minor Psellian works, cf. *supra* n. 17. The abbreviated reference to the edition which I quoted from is offered between brackets. The full bibliographical data of these editions are given below the scheme.

(66) Since the edition of the *Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen* has not appeared yet, I used the text edited by RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, pp. 260-271 and TREAT, *Lost Keys*, 1996, pp. 54-70.

1,10	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 262, lines 109-110)	(allusion)	
1,11	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 262, lines 110-111)	ποιήσωμεν [οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῇ] ὁμοιώματα χρυσίου μετὰ στιγμάτων τοῦ ἀργυρίου	ὁμοιώματα χρυσίου ποιήσομέν σοι μετὰ στιγμάτων τοῦ ἀργυρίου
1,15 ; 4,1 ; 5,12	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 262, lines 107-108)	(allusion)	
2,8	663/The.120 (GAUTIER, p. 310, line 88)	(allusion)	
2,9	*Autobiographia*, § 29b (CRISCUOLO, p. 150, line 1841)	(allusion)	
2,13	*De omnifaria doctrina*, § 193 (WESTERINK [1948], p. 95, lines 11-12)	ἡ συκὴ [*sic* WESTERINK] ἐξήνεγκε τοὺς ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς	ἡ συκῆ ἐξήνεγκεν ὀλύνθους αὐτῆς
2,15	645/The.103 (GAUTIER, p. 136, line 192)	(allusion)	
3,6	*Autobiographia*, § 29b (CRISCUOLO, p. 150, line 1841)	(allusion)	
4,8	663/The.120 (GAUTIER, p. 310-311, lines 88-89)	(allusion)	
4,12	934/Ora.40 (FISHER, p. 105, lines 169-170)	[αὕτη καὶ] κῆπος κεκλεισμένος καὶ ἐσφραγισμένη πηγή	κῆπος κεκλεισμένος, πηγὴ ἐσφραγισμένη
5,2	940/Ora.46 (FISHER, p. 303, line 274) (spurious !)	ἐγὼ καθεύδω, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου ἀγρυπνεῖ	ἐγὼ καθεύδω, καὶ ἡ καρδία μου ἀγρυπνεῖ
5,3	*Chronographia*, VI, § 8 (RENAULD, p. 75, lines 14-15)	Ἐξεδυσάμην γὰρ [φησὶν ἡ Γραφὴ] τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσωμαι αὐτόν ;	Ἐξεδυσάμην τὸν χιτῶνά μου, πῶς ἐνδύσωμαι αὐτόν ;
6,4	*Autobiographia* § 23b (CRISCUOLO, p. 135, line 1437)	(allusion)	

6,8	938/Ora.44 (FISHER, p. 261, lines 85-91)	(allusion)	
8,1	644/The.102 (WESTERINK & DUFFY, p. 118, lines 2-4)	τίς δώσει σε, ἀδελφιδέ μου, θηλάζοντα μαστοὺς μητρός μου ; εὑροῦσά σε ἔξω καταφιλήσω σε, καί γε οὐκ ἐξουδενώσουσί με	τίς δώῃ σε ἀδελφιδόν μου θηλάζοντα μαστοὺς μητρός μου ; εὑροῦσά σε ἔξω φιλήσω σε, καί γε οὐκ ἐξουδενώσουσίν μοι
8,2	644/The.102 (WESTERINK & DUFFY, p. 118, lines 4-5)	παραλήψομαί σε καὶ εἰσάξω σε εἰς οἶκον μητρός μου καὶ εἰς ταμιεῖον τῆς συλλαβούσης με	παραλήμψομαί σε, εἰσάξω σε εἰς οἶκον μητρός μου καὶ εἰς ταμιεῖον τῆς συλλαβούσης με
8,5	*Autobiographia*, § 13b (CRISCUOLO, p. 111, line 748)	(allusion)	

Michel Psellos, Chronographie, ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077), II, texte établi et traduit par É. RENAULD (*Collection byzantine*), Paris, 1928.

Michaelis Pselli Scripta minora magnam partem adhuc inedita. Edidit recognovitque E. KURTZ ; ex schedis eius relictis in lucem emisit F. DREXL, II, *Epistulae* (*Orbis Romanus. Biblioteca di Testi Medievali*, 13), Milan, 1941.

Michael Psellus, De omnifaria doctrina. Critical Text and Introduction by L. G. WESTERINK, Nijmegen, 1948.

Michele Psello, Autobiografia. Encomio per la madre. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario a cura di E. CRISCUOLO, Naples, 1989.

Michaelis Pselli Theologica, I, ed. P. GAUTIER (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1989.

Michaelis Pselli Poemata, ed. L. G. WESTERINK (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1992.

Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae, ed. E.A. FISHER (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1994.

Michaelis Pselli Theologica, II, ed. L. G. WESTERINK (†) et J. M. DUFFY (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Munich - Leipzig, 2002.

DIDASCALIE MIMETICHE NEI CONTACI DI ROMANO IL MELODO

La riflessione platonica sulle λέξεις (1) ha tracciato le linee guida della distinzione e della contaminazione tra διήγησις e μίμησις, cui si sono conformate la precettistica retorica imperiale e bizantina (2) e, in tempi assai più recenti, le analisi linguistiche più raffinate (3). Proprio la forma intermedia, che Platone (4), e sulla sua scia tutta una tradizione retorica (5), ha individuato ed esaminato in Omero offre un campo interessante di analisi anche nella letteratura bizantina, che poco spazio concede alle forme mimetiche.

Un genere che prevede una *performance* orale e che include una impalcatura di base diegetica, in cui vanno a incastonarsi sezioni mimetiche, è rappresentato dal contacio (6). La compresenza delle due λέξεις e le forme di interferenza, di coordinamento e di reciproca influenza che ne derivano aprono un campo d'analisi esplorabile in più direzioni critiche. Una è costituita dalla determinazione di quale livello d'autonomia possa

(1) Cf. PLATO, *Respublica* III, 6-9, 392d-397e (*Plato. Respublica*, ed. I. BURNET, Oxford, 1903).

(2) Indicativo in proposito NICOLAUS RHETOR, *Progymnasmata* 12, 7-9 (*Nicolai Progymnasmata*, ed. J. FELTEN [*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*], Lipsia, 1913) τῶν δὲ διηγημάτων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα τρεῖς· τὰ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀφηγηματικά, τὰ δὲ δραματικά, τὰ δὲ μικτά.

(3) Cf. G. GENETTE, *Figure III. Discorso del racconto*, Torino, 1976, p. 232 ; B. MORTARA GARAVELLI, *La parola d'altri. Prospettive di analisi del discorso*, Palermo, 1985, p. 72.

(4) Cf. PLATO, *Respublica* III, 7, 394c4-5 ἡ δ' αὖ δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἔν τε τῇ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσει, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι, εἴ μοι μανθάνεις.

(5) Cf. NICOLAUS RHETOR, *Progymnasmata* 12, 14-18 μικτὰ δὲ τὰ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων συγκείμενα, οἷα τὰ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡροδότου καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, πῇ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπαγγέλλοντος ἐκφερόμενα, πῇ δὲ ἐξ ἑτέρων προσώπων.

(6) Cf. R. MAISANO, *Cantici di Romano il Melodo, Introduzione*, I, Torino, 2002, pp. 17-22.

essere riconosciuto alla μίμησις. Tale autonomia può essere intesa, e di conseguenza indagata, in almeno due prospettive. Una fa riferimento alla misura nella quale il διηγητής, introducendo e concludendo i discorsi diretti dei personaggi scritturali protagonisti dei contaci, fornisce linee interpretative o traccia veri e propri giudizi sui discorsi stessi, sugli intenti che perseguono o sugli stati d'animo di cui sono preda coloro che li pronunciano (7). L'altra mira a studiare quali dati fondamentali pertinenti alla *performance* vengano forniti dai discorsi diretti e quali invece dalla cornice diegetica.

In una dimensione mimetica pura, quale quella che si riscontra nella produzione drammatica antica, molti elementi sono forniti dalla *performance* stessa a livello sia visivo (movimenti degli attori in scena, mimica) sia uditivo (tono della voce), mentre altri, relativi anche alla scenografia o all'ambientazione, sono forniti dal testo (le cosiddette «didascalie») (8).

Nella λέξις μικτή, soprattutto quella complessa che si rileva in Romano, nella cui produzione il fattore drammatico riveste un ruolo fondamentale, il compito di fornire gli elementi di decifrazione corretta dei discorsi diretti è affidato sia alla διήγησις sia alla μίμησις. Questo studio intende analizzare appunto le tecniche e le modalità con le quali vengono fornite, sia sul piano diegetico sia su quello mimetico, le indicazioni

(7) Cf. L. R. Cresci, *Entre* μίμησις *et* διήγησις : *remarques d'auteur dans les Kontakia de Romanos le Mélode*, relazione a *«Doux remède..» Poésie et poétique à Byzance. IVe Colloque international EPMHNEIA Paris, 23-25 février 2006*, in corso di stampa.

(8) Cf. A. Pickard Cambridge, *Le feste drammatiche di Atene*, seconda edizione riveduta da J. Gould e D. M. Lewis, trad. A. Blasina, Firenze, 1996, pp. 237-244 ; L. E. Rossi, *Livelli di lingua, gestualità, rapporti di spazio e situazione drammatica sulla scena attica*, in *Scena e spettacolo nell'Antichità. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio. Trento 28-30 marzo 1988*, a cura di L. De Finis, Firenze, 1989, pp. 63-78 ; P. Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1962, p. 69ss. ; A. L. Boegehold, *When a Gesture was expected. A Selection of Examples from Archaic and Classical Greek Literature*, Princeton, 1999, pp. 53-77 ; A. Ercolani, *Il passagio di parola sulla scena tragica : didascalie interne e struttura delle rheseis*, Stuttgart, 2000 ; M. Telò, *Per una grammatica dei gesti nella tragedia greca*, I, *Cadere a terra, alzarsi ; coprirsi, scoprirsi il volto*, in *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 48 (2002), pp. 9-75 ; Id., *Per una grammatica dei gesti nella tragedia greca*, II, *La supplica*, in *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 49 (2003), pp. 9-51.

che consentono all'uditorio di fedeli di fruire nella forma più perspicua della complessa e articolata scansione tra discorsi diretti, pronunciati da più personaggi, e cornice narrativa ed esegetica che li introduce, conclude, spiega e commenta (9).

Rispetto all'oggetto della presente analisi non si ritiene indispensabile prendere posizione sulla *vexata quaestio* della possibilità che i contaci siano recitati da più voci (10), in relazione alla quale l'approfondimento che si intende condurre mira semmai a fornire dati e ulteriori spunti di ricerca e di verifica.

1. Indicazioni mimetiche fornite dalla διήγησις

Nel presentare la circostanza in cui un personaggio pronuncia un discorso e, talora, nel fornire ulteriori ragguagli anche sullo stato d'animo, sulla tonalità vocale e sui gesti che accompagnano le parole riportate in forma diretta, la διήγησις fornisce anche indicazioni concernenti alcune specifiche modalità della comunicazione mimetica, come quelle che consentono di individuare un monologo, oppure di connotare alcune parole

(9) L'analisi degli aspetti compositivi e formali dei contaci di Romano ha conosciuto apporti fondamentali a opera di : H. Hunger, *Romano il Melode – poeta, predicatore, retore – ed il suo pubblico*, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 25 (1983), pp. 305-332 (ripr. H. Hunger, *Epidosis. Gesammelte Schriften zur byzantinischen Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte*, München, 1989, XIV) ; Id., *Das Lebenspendende Wasser. Romanos Melodos, Kontakion 9 (Oxf. = 19 SC) : Jesus und die Samariterin*, in *JÖB*, 38 (1988), pp. 125-157 ; Id., *Der Refrain in den Kontakia des Romanos Melodos. Vielfalt in der Einheit*, in I. Vassis - G. S. Henrich - D. R. Reinsch (edd.), *Lesarten. Festschrift A. Kambylis*, Berlin - New York, 1998, pp. 53-60 ; J. H. Barkhuizen, *Association of Ideas as a Principle of Composition in Romanos*, in Ἑλληνικά, 39 (1988), pp. 18-24 ; Id., *Romanos Melodos and the Composition of his Hymns : Prooimion and Final Strophe*, in Ἑλληνικά, 40 (1989), pp. 62-77 ; R. Maisano, *Rispondenze formali tra proemio, strofe e ritornello nei Cantici di Romano il Melodo*, in *Studi sull'Oriente Cristiano*, 6 (2002), pp. 77-100.

(10) A favore di questa ipotesi le recenti e autorevoli osservazioni di H. Hunger, *Romanos Melodos. Überlegungen zum Ort und zur Art des Vortrages seiner Hymnen. Mit anschliessender kurze Strukturanalyse eines Kontakions (O. 19 SC 35 = Maria unter dem Kreuz)*, in *BZ*, 92 (1999), pp. 1-9 ; J. Koder, *Romanos Melodos und sein Publikum. Überlegungen zur Beeinflussung des kirchlichen Auditoriums durch das Kontakion*, in *Anzeiger der philos.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 134 (1997-1999), pp. 74-76. Cautamente contrario Maisano, *Cantici*, I, pp. 21-22.

come scambiate tra un gruppo di persone o pronunciate con un tono di voce così basso da risultare inavvertibile. In alcuni casi, nonostante il discorso venga pronunciato, la διήγησις informa i fedeli che devono immaginarlo comunicato in modo impercepibile, cioè in una forma che esula totalmente dalle convenzioni della *performance*.

a) *Segnalazione di monologo*

Il monologo di un personaggio rappresenta già da Omero una modalità mimetica specifica, opportunamente segnalata in ambito diegetico, poiché il pubblico ascolta quello che, nel dipanarsi della narrazione e della trama, deve restare ignoto agli altri protagonisti ([11]). Analogamente, all'interno dell'omelia versificata i personaggi scritturali talora pronunciano parole «silenziose», evidenziate come tali, perché rappresentano momenti di analisi interiore, di maturazione di decisioni, di ansioso dubbio o di reazione ai discorsi altrui, che assumono un ruolo fondamentale ai fini catechetici e diegetici del contacio, ma che, nel dipanarsi dei comportamenti e delle emozioni dei personaggi protagonisti della vicenda sacra esaminata, devono restare celati.

Una prima strategia identificativa dell'occorrenza di un monologo prevede la segnalazione della peculiarità di una comunicazione che resta confinata al soggetto parlante. Tale scopo viene perseguito grazie a un gamma assai varia di espedienti espressivi.

a. 1. Di immediata pespicuità risulta il ricorso al pronome riflessivo :

IV. *La Presentazione al Tempio* 3, 5 Maisano καθ' ἑαυτὴν δὲ λογιζομένη ἐφθέγγετο τοιαῦτα. Maria, mentre cammina verso il Tempio, tenendo tra le braccia τὸν φιλάνθρωπον, si interroga sul mistero della sua verginità dopo il parto.

XII. *L'emorroissa* 5, 1 Maisano Οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰκὸς ἐλογίζετο ἡ αἱμόρρους καὶ ἔλεγε καθ' ἑαυτήν ([12]). Nell'οἶκος preceden-

(11) Per i monologhi in Omero cf. B. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the "Iliad". Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (*Hermes, Einzelschriften*, 21), Wiesbaden, 1968 ; C. Hentze, *Die Monologe in den homerischen Epen*, in *Philologus*, 63 (1904), pp. 12-30 ; S. Scully, *The Languages of Achilles : the ochthesas Formulas*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 114 (1984), pp. 11-27.

(12) H. Hunger, *Additamenta zu Romanos Melodos*, in U. Criscuolo e R. Maisano (edd.), *Synodia. Studia humanitatis A. Garzya septuagenario ab amicis atque discipulis dicata*, Napoli, 1997, p. 456. Tra i sinottici che riportano

te ([13]) Romano ha spiegato il motivo del silenzio di Cristo in risposta all'atto furtivo dell'emorroissa : è il modo per impedire al demonio di interferire nella salvezza voluta dalla donna. Si perviene così all' ἀδύνατον ([14]) : διὰ τοῦτο σιγῇ ὑπακούει αὐτῆς. Ma per l'edificazione dei fedeli è fondamentale che i pensieri nascosti dell'emorroissa siano svelati.

XXIII. *Adorazione della Croce* 1, 9 Maisano τὴν ζωὴν ἐγνώρισε τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς ἑαυτόν. Il ladrone, ἀντίτυπος di Adamo, riconosce nella croce piantata sul Golgota l'albero della vita e rivela a se stesso di aver ritrovato ciò che l'antenato perse.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 7, 3 Maisano ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν οὕτω φησίν. L'arcangelo Gabriele, irritato per le domande perplesse di Maria, medita se reagire con una punizione o fornire le spiegazioni richieste.

L. *Il ricco e Lazzaro* 14, 1 Maisano Τότε θαυμάζων ὁ ἅρπαξ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐφθέγγετο. Il ricco, nel fuoco dell'inferno, vede tra le braccia di Abramo il mendicante di cui non ebbe pietà in vita e avvia una lunga rimeditazione ([15]) sui comportamenti tenuti e sulle loro conseguenze.

LI. *Il digiuno* 15, 3 Maisano λογισμοῖς ἑαυτὴν συνεκίνησεν. Eva comincia a interrogarsi sul consiglio del Serpente ([16]).

Il pronome riflessivo può fornire alla fine del discorso diretto, nella ripresa della trama diegetica, la conferma della natura monologica della comunicazione appena esplicitata :

XXX. *Il dubbio di Tommaso* 10, 1 Maisano Οὕτω Δίδυμος λαλῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐλάλει καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν. Si ribadisce che le parole di Tommaso, rimaste ignote a tutti, non lo sono a Cristo, che risponderà ([17]).

a. 2. Si osserva il ricorso a nessi che precisano che le parole sono formulate solo nella mente del personaggio :

l'episodio dell'emorroissa solo Matteo segnala e riporta un monologo della donna : cf. 9, 21 ἔλεγεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ.

(13) Cf. XII, *L'emorroissa* 4, 1-5 Maisano.

(14) Cf. XII, *L'emorroissa* 4, 5 Maisano.

(15) Cf. L, *Il ricco e Lazzaro* 14, 2-16, 10 Maisano.

(16) Cf. LI, *Il digiuno* 13, 2-14, 10 Maisano.

(17) Cf. XXX, *Il dubbio di Tommaso* 10, 2-4 Maisano ὁ ἐτάζων δὲ τοὺς νεφροὺς τὸν Θωμᾶν θεωρήσας / συντρίβοντα τὴν καρδίαν, καθὼς ποτε τὸν τελώνην / ᾤκτειρε βοῶν.

IV. *La Presentazione al Tempio* 5, 7 Maisano καὶ καθικετεύων ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐβόα. Il vecchio Simeone riconosce nel bambino tenuto in braccio da Maria il Salvatore, ὁ μόνος φιλάνθρωπος ([18]).

X. *La peccatrice* 13, 5-6 Maisano Ὁ ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς / θεωρῶν τοῦ Φαρισαίου τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξαλλομένους. Simone, il fariseo, rivolge rimproveri a se stesso, alla meretrice e a Cristo. Il carattere monologico delle sue parole non è segnalato preventivamente ([19]), ma si ricava dalla chiosa diegetica al discorso, poiché si fa riferimento a quest'ultimo come λογισμοί e poiché a intenderle è solo chi scruta i reni e i cuori ([20]).

XXX. *Il dubbio di Tommaso* 7, 5-6 Maisano ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Θωμᾶς κάτω κάμπτει τὸ πρόσωπον / καὶ ἔνδον τῆς ψυχῆς ἔλεγε. Tommaso, stupito per l'apparizione di Cristo, esprime in un monologo disagio interiore e pentimento per l'incredulità dimostrata.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 5, 1 Maisano Ἀλλ' ὅτε τούτων τῶν λόγων ἤκουσεν ἡ παναγία, εἶπεν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ. Maria, esterrefatta dall'annuncio di Gabriele, medita dubbiosa, mantenendo il silenzio.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 13, 2 Maisano ἐτρόμασεν, ἐθαύμασεν, ἐθαμβήθη, καὶ εἰς νοῦν ἐλογίσατο ([21]). Giuseppe, stupito per l'annuncio datole da Maria, si interroga sul significato dello splendore sconosciuto che scorge in lei.

XXXVIII. *La decapitazione del Precursore* 13, 1-2 Maisano Ὡς οὖν εἶδε πάντας μεθυσθέντας Ἡρωδιὰς ἡ πολυμήχανος, / ἥνπερ ἐζήτει εὐκαιρίαν εὑροῦσα, εἶπεν ἐν ψυχῇ αὐτῆς. Erodiade gioisce per il realizzarsi del piano lungamente meditato.

(18) La natura monologica delle parole di Simeone è chiaramente segnalata all'inizio della sezione mimetica, ma, al momento di riattivare il piano diegetico, viene annotato lo stupore che Maria prova nell'ascoltare ciò che è stato appena detto : IV, *La Presentazione al Tempio* 9, 1-2 Maisano Ἀκούων ταῦτα παρίστατο καὶ ἐξίστατο ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἄσπιλος / πρὸς ἣν ὁ γέρων ἐφθέγξατο. Si deve o presupporre una incoerenza compositiva di Romano o la capacità di Maria di intendere i pensieri di Simeone. Non sembra presupponibile che Simeone passi dal monologo al dialogo, perché il passaggio alle parole indirizzate a Maria è chiaramente enunciato.

(19) Cf. X, *La peccatrice* 13, 1 Maisano, Ὦ ἄγνοια· τί φησί.

(20) Sul significato peculiare di θεωρέω in questo passo (ma cf. anche *supra* n. 18) cf. Maisano, *Cantici*, I, p. 285, n. 50.

(21) Cf. Hunger, *Additamenta*, p. 455.

XLII. *Isacco benedice Giacobbe* 18, 1-3 Maisano Ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου ὁ Ἡσαῦ τῷ Ἰακὼβ ἐνεκότει / καὶ κτεῖναι ἐνενόει τοῦτον μετὰ τὸ θανῆναι / τὸν αὐτοῦ γενέτην, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐν καρδίᾳ. Esaù progetta di uccidere Giacobbe, quando il padre Isacco sarà morto.

XLIII. *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 27, 2 Maisano λέγων τῷ νῷ ([22]). Il patriarca Giuseppe, alla vista dei fratelli, compreso Beniamino, comprende il significato del sogno profetico e chiede a sé stesso come nascondere la commozione.

LI. *Il digiuno* 12, 1-2 Maisano Ῥήματι οὖν θανατηφόρῳ γλυκεῖαν ὁ ἐχθρὸς συγκατέμιξε γεῦσιν / σκεπτόμενος καὶ λέγων ταῦτα κατ' ἰδίαν ὁ ἔχθιστος. Il Serpente, deluso dalla prima risposta di Eva, si interroga sulla strategia argomentativa cui fare ricorso per vincerne le resistenze.

Viene convalidato il carattere monologico del discorso diretto testé concluso :

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 4, 1 Maisano Τοιαύτην ὕλην λογισμῶν τῆς Μαριὰμ στοιβαζούσης ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ. A chiosa del primo monologo con cui Maria reagisce all'apparizione di Gabriele e al suo saluto ([23]).

XLIII. *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 29, 1 Maisano Βραχέα σκεψάμενος τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν εἰς ἔργα προέβησαν. Conferma che la linea di condotta verso i fratelli è stata elaborata da Giuseppe in un monologo, come del resto enunciato in apertura di discorso ([24]).

a. 3. Viene menzionato esplicitamente il carattere ossimorico di un discorso «silenzioso» :

X. *La peccatrice* 3, 9 Maisano ἀλλ' οὐ κραυγῇ ἐλυτρώθη, σιγῇ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐσώθη· κλαυθμῷ γὰρ εἶπεν. Romano anticipa il lungo monologo in cui la peccatrice maturerà l'intento di cambiare vita, rilevando che il pianto silenzioso ha un valore salvifico assai maggiore delle parole, anzi del grido.

XVIII. *Il rinnegamento di Pietro* 10, 5-6 Maisano καὶ μὴ βαστάσας τὸ κακὸν ἤδη δακρύει / καὶ τύπτει τὸ στῆθος καὶ λέγει σιγῇ ([25]). Pietro,

(22) Cf. Hunger, *Additamenta*, p. 456.

(23) Il nesso ὕλη λογισμῶν rappresenta una chiara ripresa della formula con cui era stato evidenziato l'inizio del monologo : cf. XXXVI, *Annunciazione*, I 3, 5, Maisano, νοῦν δὲ συνῆψεν εἰς νοῦν καὶ φρένα εἰς φρένα συμβιβάζει βοῶσα.

(24) Cf. XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 27, 2, Maisano, λέγων τῷ νῷ.

(25) Cf. Hunger, *Additamenta*, p. 456.

entrato nel palazzo di Caifa, vi scorge Cristo e dà sfogo silenzioso alla disperazione.

XLIII. *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 26, 9 Maisano καὶ σιγῇ ἔνδον ταραττόμενος προσηύχετο. Giuseppe prega in silenzio, riconoscendo nel numero dei fratelli il significato del numero delle stelle apparsegli in sogno.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 3, 4-5 Maisano ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἡσύχασε· / νοῦν δὲ συνῆψεν εἰς νοῦν καὶ φρένα εἰς φρένα συμβιβάζει βοῶσα. Il gesto remissivo di Maria davanti all'apparizione e al saluto di Gabriele è correlato a un silenzio che copre un vivace monologo.

XXIX. *Resurrezione*, VI : *Le donne portatrici di unguenti* 7, 4 Maisano ὅθεν ἐβόα οὐ ῥήμασιν ἀλλὰ δάκρυσιν. La Maddalena, rimasta sola presso il Sepolcro, dà sfogo in un pianto silenzioso agli interrogativi suscitati dalla scomparsa del corpo di Cristo ([26]).

LV. *L'abito monastico* 9, 1 Maisano Νῦν εἰσὶν ἐν ὑμῖν οἱ βοῶντες μοι, κἂν μὴ στόματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι. Un fedele chiede a Romano di applicare per primo ciò che predica ([27]).

Un caso particolare è rappresentato da una segnalazione di monologo che occorre a sua volta all'interno di un monologo; infatti la peccatrice, nel corso di un ampio monologo, rievoca il precedente scritturale della preghiera silenziosa di Anna e immagina di rivolgersi al Signore con una supplica tacita:

X. *La peccatrice* 8, 6-7 Maisano ὡς Ἠλὶ τὴν Ἄνναν τότε, μένω κἀγὼ προσευχομένη, / σιγῇ βοῶσα. Il denso ossimoro ([28]) rappresenta

(26) Prima ancora che la formula introduttiva, è la circostanza narrativa a garantire la natura monologica delle parole della Maddalena, poiché si precisa che ella resta sola presso il Sepolcro, quando i discepoli si allontanano : cf. XXIX, *Resurrezione* VI : *Le donne portatrici di unguenti* 7, 1 Maisano, Ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἑαυτὴν ἐπληροφόρει Μαρία, / παρέμεινε τῷ τάφῳ ἀπελθόντων τῶν ἁγίων. Proprio questa solitudine viene rievocata dalla Maddalena, quando racconta alle compagne l'esperienza occorsale : *ibid.*, 13, 7-8 Maisano, Ὅτε με ἔλιπον οἱ περὶ Πέτρον, / ἐγγὺς τοῦ μνήματος ἱστάμην κλαίουσα.

(27) In questo caso non si rievoca un episodio scritturale : Romano immagina un dialogo con uno dei fedeli che ascoltano la recita del contacio, ma che non possono dialogare con il locutore. Si rende cioè necessario immaginare una domanda πνεύματι, che Romano non ascolta, ma intuisce.

(28) Ossimoro assai caro a Romano : cf. XII, *L'emorroissa* 2, 3-5 οὕτως οὖν ἐπακούσασα ἡ αἱμόρρους / σοὶ προσῆλθε σωθῆναι σιγῶσα φωνῇ, / τῇ παλάμῃ δὲ κράζουσά σοι ἐκτενῶς e 14, 3 Maisano, ἀφωνίᾳ προσῆλθεν ἐμοὶ βοῶσα.

un esempio rilevante di un'indicazione diegetica, occorrente all'interno di una sezione mimetica, allo scopo di introdurre ed enfatizzare un monologo. Il gioco di «scatole cinesi» è assai complesso, poiché la didascalia è contenuta a sua volta in una λέξις mimetica.

a. 4. Viene esplorata l'area lessicale del verbo λογίζομαι e relativi composti e dei denominativi che fanno riferimento a νοῦς e a ἐνθύμημα :

XII. *L'emorroissa* 16, 1 Maisano Ὡς κατεῖδε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαθεν, ἡ γυνὴ ταῦτα συνελογίζετο. L'emorroissa, compreso che Cristo si è accorto che ella ha toccato la sua veste, ripercorre silenziosamente le ragioni del suo gesto e conferma la fede appena dimostrata ([29]).

XXII. *Il trionfo della croce* 10, 4-5 Maisano ὅθεν πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκπληττόμενος / τύπτει τὸ στῆθος καὶ διαλογίζεται ([30]). Il Serpente, constatata la conversione in croce del ladrone, si interroga allibito sullo sconcertante comportamento di Cristo, che non risponde ai suoi accusatori, ma parla al ladrone.

XLV. *Il profeta Elia* 15, 4 Maisano Πρὸς δὲ τῆς χήρας τὴν φωνὴν ἐκινεῖτο καὶ συνέπασχε διαλογιζόμενος. Il profeta si muove a pietà per la miseria della vedova, ma non vuole ancora palesare la compassione che prova.

XLII. *Isacco benedice Giacobbe* 8, 2 Maisano τὸν νοῦν αὐτοῦ ταράξας ἐλογίζετο τοιαῦτα. Isacco, perplesso per la velocità con cui il figlio torna dalla caccia, si interroga sul possibile inganno in cui lo si vuol far cadere.

XLII. *Isacco benedice Giacobbe* 9, 3 Maisano Ψηλαφῶν δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐνθυμεῖται. Isacco non può che esprimere in silenzio i dubbi che nutre sull'identità di chi gli sollecita la benedizione.

(29) Cf. XII, *L'emorroissa* 16, 2-18, 6 Maisano. Al monologo risponderà Cristo : cf. *ibid.*, 19-20 Maisano.

(30) E' il verbo che introduce il monologo di Maria in *Lc.* 1, 29 ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ διεταράχθη, καὶ διελογίζετο ποταπὸς εἴη ὁ ἀσπασμὸς οὗτος. Cf. W. Bauer, K. Aland e B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin - New York, 1988[6], p. 373. Nessuno di questi verbi è preso in considerazione da K. Mitsakis, *The vocabulary of Romanos the Melodist*, in *Glotta*, 43 (1965), pp. 171-197 : il che va a conferma della necessità, ancor più che dell'utlità, di un lessico di Romano, compilato sulla base delle recenti edizioni e dei progressi nell'analisi strutturale e compositiva.

LI. *Il digiuno* 13, 1 Maisano Ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτα διενοήθη, ὁ ὄφις πρὸς τὴν Εὔαν ἐφθέγξατο λέγων. Alla fine del monologo del serpente, esplicitamente introdotto come tale ([31]), si conferma che le parole sono state pensate, ma non pronunciate. Adesso il serpente sa come ingannare Eva e con questo scopo tornerà a rivolgerle la parola.

Nessuno di questi verbi nel greco classico ha un preciso e univoco significato collegabile al monologo, bensì semmai alla ponderazione, all'inferenza. Naturalmente la contestualizzazione diegetica del discorso, l'inserimento nella trama narrativa, la conseguente dialettica dei rapporti tra i protagonisti dell'episodio scritturale e tra le reciproche espressioni verbali conferiscono ai verbi esaminati una sfumatura semantica rapportabile alla meditazione personale. Va però osservato che Romano adotta la sfumatura semantica che διαλογίζομαι e συλλογίζομαι hanno già nel *Nuovo Testamento*. Più precisamente : συλλογίζομαι è attestato ([32]) in nesso con πρὸς ἑαυτούς, mentre διαλογίζομαι è collegato al riflessivo ([33]) o all'espressione ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ([34]). Quando Romano fa ricorso a questi verbi, peraltro senza pronome riflessivo o complementi di luogo, i precedenti scritturali permettono di connetterli precisamente con il monologo ; potremmo affermare che essi rivestono la funzione di verbi tecnici per introdurre un monologo. Infatti, le occorrenze di συλλογίζομαι e διαλογίζομαι in Romano si connettono esclusivamente a questa specifica funzione. Il peculiare valore retorico di ἐνθυμέω è approfondito da Hunger ([35]).

a. 5. Si osserva l'occorrenza di avverbi come τάχα ed εἰκότως che, da soli o in combinazione con altri «segnali», fungono da introduzione di un monologo :

IX. *La Samaritana* 15, 4 Maisano καὶ τάχα τοῖς τοιούτοις συνείχετο εἰκότως ἐνθ[υμή]μασι. Nel fitto dialogo tra Cristo e la Samaritana si inserisce una pausa meditativa della donna, non attestata nella fonte scrit-

(31) Cf. LI, *Il digiuno* 12, 1-2 MAISANO.

(32) Cf. *Lc.* 20, 5 οἱ δὲ συνελογίσαντο πρὸς ἑαυτούς.

(33) *Mth.* 16, 7 οἱ δὲ διελογίζοντο ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λέγοντες ; 21, 25 οἱ δὲ διελογίζοντο ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λέγοντες ; *Lc.* 12, 17 καὶ διελογίζετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ λέγων ; *Mc.* 2, 8 οὕτως διαλογίζονται ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.

(34) *Mc.* 2, 6 καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν ; 2, 8 τί ταῦτα διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν ; 5, 22 τί διαλογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν ; Lc. 3, 15 διαλογιζομένων πάντων ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.

(35) Cf. HUNGER, *Additamenta*, pp. 456-457.

turale. Si osserva la contemporanea occorrenza di τάχα, εἰκότως ed ἐνθύμημα, indizio anche della forte pregnanza retorica del passo (36).

XII. *L'emorroissa* 12, 1 Maisano [Ῥ]ήσεις ταύτας αἱμόρρους ἐλάλησε τάχα πρὸς τοὺς σοβεῖν αὐτὴν θέλοντας. E' il segnale preciso della fine di un monologo, a sua volta scandito in un dialogo «immaginario» tra l'emorroissa e la folla (37). Questo stesso monologo era stato introdotto da una formula in cui occorreva il termine εἰκός (38).

L. *Il ricco e Lazzaro* 8, 2 Maisano δεχόμενος τὰς ὀδύνας εἰκότως ταῦτα ἔφησεν. Vengono introdotti i pensieri che esprimono l'accettazione della malattia e della miseria da parte di Lazzaro.

L. *Il ricco e Lazzaro* 13, 1-2 Maisano Ὕλῃ πολλῇ τῶν πταισμάτων κρινόμενος ὁ πλούσιος / εἰκότως ἐνεθυμήθη. In corrispondenza e contrapposizione con la pacata rassegnazione di Lazzaro si introduce l'incomprensione del ricco circa la propria condanna (39). L'occorrenza di εἰκότως si somma a quella di ἐνθυμέω.

a. 6. Pur nella varietà tipologica esaminata, nei passi analizzati è palese la necessità di porre in risalto che le parole del monologo sono pensate, cioè non pronunciate con tono avvertibile, anche perché sono presenti personaggi che non era opportuno le conoscessero (40). In altri casi, invece, il carattere monologico di un discorso non implica necessariamente la sottolineatura esplicita della segretezza o del silenzio, ma si ricava dallo svolgimento della vicenda scritturale narrata dal contacio.

XXII. *Il trionfo della croce* 11, 1-2 Maisano Ὕψωσε δὲ δεύτερον (41) φωνὴν ἰδίαν ὁ δαίμων / κράζων. Conferma della natura monologica del

(36) Cf. HUNGER, *Das Lebenspendende Wasser,* p. 135, n. 1.

(37) Cf. gli interventi della folla : XII, *L'emorroissa* 6, 1-6 ; 8, 1-6 MAISANO.

(38) Cf. XII, *L'emorroissa* 5, 1 MAISANO, Οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰκὸς ἐλογίζετο ἡ αἱμόρρους.

(39) Parallelismi già rilevati da J. H. BARKHUIZEN, *Romanos Melodos : Essay on the Poetics of His Kontakion "Resurrection of Christ" (M.-Tr. 24)*, in *BZ*, 79 (1986), pp. 268-281 e HUNGER, *Additamenta*, pp. 445-454.

(40) Naturalmente la divinità legge (o meglio vede) le parole silenziose : cf., ad es., XXIX, *Resurrezione*, VI : *le donne portatrici di unguenti* 9, 1-2 MAISANO, Νενικημένην τῷ κλαυθμῷ καὶ ἡττημένην τῷ πόθῳ / ἰδὼν ὁ πάντα βλέπων τὴν Μαγδαληνὴν Μαρίαν ; XXX, *Il dubbio di Tommaso* 10, 2-3 MAISANO, ὁ ἐτάζων δὲ τοὺς νεφροὺς τὸν Θωμᾶν θεωρήσας / συντρίβοντα τὴν καρδίαν.

(41) Il primo discorso ad alta voce (più precisamente un fitto dialogo con Hades) ha avuto inizio a 2, 1-2 MAISANO Ὅτε τούτων ἤκουσεν ὁ δολιόβουλος ὄφις, / ἔδραμε συρόμενος καὶ κράζει.

discorso appena concluso del Diavolo, del resto segnalata dall'occorrenza introduttiva di διαλογίζομαι.

XXIII. *Adorazione della croce* 10, 3 Maisano Ταῦτα λέγων προσεγγίζει τῷ παραδείσῳ. Il buon ladrone è giunto con il simbolo di salvezza, la croce, alle porte del Paradiso. Il tempo necessario per percorrere il tragitto tra il Golgota (42) e il Paradiso è «narrativamente» coperto dal canto nuovo (43), cioè dal discorso che dobbiamo immaginare come pronunciato in assenza di alcuno e quindi classificabile come monologo.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 2, 3 Maisano καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Ναζαρὲτ πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ ἐξεπλήττετο. L'arcangelo Gabriele, sceso dal cielo e in vicinanza della casa di Giuseppe, esprime dubbi e perplessità circa l'Incarnazione che si appresta ad annunciare. Poiché solo alla fine di questo discorso egli entra nella casa e parla a Maria (44), dobbiamo intendere le sue meditazioni come solitarie.

XLI. *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 19, 3-5 Maisano καὶ πόδας σὺν χερσὶν ἐδέσμησεν ὃν ἐγέννησε, / "Πρῶτον", λέγων, "δήσω, εἶτα φονεύσω, / μήποτε τούτου σκίρτημα κωλύσῃ μου τὸ ὅρμημα". Abramo lega Isacco ed esprime l'intento di serrarlo bene, perché costui, dibattendosi, non crei intralci al sacrificio. E' evidente che questi intenti non vengono comunicati ad alta voce a Isacco, che aveva chiesto al padre di non immolarlo (45).

XLIII. *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 32, 7-9 Maisano ὁ ἄναξ δὲ ὁρῶν παραλήπτους τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς / ἀσφαλίζεται κλεῖθρα καὶ ἀνοίγει τὰ ῥεῖθρα· / ποταμοὺς ὄμμασι μιμούμενος ἐκραύγαζε. Giuseppe ha realizzato il suo piano : i fratelli si inginocchiano davanti al suo potere. La commozione irrefrenabile trova sfogo in un pianto silenzioso, ma «urlante», che non può che trovare esito nell'erompere del grido che rivela la sua iden-

(42) Cf. XXIII, *Adorazione della croce* 6, 1-3 Maisano, Ταῦτα λῃστὴς ἐπακούσας ἐπ' ὤμων ἐπεφέρετο, / ὡς εἶπεν ὁ πανοικτίρμων, τὸ γνώρισμα τῆς χάριτος, / καὶ βαδίζων ἀνευφήμει σταυροῦ τὸ δῶρον.

(43) Cf. J. Windell, *Imagery of the Cross. The Song of Praise to the Cross in Romanos : "The Adoration of the Cross"*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 66 (1984/1985), pp. 54-62 ; J. H. Barkhuizen, *The "New Song" as Traditional Biblical and Patristic Motif in Romanos the Melodist*, in *Ἑλληνικά*, 42 (1991/1992), pp. 157-162.

(44) Cf. XXXVI, *Annunciazione* I 3, 1-2 Maisano Ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς σεμνῆς ταῦτα λαλήσας εἰσῆλθε τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁ οἰκήτωρ / καὶ προσεῖπε τὴν ἄγαμον, λέγων.

(45) Cf. XLI, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 18, 7-8 Maisano, μὴ ἄκοντα σφάξῃς, ἵν' εὐπρόσδεκτον εὕρῃς / τὴν θυσίαν σου, ἐμὲ τὸ τέκνον σου.

tità. L'azione antitetica di sigillare le labbra e aprire le correnti di lacrime segnala con perspicuità il carattere monologico del discorso seguente, del resto confermato dalla chiosa che occorre in corrispondenza della sua conclusione. Infatti, incapace di trattenere la gioia, Giuseppe riapre all'improvviso le dighe delle parole : μήπω δὲ στέξας τὴν χαράν, ἄφνω ἀνοίγει (46).

LIII. *Il battesimo* 4, 3 Maisano ὁρῶν σε γὰρ ὁ τύραννος μαραίνεται καὶ κράζει. Il diavolo esprime in un lungo monologo (47) lo stupore e lo sconcerto verso il compiuto riscatto di Adamo. L'assenza di interlocutori, già evidente quando il monologo è introdotto, viene ribadita indirettamente dalla chiosa diegetica che segna la fine del monologo e il passaggio alla sezione schiettamente catechetica del contacio : Ῥημάτων τοιούτων τὸν ὄχλον ὄντως χέει / ὁρῶν ὁ Βελίαρ τὸν νεοφώτιστον ἄρτι (48).

b. *Discorso «invisibile»*

La διήγησις ha talora cura di segnalare che le parole pronunciate da un personaggio assumono una forma di comunicazione insolita : esse non sono percepibili all'udito, eppure il messaggio in esse contenuto viene trasmesso all'interlocutore. In questi passi, cioè, non si determinano le condizioni convenzionali che consentono di identificare un monologo, perché l'assenza di un'emissione vocale non è finalizzata all'intento di celare la formulazione di intenti, dubbi, meditazioni, ma corrisponde a necessità e strategie comunicative strettamente legate al contesto narrativo.

I. *Natale* I 8, 1-2 Maisano Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὄντως τε καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν / τῶν φρενῶν ἀφανῶς ἥψατο τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Gesù risponde invisibilmente alla richiesta della madre di lasciar entrare nel θάλαμος i Magi.

IV. *La presentazione al tempio* 17, 1-2 Maisano Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων προσεδέξατο τοῦ δικαίου τὴν δέησιν / καὶ ἀοράτως ἐφθέγξατο. Gesù risponde a Simeone, accogliendone la preghiera.

XIII. *La moltiplicazione dei pani* 20, 4 Maisano λέγων πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὕτω φωνῇ ἀοράτῳ. Cristo parla con voce invisibile ai pani, ordinando

(46) Cf. XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 33, 5 Maisano. Forse ἀνοίγει sottintende τὰ κλεῖθρα e non sé stesso, come sembra intendere Maisano, *Cantici*, I, p. 237 : «Incapace di trattenere ancora la sua gioia, si rivela all'improvviso».

(47) Che si estende sino a 10, 10 Maisano.

(48) Cf. LIII, *Il battesimo* 11, 1-2 Maisano.

loro di moltiplicarsi. La sinestesia sottolinea la dialettica tra piano uditivo e visivo e tra livello dell'azione visibile e invisibile ([49]).

XXXIX. *Lo storpio guarito dagli Apostoli* 14, 1-2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν προσευχὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος ἀοράτως ἔφησε. Cristo risponde in modo impercettibile alla preghiera di Giovanni, che impetra il potere di operare il miracolo, per dimostrare ai Giudei la divinità del Salvatore.

Il carattere misterioso di questa comunicazione è espresso nella sfera semantica della vista e non dell'udito, con un effetto sinestesico ([50]) forse dovuto al fatto che il pubblico ha in realtà udito le parole che i personaggi scritturali, a eccezione del destinatario del messaggio, non sentono. Non a caso è sempre Cristo a operare questa forma miracolosa di comunicazione.

c. *Discorso comune a più personaggi*

Quando l'azione non si svolge tra due protagonisti, ma assegna un ruolo rilevante a un gruppo di individui, si presenta la necessità di connotare un discorso diretto come espressione d'intenti, di dubbi o di sentimenti comuni. Questa condivisione viene enunciata soprattutto grazie al ricorso al pronome reciproco :

XIV. *La Resurrezione di Lazzaro*, I 7, 4 Maisano διένευον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰκὸς χειρὶ λαλοῦντες καὶ τῇ κορυφῇ. I discepoli reagiscono all'intento di Cristo di recarsi a Betania a resuscitare Lazzaro, lasciando trasparire l'agitazione e lo stupore con i gesti, ancor prima che con le parole.

XIV. *La Resurrezione di Lazzaro*, I 14, 1-2 Maisano Μόνον οὖν εἶδοσαν Ἅιδης καὶ Θάνατος ἅπαντα / ταῦτα γινόμενα, ὀδυνώμενοι εἶπον ἀλλήλοις. Hades e Thanatos, terrorizzati e addolorati per la resurrezione di Lazzaro, esprimono vicendevolmente lo sgomento e la certezza della sconfitta.

XXIX. *Resurrezione*, VI : *le donne portatrici di unguenti* 1, 3 Maisano μυροφόροι κόραι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐβόων. Le μυροφόροι si esortano a vicenda a recarsi al sepolcro per cospargere il corpo di Cristo di aromi.

XXIX. *Resurrezione*, VI : *le donne portatrici di unguenti* 15, 1-2 Maisano Ἀκηκοὼς ὁ σύλλογος τῶν εὐσεβῶν νεανίδων / συμφώνως ἀπεκρίθη τῇ Μαγδαληνῇ Μαρίᾳ. Risposta concorde delle compagne alla Magdalena, che ha annunciato loro l'incontro con Cristo risorto.

(49) Cf. MAISANO, *Cantici*, I, p. 335, n. 48 e 50.

(50) Da notare anche il coinvolgimento del tatto in I, *Natale*, I 8, 2 MAISANO.

XXXII. *Ascensione* 15, 1-2 Maisano Ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς τούτων τῶν λόγων / οἱ τοῦ ῥύστου μαθηταὶ εἶπον ἀλλήλοις. I discepoli hanno assistito all'ascensione e udito gli Angeli annunciare che Cristo, diversamente da Elia ed Enoch ([51]), ha raggiunto il cielo. La piena comprensione dell'evento e l'enunciazione dei propositi conseguenti è interna al gruppo e da esso totalmente condivisa.

XLVI. *I tre fanciulli nella fornace* 26, 1-2 Maisano Ὅθεν καταπλαγέντες ἐξέστησαν τῇ καρδίᾳ / Σεδράχ, Μισὰχ καὶ Ἀβδεναγώ, καὶ ἀλλήλοις συνελάλησαν. I tre fanciulli meditano a una voce sul significato prototipico della comparsa dell'angelo ([52]) che ha spento il fuoco della fornace.

L. *Il ricco e Lazzaro* 12, 5-6 Maisano πάντες δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ ἴδιοι ἐτήρουν τὸν κείμενον / τὸ ἄπληστον μεμφόμενοι· πρὸς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἔλεγον. Gli amici e i vicini del ricco morto si scambiano commenti sulla vanità del suo orgoglio e della sua spietatezza.

Romano sottolinea in più occasioni l'intervento «corale» di gruppi, spesso in funzione di commento alla vicenda scritturale, che viene analizzata e spiegata ai fedeli sia in chiave simpatetica sia antitetica. Paradigmatica la presenza di queste due dimensioni nel contacio dedicato alla *Resurrezione di Lazzaro*. Lo stupore è la nota che accomuna le reazioni dei discepoli e delle potenze infernali al miracolo più straordinario operato da Cristo, ma la sfumatura cromatica è assai diversa : di gioia nei discepoli, di sgomento in Hades e Thanatos. La dialettica di adesione o distacco rispetto all'azione principale da parte di un gruppo rimanda a una delle funzioni caratterizzanti della dimensione mimetica ([53]).

d. *Discorso «nascosto» o pronunciato a bassa voce*

Il dipanarsi dell'azione può comportare la necessità che un personaggio pronunci parole che non vengano percepite da alcuni o da tutti gli altri protagonisti della vicenda scritturale, ma che, ovviamente, devono trovare pieno ascolto nel pubblico dei fedeli. Si tratta di una situazione che, nella convenzione teatrale corrisponde al «da parte» e che, nella commistione tra la λέξις diegetica e quella mimetica, si realizza nell'ambito della seconda, ma deve essere segnalata dalla prima.

(51) Cf. XXXII, *Ascensione* 14, 6-13 Maisano.
(52) Cf. XLVI, *I tre fanciulli nella fornace* 23-25 Maisano.
(53) Cf. la funzione del coro tragico e comico.

XXXVIII. *La decapitazione del Precursore* 14, 4-6 Maisano οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου τὸ μὲν κάλλος τῆς παιδίσκης ἤνεσαν πολύ, / τῆς δὲ τεκούσης τὴν ἀδιάτρεπτον γνώμην / καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἐννοοῦντες εἶπαν ἐν κρυφῇ ([54]). Romano, innovando rispetto alla Scrittura e alla tradizione omiletica, concede la parola ai convitati di Erode, che del resto già nei *Vangeli* esercitano una pressione psicologica così forte sull'esarca, da impedirgli di rinnegare il giuramento imprudentemente formulato ([55]). Prima ancora che la figlia di Erodiade danzi, sono i commensali a commentare di nascosto sia la bellezza della giovane sia l'inverecondia della madre. La διήγησις ha cura sia di sottolineare il tono di queste considerazioni sia di anticipare il contenuto della riflessione, centrata sulla somiglianza tra madre e figlia e sull'infelice destino dei figli degli adulteri ([56]).

XXXVIII. *La decapitazione del Precursore* 15, 5-6 Maisano Τούτων δὲ πάντων οὐ φανερῶς λεγομένων, / ἦλθε κατόπιν τῶν λόγων ἔργα πονηρά. Il carattere segreto del commento dei commensali di Erode è confermato alla conclusione del discorso. Si noti che in questo passo Romano non connota le parole del gruppo di interlocutori come espresse concordemente o vicendevolmente, ma preferisce promuoverle a contrappunto acutamente perspicace degli intenti segreti di Erodiade e dell'ottusità di Erode, che sarà tratto definitivamente in trappola proprio dalle loro esclamazioni ammirate ([57]).

XLIII. *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 29, 3-4 Maisano καὶ μέσον τοῦ δείπνου τὰ τῆς ἄγρας ἐσκεύαζεν / ἐν τῷ λεληθότι δούλῳ εἰπών. Giuseppe, appena concluso il monologo in cui ha maturato il piano con cui catturare Beniamino, passa all'azione, ordinando a un servo, di nascosto dai fratelli, di nascondere il suo boccale nel sacco di Beniamino. L'intento era stato preannunciato nel monologo ([58]) : si tratta ora, come annunciato da

(54) Cf. HUNGER, *Additamenta*, p. 456.

(55) Cf. *Mth.* 14, 9 καὶ λυπηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τοὺς συνανακειμένους ; *Mc.* 6, 26 καὶ περίλυπος γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τοὺς ἀνακειμένους οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἀθετῆσαι αὐτήν.

(56) Cf. XXXVIII, *La decapitazione del Precursore* 14, 7-15, 4 MAISANO.

(57) Cf. XXXVIII, *La decapitazione del Precursore* 16, 1-2 MAISANO, Νικηθεὶς ὁ ἄναξ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῶν εὐφημούντων τὸ κοράσιον / ὤμοσε τότε ἐπὶ πάντων.

(58) Cf. XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 26, 9 MAISANO, καὶ σιγῇ ἔνδον ταραττόμενος προσηύχετο.

Romano, di tradurre in pratica i propositi. Il segreto nei confronti dei fratelli è mantenuto prima grazie al monologo, poi per mezzo dell'ordine impartito ἐν τῷ λεληθότι.

e. *Discorso «ipotetico»*

Un intero dialogo viene connotato come ipotetico o meglio come il più verosimilmente occorrente, sulla base della *communis opinio*. Sulla scorta della tradizione omiletica, soprattutto postcrisostomica ([59]), anche in Romano l'obbedienza di Abramo verso l'ordine divino di sacrificare Isacco viene esaltata e proposta alla meditazione, anche attraverso la formulazione di quella che sarebbe stata la reazione più comunemente presupponibile, cioè quella che la maggior parte dei fedeli cui è indirizzata l'omelia avrebbe avuto. Il dialogo tra Abramo e Sara, l'alternarsi e contrapporsi delle ragioni del rifiuto e dell'obbedienza, totalmente assenti dal racconto scritturale, vengono presentati da Romano grazie a un espediente formale e argomentativo tanto complesso nell'articolazione compositivo-strutturale del contacio, quanto icasticamente semplice sul piano espressivo :

XLI. *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 3, 4 Maisano Πῶς οὐκ εἶπας.

La reazione che non si capisce come Abramo non ebbe include anche il rifiuto netto e argomentato di Sara, solo immaginato dal patriarca ([60]), ma, a partire dall'οἶκος 14, l'atteggiamento della madre è presentato da un discorso diretto che Romano intende come realmente pronunciato ([61]). A queste parole di Sara fecero seguito altre di Abramo, che Romano non riporta, perché ciò che gli preme è ribadire che, al di là di questi scambi verbali immaginati e/o reali, prevaleva in entrambi la volontà di obbedire a Dio ([62]).

(59) Cf. J. Kecskeméti, *Personnages tragiques et personnages comiques dans les homélies dramatisées des prédicateurs grecs*, in *Euphrosyne*, 22 (1994), pp. 45-61.

(60) Cf. XLI, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 7, 2-11, 9 Maisano. Il carattere «immaginario» della replica di Sara è esplicitato, tra l'altro, dal futuro del verbo : *ibid.* 7, 1-2 Maisano, Ἀκούσει τοὺς λόγους σου πάντας ἡ Σάρρα, ὦ δέσποτα, / καὶ τὴν βουλήν σου ταύτην γνοῦσά μοι λέξει.

(61) Cf. XLI, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 14, 1 Ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ ὁμοζύγου, ἡ Σάρρα φησίν e Maisano, *Cantici*, II, p. 184, n. 13.

(62) Cf. XLI, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 15, 6-9 Maisano, Τοιαῦτα ἦν ἄρα ἅπερ ἔφη ἡ Σάρρα· / ὁ πρέσβυς δὲ πάντως εἶπεν ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ ταῦτα· / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστερξαν ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον, ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Il discorso diretto, in questo passo, non è propriamente un monologo, né un messaggio riservato solo a un personaggio, bensì una forma assai più complessa di comunicazione di cui Romano si avvale, per avvicinare, da un lato, il comportamento del patriarca ai sentimenti e alle reazioni del pubblico e per segnarne, dall'altro, la diversità e la superiorità. Romano intende sottolineare che Abramo ubbidisce, non perché non provi quello che tutti sentirebbero al suo posto, ma perché è capace di andare oltre questo primo livello di sensazioni e di pensieri.

Del resto, immaginare quali parole avrebbe potuto pronunciare (τίνας λόγους ἂν εἴποι τις) un personaggio scritturale in una precisa e determinata circostanza rappresenterà, nell'evoluzione della pratica retorica bizantina, uno dei più praticati esercizi. Le ἠθοποιΐαι di argomento scritturale, a partire da Niceforo Basilace nel XII secolo, ripercorreranno vie tracciate da Romano (63).

2. Indicazioni mimetiche fornite dalla μίμησις

In alcuni casi, elementi essenziali per la comprensione dello svolgimento mimetico del contacio sono forniti non dalla διήγησις, come tipico della λέξις μικτή, ma dalla μίμησις stessa, cioè dalle parole che i protagonisti pronunciano e si scambiano.

a. *Segnalazione di monologo*

La natura monologica di un discorso diretto può non essere esplicitata dalla διήγησις, ma essere desunta dall'interno del discorso stesso :

X. *La peccatrice* 4, 7-9 Maisano γυνή τις τότε ἤκουσεν ἅμα καὶ ἔσπευσεν / ὠθήσασα τὴν ἔννοιαν πρὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν· "Ἄγε", φησίν, "ὦ ψυχή μου, ἰδοὺ καιρὸς ὃν ἐζήτεις". La peccatrice, appreso che Cristo è ospite in casa del Fariseo, si appresta a raggiungerlo e intanto medita di cogliere l'occasione a lungo attesa per purificarsi. Il carattere monologico del suo discorso non si ricava dalla zona testuale che precede il discorso diretto, attenta a fornire lo scopo dello stesso, ma non la sua

(63) Cf. H. Hunger, *On the Imitation (Mimesis) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature*, in *DOP*, 23-24 (1969-1970), p. 21, n. 24 (ripr. H. Hunger, *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung* [*Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies*, 21], London, 1973, XV) ; Id., *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, 5, 1), München, 1978, pp. 113-114 ; Adriana Pignani, *Niceforo Basilace. Progimnasmi e monodie* (*Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana*, 10), Napoli, 1983, pp. 43-47.

peculiarità mimetica (64). L'appello alla propria anima, invece, proprio all'esordio, costituisce una marca identificativa univoca, già peraltro attestata in una lunga tradizione (65).

b. *Passaggio da monologo a dialogo e viceversa*

Spesso, come risulta dall'analisi condotta, è la διήγησις a segnalare l'occorrenza del monologo, talora sia all'inizio sia alla fine. In alcuni casi il dipanarsi assai variegato della partitura mimetica del contacio comporta che un personaggio svolga una meditazione che da silenziosa diventa udibile, cioè passi da parole destinate solo al suo cuore (e all'orecchio del pubblico dei fedeli) a espressioni rivolte direttamente a uno o più interlocutori.

Un simile passaggio può essere reso esplicito dalla διήγησις che distingue nettamente le due forme comunicative, come nel caso del coacervo di pensieri, progetti, sentimenti che albergano nella mente di Giuseppe che, non riconosciuto, incontra e riconosce i fratelli. Romano ha cura di separare nettamente ciò che è solo pensato da Giuseppe (66) da quello che viene detto, benché di nascosto, al servo (67) e che rappresenta una fase della traduzione in atto del piano elaborato nel monologo.

In altri casi, invece, il ritmo particolarmente serrato della μίμησις fa sì che non esista soluzione di continuità tra le parole che il personaggio rivolge a sé stesso e quelle destinate agli altri:

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 6, 1 Maisano Πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο ὃ λαλεῖς ; Φράσον μοι νῦν ὃ ὑπάρχεις· ἄγγελον ἢ ἄνθρωπον εἶπω ; Maria, stupita dal saluto di Gabriele, si interroga sul significato delle parole misteriose che le sono state rivolte, ma passa, con l'inizio dell'οἶκος 6, a porre precise questioni al misterioso interlocutore sulla verificabilità dell'annuncio, sulla sua identità e provenienza, sino a fornire una possibile identificazione. Che questa parte del discorso di Maria sia pronunciata ad alta voce è confermato dalla formula con cui riprende il piano diegetico, volta a precisare che Gabriele ha ascoltato espressioni che lo hanno turbato (68).

(64) Cf. X, *La peccatrice* 4, 8 Maisano, ὠθήσασα τὴν ἔννοιαν πρὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν.

(65) Cf., *ex. gr.*, Homerus, *Odyssea* 20, 18 (*Homeri Opera*, rec. T. W. Allen, IV, Oxford, 1908²) τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη.

(66) Cf. XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 27, 2 Maisano.

(67) Cf. XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 29, 4 Maisano.

(68) Cf. XXXVI, *Annunciazione*, I 7, 1 Maisano, Εὐθὺς ἀκούσας Γαβριὴλ τῶν τῆς παρθένου ῥημάτων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐταράχθη.

XXXVI. *Annunciazione*, I 8, 5-6 Maisano στέργω οὖν ἐγκαρτερῶν καὶ τῇ συζητούσῃ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν δίδωμι· / πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ὅπερ λέγω, ἀμώμητε ; Gabriele risponde alle domande di Maria, prima con un indispettito monologo, poi, una volta deciso di aver prudente riguardo verso Colui che dimora in lei ([69]), con un discorso segnalato come percepibile grazie a un dispiegamento di segnali. In primo luogo viene enunciata l'intenzione di fornire una risposta alla postulante, in quella che sembra l'ultima zona di testo ascrivibile al monologo ; poi si dà inizio al vero e proprio discorso diretto riproducendo quasi *verbatim* le parole che avevano segnato il passaggio tra il monologo di Maria e le domande indirizzate proprio a Gabriele : πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο, ὅπερ λέγω ([70]) ; infine, l'occorrenza del vocativo costituisce un ulteriore indizio del fatto che l'angelo stia indirizzando il suo discorso a una interlocutrice. Si osservi il perfetto parallelismo, certo non inusuale in Romano, tra la struttura compositiva del discorso di Maria, scandito in un dittico monologo-dialogo e l'analoga tessitura della replica di Gabriele.

XXXVIII. *La decapitazione del Precursore* 9, 1-3 Maisano Νῦν οὖν ἡσυχάσω καὶ μὴ δείξω τῇ παγκακούργῳ ἃ βουλεύομαι, / μήποτε σκέψηται καὶ εὕρῃ τοῦ ἐνθυμίου μου ἀναίρεσιν / ἡ τεχθεῖσα μου εἰς κόλασιν. Erodiade sta ribattendo, in un denso agone dialettico, alle ragioni addotte dalla figlia per esprimere il rifiuto a rendersi strumento del piano ordito per eliminare Giovanni. Dopo aver ribadito la certezza che la figlia obbedirà, anche se non vuole ([71]), Erodiade passa a considerazioni silenziose su come portare a termine i suoi intenti, senza che la figlia, venuta a conoscenza dei suoi piani, possa riuscire a intralciarli. Il passaggio dal dialogo al monologo, che coincide con una forte scansione ritmico/musicale e compositiva (rappresentata dall'inizio di un οἶκος) è esplicitato dal nesso νῦν οὖν ἡσυχάσω καὶ μὴ δείξω.

XXXVIII. *La decapitazione del Precursore* 13, 5-7 Maisano δεῦρο οὖν, τέκνον, προσάξω σε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ / δῶρον καλὸν ὑποτάσσον Ἡρώ-

(69) Cf. XXXVI, *Annunciazione*, I 8, 2-4 Maisano, καὶ μὴ θέλων ἀνέχομαι, / ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπιδημῶν ἀγαναχτῶν ἀπολέσῃ με, / ὡς ποτε ἀπ' οὐρανῶν πταίσαντας ἀγγέλους εἰς ᾅδην ἔρριψεν.

(70) Cf. XXXVI, *Annunciazione*, I 6, 1 Maisano, Πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο ὃ λαλεῖς.

(71) Cf. XXXVIII, *La decapitazione del Precursore* 8, 9-11 Maisano, Γένηται ῥῆμα ἐμὸν / καὶ ὃ θέλω τελεῖται· καὶ μὴ θέλουσα ποιεῖς / τὴν βουλήν μου τὴν πρόσκαιρον.

δην ἡμῖν· / εἴσελθε, σπλάγχνον, χαρίτωσον τῷ ποδί σου. Erodiade passa dal monologo, in cui esprime la gioia per la prossima realizzazione dei desideri così a lungo covati ([72]), al dialogo in cui tale realizzazione prende forma grazie alla collaborazione della figlia. L'occorrenza dei due vocativi ([73]) identifica l'interlocutrice in una κλῖμαξ patetica espressa anche dall'avverbio δεῦρο e dall'imperativo εἴσελθε. Romano dispone i due passaggi dal dialogo al monologo e dal monologo al dialogo nei due discorsi di Erodiade in modo da formare un chiasmo.

XLII. *Isacco benedice Giacobbe* 9, 1 Maisano Νῦν ἔγγισόν μου, τέκνον μου, καὶ ψηλαφήσω σε τάχος. Isacco in un monologo si interroga sull'eventualità che, dietro la velocità con cui è stata esaudita la sua richiesta, si nasconda un inganno, ma si risolve infine a credere che colui che gli sta davanti sia Esaù e passa al dialogo, chiedendogli di avvicinarsi per accertarsi definitivamente, palpandolo, della sua identità. Una serie di indicatori rende manifesta la modificazione nel tipo di discorso : l'avverbio νῦν ([74]), l'imperativo, l'occorrenza del pronome personale.

XLII. *Isacco benedice Giacobbe* 9, 6 Maisano δεῦρο οὖν, ὦ σπλάγχνον, καὶ καταφίλησον μὲ νῦν καὶ ἔνεγκε τὸ ἔδεσμα. Isacco, mentre tocca colui che gli sta davanti, pensa che la voce è di Giacobbe, ma le mani di Esaù. A voce alta gli ordina di baciarlo e di portargli il cibo

(72) Cf. XXXVIII, *La decapitazione del Precursore* 13, 3-4 Maisano.

(73) Per il vocativo e un sostantivo che identifichino il personaggio cui ci si rivolge, cioè che evidenzino il cambio di interlocutore all'interno di sequenze mimetiche pure, cioè non intervallate dalla διήγησις, cf. L. R. Cresci, *Tipologie di inserzione della μίμησις nella διήγησις : l'omelia bizantina*, in corso di stampa. Analoga funzione è svolta dall'occorrenza di un pronome personale all'esordio di un discorso diretto : cf., *ex. gr.*, XIV, *La resurrezione di Lazzaro*, I 12, 1-2 Ῥυπαρὰ ῥήματα καὶ αἰσχύνης μεστὰ φθέγγει μοι / Ἅιδῃ τῷ φίλῳ σου ; XXVI, *Resurrezione*, III 4, 1 Ῥῆξαι τὸ χειρόγραφόν σου οὐδείς σου προίσταται ; *ibid.* 5, 1 Ὥστε καὶ πληγὰς δι' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἂν παραιτήσηται ; XXXI, *I santi apostoli* 19, 1 Ψῆφος ὑμᾶς καλεῖ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ; XXXVIII, *La decapitazione del Precursore* 10, 7 Τί σοι προσάξω ; XLIII, *Il patriarca Giuseppe* 20, 1 Maisano Ὑμεῖς, πρὸς ἃ λέγετε, εἰ θέλετε πεῖσαί με, ὃ λέγω ποιήσατε.

(74) L'avverbio νῦν rappresenta spesso un segnale di passaggio tra un interlocutore e l'altro, all'interno di uno scambio dialogico non interrotto da chiose diegetiche : cf. II, *Natale*, II, 9, 1 Νῦν, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς ψυχῆς μου. XXVI, *Resurrezione*, III, 8, 1 Νῦν μέμνησαι ῥημάτων ἐμῶν ; XXXI, *I santi apostoli*, 15, 1 Νῦν μὴ ταράσσεσθε τῇ καρδίᾳ ; XLI, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* 22, 1 Νυνὶ στεῖλον τὴν χεῖρά σου ; L, *Il ricco e Lazzaro*, 19, 1 Maisano, Νῦν τῆς προσκαίρου ἀπάτης ἀπήλαυσα.

richiesto : lo scioglimento del dubbio non è enunciato, ma risolto drammaticamente nell'azione, grazie allo slittamento dalle parole pensate a quelle pronunciate. Anche questo secondo passaggio è reso esplicito dall'addensarsi di segnali : l'avverbio δεῦρο, il vocativo e l'imperativo.

c. *Indicazioni mimiche*

La διήγησις accompagna spesso l'introduzione di un discorso diretto con annotazioni precise sulla mimica del personaggio che si appresta a parlare. Non manca però anche la segnalazione di un gesto inserita nella μίμησις.

XXV. *Resurrezione*, II 8, 4-5 Maisano τὸ βλέμμα μου δὲ πέμπειν οὐδ' ἑτέρῳ κατεθάρρησα, ὅτι πάντες ἠπείλουν μοι· / διὸ ἐγκρύψας τὴν μορφὴν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν γονάτων μου, δακρύων ἐβόησα. Hades risponde alle domande del locutore ed espone nei particolari la propria sconfitta cioè la Resurrezione di Cristo ([75]). Umiliato, legato, stordito, Hades descrive la postura corporea che assume, espressiva del suo totale annientamento ([76]), che anticipa il senso del lamento che si appresta a pronunciare ([77]). Questo lamento è un inserto mimetico in una sezione mimetica, poiché trova spazio nel discorso diretto di Hades: qui l'indicazione della gestualità che accompagna il discorso, solitamente fornita dalla διήγησις, si sposta analogamente, pur con le stesse funzioni, sul livello mimetico.

Conclusioni

La densa impaginazione compositiva dei contaci di Romano il Melodo si contraddistingue per la ricchezza degli schemi tipologici che guidano l'inserzione della μίμησις nel tessuto diegetico. I protagonisti delle vicende scritturali rievocate, spiegate, commentate dall'omelia in versi pronunciano discorsi diretti che riproducono tutte le modalità che la voce umana può esplorare. Dialoghi serrati, monologhi, parole pronunciate a bassa voce perché nessuno dei presenti o solo uno di essi possano udirli, parole che i fedeli ascoltano, ma che devono immaginare come comunicate in modo misterioso, non afferrabile dai sensi umani, monologhi che sfociano nel dialogo e dibattiti che si rinserrano nel monologo. Altri di-

(75) Cf. XXV, *Resurrezione*, II 3, 1-12, 4 Maisano.
(76) Cf. Maisano, *Cantici*, I, p. 535, n. 13.
(77) Cf. XXV, *Resurrezione*, II 8, 6-8 Maisano.

scorsi, infine, che esprimono lo stato d'animo o il giudizio unanime di un gruppo che si esprime all'unisono. Tutte le sfumature e le modulazioni della comunicazione trovano spazio nel contacio, perché la complessità della dimensione «drammatica» li richiede e al contempo ne è determinata.

Un gamma tipologica così ampia di modalità mimetiche trova puntuale segnalazione grazie a «didascalie» fornite prevalentemente, ma non esclusivamente, dalla διήγησις, improntate a una varietà di strategie espressive che dimostra assenza di meccanicità o schematismo compositivo. Spesso l'indicazione di «come» i fedeli devono intendere pronunciato il discorso di un personaggio non si risolve nell'enunciazione di un dato funzionale, ma è promossa a strumento di approfondimento dell'ἦθος, di accentuazione della dialettica tra protagonisti, anche di enfatizzazione dell'antitesi tra silenzio e λόγος.

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SUMMARY

In Romanos Melodos' Kontakia the characters of the Holy Scriptures deliver many direct speeches. Romanos supplies the audience with various indications concerning such speeches : these indications recur both in the narrative frame and in the speeches themselves. This paper aims at the identification of the way used by Romanos to let the audience know whether a speech is a monologue or is delivered in a low voice or secretly or, at last, jointly exposed by many characters. Another target of this paper is to find out the means used by the characters to draw the attention of the audience on the change of the speech from monologue to dialogue and *vice versa*.

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE GREAT PALACE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPERORS AT CONSTANTINOPLE DURING THE SIXTH TO NINTH CENTURIES

Introduction

In a series of important publications Simon Ellis has discussed the end of Roman secular elite domestic architecture in the Mediterranean, identifying the characteristics of high-status houses and demonstrating that such buildings were no longer erected after the late sixth century. This is, of course, consistent with other evidence suggesting widespread late sixth- and seventh-century transformations in material culture in Europe and around the Mediterranean (1).

This paper seeks to show that, while Ellis' work remains of central importance to understanding Late Roman secular architecture, this pattern was not true of the Great Palace at Constantinople. There, Roman-style buildings may have continued to be built until at least the early ninth century.

The Peristyle and Apsed Hall in the Great Palace

The largest excavated part of the Late Antique Great Palace so far published is a rectilinear porticoed courtyard with a mosaic floor (the Peristyle) with an apsed room (the Apsed Hall) adjoining its eastern side

(1) The most important of Ellis' many publications for the argument in this paper are : S. Ellis, *The End of the Roman House*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92 (1988), pp. 565-576 ; Id., *Early Byzantine Housing*, in K. Dark (ed.), *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 37-52 ; Id., *The Seedier Side of Antioch*, in I. Sandwell and J. Huskinson (eds.), *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 126-133 (p. 132).

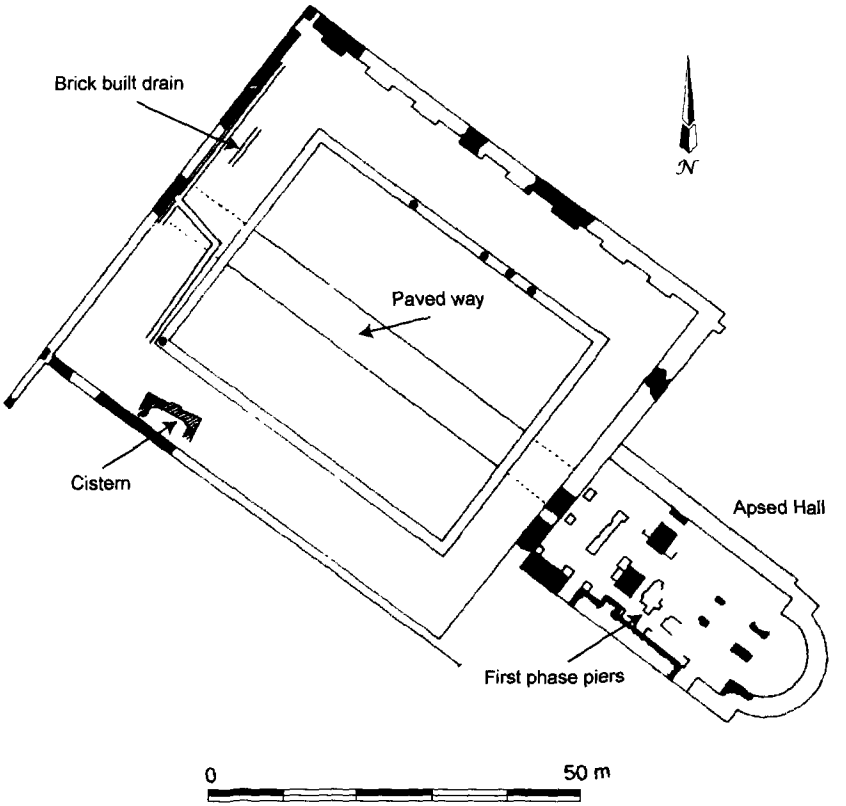

FIG. 1. — The Peristyle and Apsed Hall.

(fig. 1). Together these form what has been termed the 'Peristyle and Apsed Hall complex'. This is an excellent example of Ellis' 'Type 1 house', considered by him to be the main form of Late Roman high-status domestic building (2).

(2) The excavations that discovered the complex were reported in : G. BRETT, W. J. MACAULAY and R. B. K. STEVENSON, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, First Report*, Oxford, 1947, and D. TALBOT RICE (ed.), *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, Edinburgh, 1958. See also : M. M. MANGO, *Great Palace*, in S. E. J. GERSTEL and J. A. LAUFFENBERGER (eds.), *A Lost Art Rediscovered. The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium*, University Park PA, 2001, pp. 172-175 ; E. YÜCEL, *The Great Palace Mosaic Museum*, Istanbul, 1987. For the only later excavation : W. JOBST, R. KASTLER and Veronika

However, the excavated sequence from the site begins long before the Peristyle and Apsed Hall. The earliest features are a high artificial terrace contemporary with, or later than, a brick-built two-tier arched structure supporting a marble path ('the Paved Way'). An enigmatic collapsed brick wall also seems to be early in the sequence, but its function and relationship to other features are unclear. Even a brick-built cistern found in the upper terrace make-up was cut by the foundations of the first of the two phases of the Peristyle, again suggesting a lengthy sequence before the Peristyle was built. The Apsed Hall also shows evidence of two phases of construction. The first was represented only by piers below the later walls ; the second is directly associated with the Phase 2 Peristyle. This suggests that two successive Type 1 houses probably stood on the same site (3).

SCHEIBELREITER (edds.), *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, 273), Vienna, 1999 ; W. JOBST, *Der Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel und seine Mosaiken*, in *Antike Welt*, 118 (1987), pp. 2-22 ; W. JOBST, B. ERDAL and C. GURTNER, *Istanbul. Büyük Saray Mozayiği. Araştırmalar, Onarım ve Sergileme 1983-1997 / Istanbul. Das Grosse Byzantinische Palastmosaik. Seine Erforschung, Konservierung und Präsentation 1983-1997 / Istanbul. The Great Palace Mosaic. The story of its exploration, preservation and exhibition 1983-1997*, Istanbul, 1997 (for a bibliography of archaeological work up to 1997 on the Palace : p. 87).

(3) For an excellent recent critical summary of the excavated sequence : J. BARDILL, *Brickstamps of Constantinople* (*Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology*), Oxford, 2004, pp. 134-147 ; W. JOBST and C. GURTNER, *Mosaikenforschung 1995. Bericht uber die Arbeiten am Palastmosaik in Istanbul*, in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 133 (1997 for 1996), pp. 11-27. For other discussions of the excavated sequence : W. JOBST, *Zur Archäologie des Kaiserpalastes von Konstantinopel*, in W. JOBST and H. VETTERS (eds.), *Mosaikenforschungen im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel. Vorbericht über das Forschungs- und Restaurierungsprojekt am Palastmosaik in den Jahren 1983-1988* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften*, 228), Vienna, 1992, pp. 9-42 ; BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, p. 147 ; J. KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire : The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors Reconsidered*, in DARK, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 4-36 (pp. 16-17) ; J. KOSTENEC, *Observations on the Great Palace of Constantinople : The Sanctuaries of the Archangel Michael, The Daphne Palace, and the Magnaura*, in *Reading Medieval Studies*, 31 (2005), pp. 27-57 (p. 30 and 50).

Dating the Peristyle and Apsed Hall : *terminus post quem* dating

Much of the later debate surrounding the excavated evidence has been given over to discussion of the dating of the splendid mosaic that adorned the Phase 2 Peristyle. Dates from the early Roman period to the late seventh century have been suggested for the floor, although without any consensus being reached. The most important recent attempts to date the complex itself are by Werner Jobst (the latest excavator of the site) and his team, by Jonathan Bardill, and by Jan Kostenec. Jobst favours a date during the reign of Justinian I (527-565), Bardill prefers the late sixth or early seventh century, and Kostenec argues for the beginning of the reign of Heraclius (610-641). The following discussion in this paper would not have been possible without the valuable work of these three scholars nor, of course, that of the 1930s-1950s excavators who originally identified and excavated the Peristyle and Apsed Hall (4).

The difficulty in dating the mosaic has been largely the result of the lack of direct evidence from the excavation. Stratified ceramics have usually been relied upon to resolve the problem of dating the complex. The most recent excavation discovered sherds of Phocaean Red Slip Ware (PRSW) Form 3E, and Gaza and North African amphora sherds in contexts stratigraphically earlier than the Peristyle. These, and previous records of sherds of PRSW Form 3F, together provide a *terminus post quem* of c. AD 500 for the Phase 1 Peristyle. The lack of later material below the floor, and textual evidence for large-scale rebuilding in the Palace during the reign of Justinian I, prompted Jobst to propose that the mosaic belongs to Justinian I's reconstruction of the Great Palace (5).

However, Bardill has credibly argued for a later *Teminus Post Quem* for the structures. According to his analysis, brickstamps from the cistern below the Phase 1 Peristyle provide it with a *terminus post quem* of 518. If any chronological importance is attached to the use of the dative case

(4) P. Tunrovsky, *Typologie und Chronologie des Fundstoffes unter dem Palastmosaik*, in Jobst, *Neue Forschungen*, pp. 55-62 ; J. Bardill and J. W. Hayes, *Excavations beneath the Peristyle Mosaic in the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors : The Pottery from Site D, 1936*, in *CA*, 50 (2002), pp. 27-40 ; Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 137-140.

(5) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 145-146.

in the brickstamp inscriptions, he argues, then this might suggest a post-Justinianic date for the stamps. This argument, based on *in situ* stamps, again seems convincing. One may accept that 518 is a credible *terminus post quem* for the cistern, with the possibility that it was constructed in the post-Justinianic period (6).

Bardill has built on this by drawing on other evidence. He notes a possible reference to a *skribōn* – a title not attested prior to 545 – on brickstamps found stratigraphically pre-dating the Apsed Hall. However, as he recognises, the use of this title is uncertain : *skriniarios* – carrying no such chronological implications – may be intended (7).

Bardill also argues that a loose brick bearing a monogram of Maurice (582-602) found in the antechamber of the Apsed Hall, might be used to date this structure. Nevertheless, this loose brick might have fallen from a repair to the vault, or from dumped rubble from another structure after the disuse of the Apsed Hall, so cannot be used to afford a *terminus post quem* of 582 for the construction of the structure (8).

A *terminus post quem* of 518, then, applies to the cistern. This may, in turn, be used to date the Phase 1 Peristyle to 518 or later. In theory, of course, the cistern and Peristyle could have been built within a single year. The only direct evidence that the cistern dates to after 518 is the use of the dative on brickstamps incorporated in the structure, and this is of uncertain significance (9).

Bardill has dated the latest bricks in the structure supporting the Paved Way to the early sixth century, and similar bricks were also recorded in the first phase of structures on the site of the later Apsed Hall. However, this provides no extra assistance in dating the Phase 1 Peristyle, as they could represent material of the same date or earlier than the brickstamps in the cistern. The *terminus post quem* for the Phase 1 Peristyle remains, then, set at 518 but the Paved Way was also probably an early sixth-century or later feature (10).

There is one dateable brickstamp from the piers below the Apsed Hall. This was probably found *in situ* and may be dated to the sixth century but

(6) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, pp. 114, 146.
(7) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, pp. 142-143, 147.
(8) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, p. 142.
(9) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, p. 136.
(10) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, pp. 143 and 145.

it was from a repair, so it does not provide a *terminus post quem* for the structure, simply for the repair ([11]).

As the first phase of structures below the Apsed Hall and Paved Way were probably built in the early sixth century or later, and the Phase 1 Peristyle dates from 518 or later, the whole sequence – in principle – could be encompassed within the early sixth century. Even if one accepts that the cistern is post-Justinianic, the entire sequence could be (but need not to be) wholly sixth-century. This would be consistent with the usual dating of Type 1 houses, of which the latest known example is the 'Villa of Hermione' dated to the late sixth century ([12]).

Dating the Peristyle and Apsed Hall : *terminus ante quem* dating

A marble floor overlay the mosaic in the Phase 2 Peristyle. Bardill argues that a brick-built drain cutting the marble floor provides a *terminus ante quem* for the mosaic in the Phase 2 Peristyle. This argument rests on the fact that this drain was constructed of unstamped bricks of similar size to the latest (late sixth-century) stamped examples. Glazed Constantinopolitan White Ware sherds datable to the seventh century were found in the fill of the drain, giving this deposit a *terminus post quem* of the (early ?) seventh-century. Bardill goes on to suggest that the entire sequence must also pre-date the twelfth century, because midden deposits containing twelfth-century pottery are stratigraphically later than the Phase 2 Peristyle and Apsed Hall ([13]).

Finds from the fill of this drain afford a *terminus post quem* date to the fill, not the drain. As they do not absolutely date the fill they cannot provide a *terminus ante quem*. Likewise, although the brick-sizes might give a *terminus post quem* for the brick-built feature, they can only be dated in

(11) The latest Type 1 house is noted in : Ellis, *Early Byzantine Housing*, in Dark, *Secular Buildings*, pp. 37-52 (p. 38). Ellis considers that the last *floruit* of peristyle construction at Antioch and Sardis was under Theodosius II : Ellis, *The Seedier Side*, pp. 126-133 (p. 132).

(12) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 102-106, 144-146. Jan Kostenec has suggested to me that the palace at Qasr ibn-Wardan may be another example of a late sixth-century Type 1 house.

(13) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 111-112, 143.

a relative manner and cannot give a *terminus ante quem*. This feature does not, then, provide a *terminus ante quem* for the layers that it cuts ([14]).

The same argument applies to the pottery in the midden deposits overlying the complex. Twelfth-century pottery gives a *terminus post quem* of the twelfth century to the layers in which it was found, but cannot afford a *terminus ante quem* for the underlying sequence. While these layers might have been deposited in the twelfth century, they could be redeposited material. That is, neither of the suggested *terminus ante quem* dates is stratigraphically valid.

Dating the Peristyle and Apsed Hall : Architectural and Historical Evidence

Previous studies have also used construction methods, sculpted architectural elements and the art of the mosaic to try to date the buildings and floor. The construction methods used in the stone-built elements of the complex are not sufficiently distinctive to go beyond the evidence provided by the brickstamps for a sixth-century or later date. These seem to have their closest analogies in sixth-century buildings, but this may be due to a lack of absolutely dated seventh-century analogies. Ionic impost column capitals found in the cistern probably also date, on typological grounds, to the sixth century but could have been re-used ([15]).

Bardill's opinion is that the small size of the bricks in the Peristyle, Apsed Hall, cistern and later structures – compared with those used in Justinianic buildings – supports a post-Justinianic date for the complex. Using mean sizes, based on dateable buildings and stamped bricks, he argues that the bricks of the cistern, the Apsed Hall and the Phase 2 Peristyle resemble those of stamped bricks of the later sixth century, and in particular of the reign of Maurice or that of Justin II ([16]).

While Bardill has shown that general trends in brick size exist, the validity of precise comparison between the size of bricks in different functional contexts or from one site to another remains uncertain. Bricks may have been re-used for centuries, even in an imperial palace, so that brick size – while probably decreasing through the sixth century – can be

(14) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 137-138, 144.
(15) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, pp. 137-138, 144.
(16) Bardill, *Brickstamps*, p. 146.

only a general guide to the date of a structure and, in particular, to relative chronology. No dated bricks are known from after the reign of Maurice and (apart from parts of Hagia Sophia and its adjacent structures and the eighth-century phase of Hagia Eirene) dateable structures are lacking until the ninth century. Thus, while one can accept the bricks as post-Justinianic, this provides only a *terminus post quem* for the cistern and later buildings ([17]).

The art of the mosaic may clarify when the Phase 2 Peristyle was constructed. As we have seen, the date of the mosaic is not that of the first phase of the complex. Most dates proposed for the mosaic are too early to accommodate the dates required by the pottery and brickstamps, let alone the brick sizes, but Trilling's careful analysis of the art led him to assign the floor to the reign of Heraclius. This would be consistent with, but is not necessitated by, the dating material discussed above. If this was the date of the Phase 2 Peristyle, it would render this the latest Type 1 house in the Roman world ([18]).

Trilling saw the Phase 2 mosaic as stylistically seventh-century and linked to both Eastern and Western Roman floors. The Eastern context of the floor may account for its Eastern Roman aspects, especially if it was composed and laid by Constantinopolitan artists. However, its Western Roman features require explanation. It is strikingly different from all of the other mosaic floors currently known from Byzantine Constantinople.

(17) KOSTENEC, *Observations*, pp. 50-51. Jan Kostenec and the author are currently undertaking a detailed study of the relevant parts of Hagia Sophia and adjacent structures. The first publication of this is forthcoming in the journal *Architectura*.

(18) TRILLING's contribution is published as : J. TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire : Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople*, in *DOP*, 43 (1989), pp. 27-72. For other discussions of the date of the floor : M. M. MANGO, *Imperial Art in the Seventh Century*, in P. MAGDALINO (ed.), *New Constantines : the Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium 4th-13th Centuries* (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications*, 2), Aldershot, 1994, pp. 131-134 ; P. J. NORDHAGEN, *The Mosaics of the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, in *BZ*, 56 (1963), pp. 53-68 ; P. J. NORDHAGEN, *The Mosaics of the Great Palace of Constantinople : a Note on an Archaeological Puzzle*, in L. RYDÉN and J. O. ROSENQVIST (eds.), *Aspects of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (*Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, Transactions*, 4), Uppsala, 1993, pp. 167-171 ; Katherine M. D. DUNBABIN, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 132-134.

FIG. 2. — Images of Africa on the Phase 2 Peristyle mosaic (after Erdem Yücel).

There are at least eleven other floor mosaics from the city : three from within or near the Great Palace, one at Hagia Sophia, one from the Darülfünun site near Hagia Sophia, one near the Basilica cistern, one from the Vilayet building, one on Sait Efendi sk. west of the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii), one from Koça Mustafa Paşa and another from the Belediye Saray. Fragments of a mosaic floor, or floors, were also found at Saraçhane. An, as yet unpublished, floor mosaic is also said to have been found near Kalenderhane in 2003 and, also unpublished, fragments of mosaic – possibly from one or more floors – are said to have been found in the Yenikapı metro station excavation in 2006 ([19]).

(19) TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire*. For floor mosaics in Constantinople : BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, vol. 1, p. 419 ; N. ASGARI, *Istanbul temel kazılarından haberler – 1983*, in *Araştırma sonuçları toplantısı*, 2 (1983), pp. 45-46, figures 12-19 ; F. DÜZGUNER, *Analpous Ve Prookhthoi'de Yeni Buluntular. Hagia Maria Hodegetria ve Nea Ekklesia (Mesakepion), Kiliseleri*, in N. BASGELEN and B. JOHNSON (eds.), *Myth to Modernity*, 1, *Istanbul. Selected Themes*, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 32-50 (fig. 8, plate 3-4, pp. 37-38) ; Istanbul Archaeological Museum (trans. V. BULGURLU), *Palatium Magnum. Exhibition of the Excavation Finds. Area of the Great* Palace, Istanbul, 2002, pp. 9, 13-15 ; A. M. SCHNEIDER, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul*, Berlin, 1941, p. 5, plate 12.1

None of these is known to consist of the sort of elaborate array of scenes seen on the Peristyle mosaic. The patterns are typically geometric rather than figural, with mythological figures on just two of eight mosaics where details are known of the design. Nor is the quality of the mosaic work nearly as accomplished : human and animal figures are comprised of larger tesserae or more inexpertly outlined.

As Trilling observed, the most striking aspect of the floor is that it has distinctively North African features. Trilling emphasised those relating to style, but the content of the imagery is also remarkably African – a point which he does not extensively discuss. For example, the motifs include camels, African elephants, palm trees and monkeys (fig. 2). Africa was the only part of the Eastern Roman world in the sixth and seventh centuries where elephants and monkeys were common. Depictions of camels were used to emphasise the North African locations in Roman art and the characteristic dome-shaped reed hut often used to designate North Africa on Roman mosaics and in manuscript art is also shown. Other motifs may also have carried African associations, but are less certain ([20]).

and unnumbered overall site plan ; J. B. WARD-PERKINS, *Notes on the Structure and Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture*, in TALBOT RICE, *The Great Palace*, pp. 52-104 (p. 65) ; T. F. MATHEWS, *The Art of Byzantium. Between Antiquity and the Renaissance* (*The Everyman Art Library*), London, 1998, p. 76 ; M. I. TUNAY, *Byzantine Archaeological Findings in Istanbul during the Last Decade*, in N. NECIPOĞLU (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, 33), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2001, pp. 217-234 (pp. 228-229, 229-230 fig. 18) ; W. KLEISS, *Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan von Istanbul. Verzeichnis der Denkmäler und Fundorte*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1967, p. 8 ; R. M. HARRISON and G. R. J. LAWSON, *The Mosaics in front of the Vilayet Building in Istanbul*, in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, 13-14 (1967), pp. 216-218 : N. FIRATLI, *Recent Important Finds in Istanbul*, in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*, 15-16 (1969), pp. 175-179, 182-187, 191-196 (pp. 193-194 and figs. 8-9) ; R. M. HARRISON and M. GILL, *The Mosaics* in, R. M. HARRISON, *Excavations At Saraçhane In Istanbul*, I, Princeton, 1986, pp. 182-196 (p. 182). An unpublished floor mosaic is displayed *in situ* in the restaurant of the Eresin Crown Hotel, this is counted here.

(20) TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire*, pp. 39-40, 43, 68. For the mosaics of North Africa and their characteristics : DUNBABIN, *Mosaics*, ch. 7 ; D. PARRISH, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, Rome, 1984 ; M. BLANCHARD-LEMÉE *et al., Mosaics of Roman Africa : Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*, London and New York, 1996 ; M. H. FANTAR *et al., La Mosaïque en Tunisie*, Paris and Tunis, 1994. Note especially : J. BALTY, *Thèmes nilotiques dans la mosaïque tardive du*

FIG. 3. — Mock chariot race on the Phase 2 Peristyle mosaic (after Erdem Yücel).

In fact, of 78 images on the mosaic, no fewer than 20 may relate to Africa. There are no African scenes on any of the other mosaics known from the city and no other province or area within the Empire is certainly referenced on the mosaic. However, as Trilling noted, there are other themes to the programme of design. Warfare and violence feature prominently on the mosaic : 31 images relate to these topics and another 21 relate to hunting. The remaining subjects (including several of the African images) largely concern rejoicing and plenty. One image may represent either Samson and the lion or Heracles defeating Cerebus. Youths and children seem particularly represented among the human figures, accounting for 80% of the total. The adults often wear green patches on their tunics, presumably recalling the Greens, while there is a single mock chariot-racing image – also perhaps paralleled in North Africa (fig. 3) ([21]).

Whatever the reason for the African images, they may imply a date for the floor between the Byzantine conquest of the region in 532 and the loss of North Africa in 697, when African images juxtaposed with pictures of violence and rejoicing might have seemed inappropriate. That is, the

Proche-Orient, in N. BONACASA e A. DI VITA (eds.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, Rome, 1984, pp. 827-834. See also : J. BALTY, *Mosaïques Antiques du Proche-Orient : Chronologie, Iconographie, Interprétation*, Paris, 1995.

(21) TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire*, p. 55 ; KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire*, p. 15. The North African parallel (from Carthage) for the mock chariot-racing scene is cited in : R. J. A. WILSON, *Piazza Armerina*, St. Albans, 1983, p. 60.

Phase 2 Peristyle has a *terminus post quem* of 518, but may be more convincingly assigned to after c. 565 on the basis of brick sizes. It was floored with mosaics probably laid before 697 and so probably dates between c. 565-697.

As Trilling recognised, these images are probably not random and convey a message that was important enough to merit a new floor to display it. The discussion so far suggests that this message may be understood as relating North Africa to rejoicing, violence and youth. It is unlikely that the North African scenes are just present because the area was a major centre for Late Antique mosaic production, as it was the patron who usually determined the design of mosaic floors ([22]).

The use of African imagery could be seen as celebrating the Byzantine conquest of North Africa. This would account for the images of violence and rejoicing and the African allusions. A mosaic commemorating the victory need not, of course, have been laid in 532 but its later commemoration would require a specific explanation. Of subsequent emperors, Justin II might most have wanted to recall Justinian I's glories to legitimise his own succession as the emperor's nephew, and he is said to have built the famous Chrysotriklinos in another part of the Great Palace. However, this would not leave much time for the excavated sequence, unless the complex was built and remodelled within his reign ([23]).

More convincingly, Trilling suggested that the North African origins of the emperor Heraclius might explain the African content of the mosaic. This case is strengthened by the greater African element noted above, and the importance placed on youth in the mosaic. Walter Kaegi has recently argued that Heraclius was extremely keen to emphasise his children in imperial propaganda and organised a ceremony in which one rode in a chariot. Four Indian elephants – the only non-African real animal here – played a role in his triumph of 631. Moreover, if one image depicts Heracles, then this might even be a visual pun on the name Heraclius and reference to his defeat of Phocas (602-610). Heraclius was highly educated and widely enough travelled to combine all the visual components seen on the floor ([24]).

(22) TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire.*

(23) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, p. 39.

(24) For Heraclius' African background, his imperial propaganda and emphasis on his children, Indian elephants, travel, education and knowledge of the pun : W. KAEGI, *Heraclius. Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 25-35,

So, the mosaic seems to relate to a series of images that we can connect specifically with Heraclius, but which would make little sense in relation to other rulers. This would be appropriate to Trilling's dating to the 630s or – arguably with the exception of the Indian elephants – to Kostenec's early Heraclian date ([25]).

This does not, of course, resolve the questions of when the Phase 1 Peristyle was constructed or why it was replaced. The fact that the complex was rebuilt, not redecorated, suggests that this represented an abrupt transition of some sort. Given the courtly context, an obvious possibility is that another emperor chose to build anew. It is perhaps likely that the Phase 1 Peristyle was constructed by one of Heraclius' later sixth- or seventh-century predecessors, although there is no archaeological reason why both phases could not be Heraclian.

Justin II (565-78) built structures in the city centre and at Blachernae. Tiberius (578-82) is said to have remodelled the Great Palace, destroying a garden 'in the middle of the palace' in the process. Maurice (582-602) is said to have undertaken extensive building in the Blachernae and to have built suburban palaces at Bryas and Damatrys, in addition to repairing other structures. Phocas built a church close to the Milion, a column and cistern east of the Church of the Forty Martyrs, extended the land walls near Blachernae, and restored the Magnaura ([26]).

However, Maurice and Phocas are not known to have initiated any major structures within the Great Palace itself. So the most likely candidates – if we assume that Phase 1 is earlier than 610, and that phases of large-scale palace construction were generally recorded – are probably Justin II or (as Kostenec has recently suggested) Tiberius ([27]).

Taking it at its simplest, the brick-size in the cistern and later structures might support the view that Tiberius constructed the Phase 1 complex. If

52, 63, 210, 215 ; TRILLING, *The Soul of the Empire*, pp. 40, 46, 52 ; Sarah BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 260, n. 37, suggests that the image of Heracles was also associated with the circus elsewhere.

(25) KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire*, pp. 16-17.

(26) JOHN of EPHESUS, *Ecclesiastical History* III, 23. For a translation of the relevant passage : C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453*, Prentice Hall, New York, 1972, p. 128 ; BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, pp. 38-39.

(27) BARDILL, *Brickstamps*, pp. 38-39 ; C. MANGO, *The Palace of the Boukoleon*, in *CA*, 45 (1997), pp. 41-50 ; KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire*, pp. 16-17 ; KOSTENEC, *Observations*, p. 32.

one argues for such a date, then the Paved Way might even relate to the garden 'in the middle of the palace' destroyed by Tiberius, with the path leading to a pavilion or gazebo near the terrace edge ([28]). On stricter archaeological reasoning, Phase 1 might be attributed to Justin II or any subsequent emperor up to Heraclius, assuming that he built Phase 2.

The function of the complex

Much discussion has attempted to recognise the structure among the textually-attested features of the Great Palace, without resolution. For example, as Kostenec has recently shown, the complex is unlikely to be the Justinianos built by Justinian II (685-95), his Phiale for the Greens, or the earlier Augusteus ([29]).

Finds and other excavated evidence provide little information about the function of the complex. The sixth- and seventh-century pottery is only generally associated with the structures and its horizontal distribution is unhelpful in determining their use. No fixtures or other artefacts definitely associated with the Phase 1 or Phase 2 Peristyle or Apsed Hall were found, other than those that had probably formed part of the structure itself.

The architectural form of the complex would, as a Type 1 house, suggest a role in the reception of clients. This would account for the small interior area and plan of the Apsed Hall, which may suggest a monumentalised space for receiving guests rather than a dining hall or residential room.

Most more specific interpretations suffer from a lack of evidence. However, the Phase 2 mosaic may provide hitherto undiscussed evidence in support of Kostenec's suggestion that the Peristyle was used for receptions for the circus factions. If the figures shown wear patches on their clothes at all, these patches are always green. In conjunction with an image recalling chariot racing, unless similar figures depicting the Blues existed in the destroyed parts of the mosaic, this may suggest a possible

(28) For palace gardens : A. Littlewood, *Gardens of the Palaces*, in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Washington, D.C., 1997, p. 1338

(29) Kostenec, *The Heart of the Empire*, pp. 16-17 ; Id., *Observations*, pp. 32 and 50.

association between the complex and the Greens. An obvious context for this would be imperial receptions of the Greens ([30]).

If one accepts that the Phase 2 mosaic was propagandist in purpose, then the use of the complex for receiving representatives of the mass of the urban populace would afford the opportunity to reach a broad audience. This might also be an audience particularly susceptible to both imperial grandeur and visual images, and one that might be targeted by the graphic scenes of violence and sport depicted in the mosaic.

Given our lack of texts describing the seventh-century Great Palace it is hardly surprising that this complex was not mentioned in the context of such receptions. By the date of our best accounts of Palace topography, in the ninth- to eleventh-centuries, the Peristyle and Apsed Hall might have been disused or used for another purpose. However, the silence of our written sources should not deter us from an archaeologically based interpretation of the complex's function.

Conclusions regarding the Peristyle and Apsed Hall

The Phase 1 Peristyle and Apsed Hall were probably built in the late sixth century, apparently replacing an earlier sixth-century building served by the Paved Way. This places the Phase 1 complex just within the known chronology of Type 1 houses. Phase 2 extends this chronology into the early seventh century and is the latest example of a Type 1 house known from the Roman Empire. It may also have the latest dateable domestic floor mosaic known from the Roman world ([31]).

(30) The animal-fighting scenes are unlikely to be intended to evoke real contests, as these had been banned by Anastasius I in 498 and the last recorded animal fight in Constantinople was in 537 – see : A. Cameron, *Porphyrius. The Charioteer*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 228-229, 537. They presumably have a metaphorical or antiquarian significance, as Trilling proposed. Note Huskinson's recent observation of an association of hunt scenes on mosaic floors with North Africa : J. Huskinson, *Surveying The Scene : Antioch Mosaic Pavements as a Source of Historical Evidence*, in Sandwell and Huskinson, *Culture and Society*, pp. 134-152 (pp. 141, 145). See also : I. Lavin, *Antioch Hunting Mosaics and their Sources*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 181-285.

(31) Kostenec, *The Heart of the Empire*, pp. 16-17.

The Phase 2 Peristyle and Apsed Hall shows that a totally 'Roman' building could still be constructed – and floored with first-rate mosaics – during the seventh century. As such, the complex and art of the mosaic have wider implications for current debates over the survival and transformation of Roman culture in the seventh century.

Nonetheless, the Phase 2 Peristyle was not the last Type 1 house built in the Palace. Theophanes Continuatus tells us that the Byzantine emperor Theophilus (829-842) built structures on the south and east of the Palace, and one of these – in the eastern part – is especially relevant here ([32]).

The Triconch-Sigma complex

Theophilus built a triconch hall ('the Triconch') with a porticoed semi-circular atrium ('the Sigma') to its west. Beneath the hall was a (differently aligned) triconch basement (the Mysterion) and a semi-circular substructure was located below the Sigma. These were built for imperial receptions and used to receive clients and, as they stood on a newly constructed terrace, were not refurbished structures ([33]).

The Triconch-Sigma complex has many close analogies with Type 1 houses belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries. Moreover, as Linda Mulvin has noted, triconch reception rooms appear in early Roman Italy and become increasingly popular up to the fourth century. They are truly Roman buildings. Thus, this was another architecturally Roman complex, and we are told that it was used for the reception of clients exactly as its architectural antecedents were used ([34]).

(32) I. Bekker (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia* (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1838, pp. 192-193. For a translation of the relevant passage : Mango, *The Art*, pp. 161-162.

(33) For Theophilus' structures as new ninth-century buildings : C. Mango, *The Palace of the Boukoleon*, pp. 41-50 (Appendix 1) ; C. Mango, *Ninth- to Eleventh-Century Constantinople : The Cultural Context*, in Gerstel and Lauffenberger, *A Lost Art Rediscovered*, pp. 9-10. For the ninth-century context of these : C. Mango, *Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople*, in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West : Art Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton, 1995, pp. 645-649.

(34) Linda Mulvin, *Late Roman villas in the Danube-Balkan Region*, Oxford, 2002, p. 42 ; Wilson, *Piazza Armerina*, p. 78.

Unlike the Peristyle and Apsed Hall, this structure has not been excavated. But it might be possible to locate it. Theophanes Continuatus tells us that it was 'directly facing you' as you enter the Palace '...by the [Church of Our] Lord' and was in the 'eastern part of the Palace'. The church was not far from the Chalke and the Magnaura in the north of the Palace complex, but also near the Covered Hippodrome. The Covered Hippodrome stood near to the seventh-century Justinianos. This was a (perhaps also triconch) reception hall, probably southwest of the Peristyle and Apsed Hall ([35]).

If Theophilus' complex stood on the eastern side of the Covered Hippodrome, then it was probably either just north or just south of the Peristyle and Apsed Hall. A northern location might be suggested by its proximity to the Chalke, Magnaura and Church of Our Lord, and by the relative lack of space on the terrace south of the Peristyle. It may also have been near the spiral stairway linking the 26 m and 32 m terraces just northwest of the Peristyle and near the Covered Hippodrome. Thus, it is likely to have been immediately north of the Peristyle and Apsed Hall complex discussed here ([36]).

This location resembles planning seen at Roman-period palaces such as Piazza Armerina, which also contained a triconch : sigma complex (fig. 4). There, Type 1 houses (one a triconch : sigma and another an apsed hall and rectilinear peristyle) stand next to each other, near an

(35) I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus*, p. 192. For a translation of the relevant passage : MANGO, *The Art*, p. 161. For the location and form of the structures referred to : KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire*, fig. 1.1 on p. 8, and pp. 11-14, 20-24 ; R. STICHEL, *Sechs kolossale Saulen nahe Hagia Sophia und die Curia Justinians am Augusteion in Konstantinopel*, in *Architectura*, 30 (2000), pp. 1-25 ; J. BARDILL, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations*, in *JRA*, 12 (1999), pp. 216-230 (p. 221) ; C. MANGO, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (*Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser udgivet af det Kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab*, 4, 4), Copenhagen 1959.

(36) For the role of the Covered Hippodrome : KOSTENEC, *The Heart of the Empire*, p. 15. For the relationship between the Sigma and the stairway : KOSTENEC, *Observations*, p. 29. For comparable Roman buildings : MULVIN, *Late Roman Villas*, fig. 91 ; A. CARANDINI, A. RICCI and M. DE VOS, *Filosofiana. La Villa di Piazza Armerina. Immagine di un aristocratico romano al tempo di Constantino*, Palermo, 1982 ; WILSON, *Piazza Armerina* ; J. WILKES, *Diocletian's palace, Split : Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor*, Sheffield, 1986, pp. 65-82.

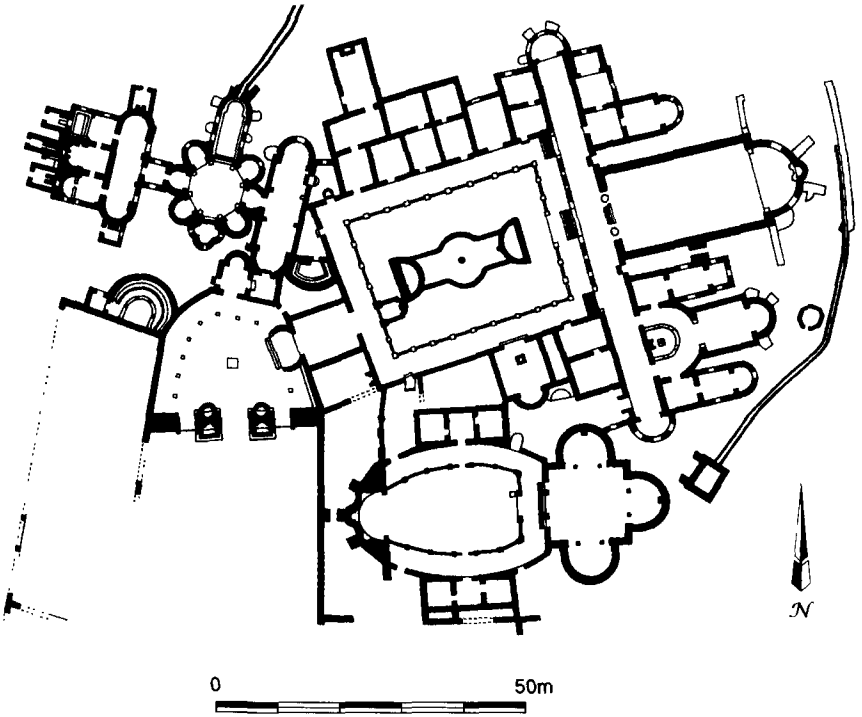

FIG. 4. — The villa at Piazza Armerina (after R. J. Wilson).

approximately semi-circular courtyard that may have acted as a vestibule to the complex. That is, although one cannot be sure, Theophilus may have sited his 'Roman' reception room according to Roman concepts of layout. It may be relevant that Theophilus was the first emperor since Justinian II to have undertaken major construction in the Palace. Perhaps he chose to emulate the visible models of the past in design, function and location ; perhaps they still seemed the 'natural' choice ([37]).

CONCLUSION

The evidence discussed here renders untenable the view that no Roman-style reception complexes were built after c. 600. Such com-

(37) WILSON, *Piazza Armerina*, fig. 1 on p. 12, pp. 12-43, fig. 50 on p. 76 A, B, F and n. 34 on p. 107.

plexes were built in the Great Palace until the ninth century. This supports other evidence concerning the longevity of Roman secular architecture in Constantinople, and suggests that the ninth-century Great Palace may have looked far more architecturally Roman than usually supposed. It also has wider implications for the degree of cultural change in the seventh century and for the potential relationship between Roman and medieval architectural styles ([38]).

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article réfute la thèse de Ellis selon laquelle les techniques caractérisant l'architecture séculière aristocratique de l'époque romaine ne furent plus utilisées après la fin du VIe siècle. L'auteur montre que ces techniques persistèrent plus longtemps, au moins jusqu'au IXe siècle, comme le prouve l'étude des vestiges du grand palais de Constantinople.

(38) For Roman secular domestic architecture in Middle Byzantine Constantinople : K. R. DARK, *Houses, Streets and Shops in Byzantine Constantinople from the Fifth to the Twelfth Centuries*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), pp. 83-107.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND CONTEXT OF EARLY BYZANTINE FARMING MANUALS

The Greek agricultural encyclopaedia known as the *Geoponica* has received only modest scholarly attention, despite its considerable importance within the history of the agrarian tradition of the Byzantine Empire and its Slavic neighbours. A compilation belonging to the mid-tenth century reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (A.D. 945-959), the text enjoyed considerable popularity in Middle and Late Byzantium : more than 50 manuscripts are known from the 11th century onwards.

R. H. Rodgers has taken up the challenge of creating a new edition and translation to replace the Teubner of H. Beckh (1). Rodgers's forthcoming text has been preceded by a number of studies on the sources and textual tradition of the *Geoponica*, which piqued the interest of a number of German philologists whose works remain valuable (2). Due to their work

(1) H. Beckh, *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici De re rustica Eclogae* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1895. Rodgers announced his intentions to issue a new text and translation in 1978 : R. H. Rodgers, *Varro and Virgil in the* Geoponica, in *GRBS* 19 (1978), pp. 277-285. See also Id., *The Apuleius of the Geoponica*, in *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 11 (1979), pp. 197-207 ; Id., *Κηποποιΐα : Garden Making and Garden Culture in the* Geoponika, in A. Littlewood, H. Maguire and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (eds.), *Byzantine Garden Culture*, Washington, D.C., 2002, pp. 159-175. The latter work provides an up-to date bibliography of works that I will not repeat here.

(2) W. Gemoll, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen, den Verfasser und die Abfassungszeit der Geoponica* (*Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie*, 1), Berlin, 1883, flawed but with a valuable data set. E. Oder, *Beiträge zur Geschichte bei den Griechen*, three parts : *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 45 (1890), pp. 58-99 ; 45 (1890), pp. 212-220 ; 48 (1893), pp. 1-40. H. Beckh, *De Geoponicorum codicibus manuscriptis*, Erlangen, 1886 ; E. Fehrle, *Richtlinien zur Textgestaltung der griechischen Geoponica*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 11 (1920), pp. 1-13 ; Id., *Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (*Stoicheia. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft*, 3), Leipzig, 1920.

it is known that the bulk of the material in the *Geoponica* comes from two late antique authors of the Greek East : the *scholasticus* Cassianus Bassus, who wrote a treatise *Περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί* probably in the sixth century, and Vindanius Anatolius Berytus, who produced the fourth-century *Συναγωγὴ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων*. Both authors relied on earlier sources about which we know very little. Photius in his *Bibliotheca* (*cod.* 163) informs us that Anatolius drew upon the work of Democritus, Africanus, Tarantinus, Apuleius, Florentinus, Valens, Leo, and Pamphilus, and the *Paradoxa* of Diophanes. Many of these authorities appear in the lemmata of the *Geoponica*, but those which have been checked against surviving sources have proven the basic unreliability of these attributions, while the authors cited in-text have fared better (3). It is not the purpose of this paper to revisit questions concerning the sources upon which Cassianus Bassus and Anatolius Berytus drew. Nor is it the intent of this piece to develop the interesting and complicated *Nachleben* of these texts after they were variously translated into Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, and Pahlavi (4). The present work rather focuses on the little that we know of the authors of the principle sources of the *Geoponica* noted above. It is furthermore a brief discussion of the cultural and geographical milieu in which both texts were produced.

Photios thought highly of the *Synagoge*, the most influential Greco-Roman agronomical treatise of Late Antiquity. It bulked large in Cassianus Bassus's later *Eclogues* and, of course, in the collection of the *Geoponica*. The Roman agricultural writer Palladius also drew upon the *Synagoge* in his farming manual (5). The existence of the text in Syriac and Arabic translation, and from the latter into Armenian links the *Synagoge* to the scientific agricultural tradition of medieval Mesopo-

(3) ODER, I, pp. 64-66 ; RODGERS, *Apuleius*, p. 197. There remains no complete comparative criticism of the lemmata or in-text cited authors.

(4) These treatises proved important in the formation of the rich heritage of Islamic agrarian handbooks. F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, IV, Leiden, 1971, pp. 310-318 ; M. ULLMANN, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, VI, 2, Leiden, 1972, pp. 431-439 ; T. FAHD, *Traductions en arabe d'écrits géoponiques*, in E. GARCÍA SÁNCHEZ (ed.), *Ciencias de la naturaleza en al-Andalus : textos y estudios*, II, Granada, 1990, pp. 11-21.

(5) Ed. R. H. RODGERS, *Palladii Rutilii Tauri Aemiliani Opus Agriculturae* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1975.

tamian, Mediterranean, and Caucasian cultures (6). Its importance is therefore multiform, bearing on the history of translation, textual dissemination, in addition to the history of science and agriculture.

As his name implies, Vindanius Anatolius hailed from the city of Berytus and probably wrote sometime in the fourth or fifth centuries (7). Putting aside for a moment the question of whether we can link the Anatolius of other textual traditions with the author of the *Synagoge*, it is important to note that there is debate whether the Anatolius of Berytus of our sources is one individual or two (8). Otto Seeck maintained that the *Vitae Sophistarum* of Eunapius or the *Codex Theodosianus* for example, refer to one person, a view maintained by various scholars, notably Rodgers in his discussion of Anatolius (9). Norman, Penella, Bradbury argue that there were two men of the same name, possibly father and son, who bore the name Anatolius and who hailed from Berytus (10). The latter would be unremarkable. But our documents would then portray two men with uncannily similar personalities and who both held the office of Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum. This possibility is the result of chronological difficulties that have yet to be solved to the satisfaction of all, but which cannot be treated here.

(6) See the incomplete Anatolius text, surviving partly in the manuscript attributed to "Balyas al Hakim", edited by M. C. VÁZQUEZ DE BENITO, *El Manuscrito de la Colección Gayangos* (fols. 1-98), Madrid, 1974 ; F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, IV, Leiden, 1971, pp. 314-317.

(7) See the edition of R. HENRY, *Photius. Bibliothèque*, II, *"Codices" 84-185* (*Collection byzantine*), Paris, 1960, p. 134 (*cod.* 163).

(8) The careers of the two proposed men are summarized in the engaging article by S. BRADBURY, *A Sophistic Prefect : Anatolius of Berytus in the Letters of Libanius*, in *Classical Philology* 92 (2000), pp. 172-186.

(9) O. SEECK, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 30, 1-2), Leipzig, 1906, pp. 59-66 ; *PLRE* I, p. 59 (Anatolius 3), also followed by V. NERI, *Le prefetture del pretorio in Occidente nel periodo 346-350 d.C.*, in *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 4 (1974), pp. 89-113. See also W. PORTMANN, *Anatolios [1]*, in *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, I, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1996, coll. 660-661.

(10) A. F. NORMAN, *The Illyrian Praefecture of Anatolius*, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 100 (1957), pp. 253-259 ; BRADBURY, pp. 184-185. Bradbury further notes that Libanius would have presumable mentioned had the appointment been a second prefecture, which were extraordinary but not unheard of. But the evidence from Libanius, *Ep.* 549, 1 is vague and inconclusive.

The first of the Anatolius figures, the elder is known from *CTh* 11, 30, 19 (A.D. 339) and 12, 1, 28 who are addressed to Anatolius Berytus, the *Vicarius Asianae*, while in A.D. 346, he was Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum (*CTh* 12, 1, 38). During the reign of Constans I, the same Anatolius is said by Eunapius to have visited Athens and there made a great impression on the city elite ([11]). The proposed 'younger' Anatolius was a correspondent of Libanius and had apparently served in the eastern provinces. At Antioch he had created a number of public works ([12]). In A.D. 357, he advanced to the rank of Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum and held that post until the time of his death around 360.

The proposed Anatolii share striking similarities : both were from Berytus, highly educated, lawyers, outgoing in their personality, boisterous in their love of sophistic displays, and highly literate. Both are described as administrators who were just, almost to a fault. The two prefects were determined to improve their imperial offices ([13]). Both were devout pagans ; this may indeed show in the *Synagoge,* which Photios (*Bibliotheca, cod.* 163) stated was filled with pagan observances that were to be ignored by Christian farmers. While it seems unusual for such qualities to converge in two contemporaries with the same name hailing from the same city, it need not be impossible. Although not without reservations, I share the view of Penella that the chronological issues are too deep to overcome without seriously exceeding the available evidence. Respect for the present chronology leads us to agree that, in the mid-fourth century, there was a duality of Anatolius of Berytus ([14]).

Regardless of whether there was one or two Anatolii at the head of the prefecture of Illyricum in the mid-fourth century, the question remains whether we can link either Anatolius of Berytus with the Vindanius Anatolius of the *Geoponica*. Oder felt no compunction to see either Anatolius as the author of the *Synagoge* ([15]). While it is correct, as

(11) See G. GIANGRANDE, *Eunapii Vitae Sophistarum* (*Scriptores Graeci et Latini*), Rome, 1956, section 10, 6, 1-15.

(12) BRADBURY, *art. cit.*

(13) BRADBURY, *art. cit.*

(14) R. J. PENELLA, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D. : Studies in Eunapius of Sardis* (*ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs,* 28), Leeds, 1990, p. 90.

(15) ODER, pp. 97-98 ; R. H. RODGERS, *Hail, Frosts, and Pests in the Vineyard : Anatolius of Berytus as a Source for the Nabataean Agriculture*, in

Bradbury claims, that there is no compelling reason to equate the prefect(s) with the *Synagoge*, the circumstantial evidence is not insignificant. Oder objected that Anatolius was a common name in the Roman Levant ; this is true enough. Several men bearing this name are known, among them the *magister officiorum* under Julian ([16]). Epigraphy preserves the name for a number of important officials, such as the *endoxotatos* (*gloriosissimus*) *stratopedarch,* and *hypatos* remembered at Ba'albek ([17]).

Other scholars, such as Rodgers and Portmann, have linked the Praetorian Prefect(s) of Illyricum, Anatolius with the agricultural handbook. The Berytus of Late Antiquity was a flourishing city, a Roman colony with deep cultural links to the Roman West. Due to the presence of its famous law school, Berytus lay at the heart of Roman legal studies and boasted such alumni as Papinian, Ulpian, and Dorotheus ([18]). The city remained an important trading and legal centre into Justinian's day ([19]). By Late Antiquity, the purple dyers had been for centuries a part of the economic fabric of the city and it was joined in Justinian's day by sericulture, a component of an imperial monopoly among the vibrant cities of the Phoenician coast ([20]).

As a landowner in this densely peopled, heavily farmed region, Anatolius shared in a culture in which the fertile agricultural land base of his day shrank as the population increased, leading people to open less easily farmed lands to cultivation, and to an intensification of farming practice. The Neo-Flavian bureaucracy used the influence of their offices to enrich themselves and consequently followed the age-old practice of pre-industrial societies of investing their cash into land. It seems that if

Journal of the American Oriental Society 100 (1980), pp. 1-11 ; W. PORTMANN, col. 660-661.

(16) *PLRE* I, *Anatolius 5.*

(17) L. JALABERT - R. MOUTERDE e.a., *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* V, Paris, 1959, n° 2105 ; VI, Paris, 1967, n° 2827 (fourth century).

(18) Linda JONES HALL, *Roman Berytus. Beirut in Late Antiquity*, London, 2004, pp. 195-220.

(19) J. ROUGÉ, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (*SC*, 124), Paris, 1966, XXXII E, p. 165.

(20) See Procopius of Caesarea, *Anecdota* 25, 14, ed. H. B. DEWING, *Procopius*, VI, *The Anecdota or Secret History* (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London - Cambridge (MA), 1960 (= 1935), pp. 296-297.

land was not entirely commodified in the Late Roman East, it was, at least in some instances (21).

Accompanying the urban vibrancy of Berytus was a deep development of its hinterland. Under the intensive farming regime and marginal upland conditions that prevailed in the Lebanon there are few plants that fare better than the olive and vine. Throughout much of the later imperial period, the Massyas Valley (al Biqā') witnessed considerable agricultural development accompanying expanding settlement (22). The immediate landscape of Berytus also continued to develop agriculturally. Multiple oil press installations survive at Beit Meri and Khan Khalde just a few miles from the centre of the city, and these installations attest to the surplus production of olive oil along Phoenician coast (23). More easily exploited and timelier in its return than the olive was wine : vines yielded a crop that, transported from many points just a few miles to the coast rendered an item easily converted into cash. Little wonder that the agricultural text of Vindanius Anatolius treated in depth wine production, perhaps even disproportionately so (24).

Apart from the materials discussed above, we await a fuller archaeology of estate production in Lebanon, since modern rural survey remains underdeveloped. However, the textual evidence suggests that the wine of Berytus was important within the city and overseas, perhaps an initiative of the Roman *colonia* that depended on relatives and other personal connections and perhaps even imported western vinestock to gain prominence in the Mediterranean world of the early empire (25). Merchants

(21) A hallmark of economic development is the commercial alienability of land, as states P. CRONE, *Pre-Industrial Societies : Anatomy of the Pre-Modern World*, Oxford, 2003², p. 25.

(22) L. MARFOE, *Between Qadesh and Kumidi : a History of Frontier Settlement and Land Use in the Biqa', Lebanon*, PhD. Dissertation, Chicago, 1978.

(23) On the ruins of Beir Meri see H. STERN, *Sur quelques pavements paléochrétiens du Liban*, in *CA* 15 (1965), pp. 21-37. The fifth-sixth century village of Khan Khalde produced surplus olive oil : O. CALLOT, *Remarques sur les huileries de Khan Khalde (Liban)*, in R. SAIDAH (ed.), *Archéologie au Levant : recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah*, Lyon, 1982, pp. 420-428.

(24) Most of *Geoponica* Book 5 on viticulture draws on Anatolius. The number of chapters on wine production relative to the rest of the work may be seen in C. BROCKLEMANN, *Die armenische Übersetzung der Geoponica*, in *BZ* 5 (1896), pp. 385-409.

(25) See the edition of Alexander of Tralles, Th. PUSCHMANN, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Medicin*, II, Vienna, 1879, pp. 406-409.

exported wine in the amphorae found in abundance in excavation there. Paul Reynolds has elucidated the production of 'Beirut' amphorae types that carried the vintages of the region and the presence of these jars underscores the Roman character and economic vitality of the agrarian structures of this part of Phoenicia ([26]).

The acquisitive attitude of the late antique aristocracy is well-documented, and their management methods are certainly in keeping with a scientific approach to farming displayed by the *Synagoge* ([27]). The experimental manner and hands-on approach of this group manifests itself in the work of Cassianus Bassus. The *Eclogues* of Cassianus Bassus depended in part on the *Synagoge*, but contained original observations by the author as well as material from Didymus of Alexandria ([28]). Nevertheless, the *Eclogues* also made a mark in Mediterranean agriculture. A translation into Pahlavi was made at some point during Late Antiquity the *Warz-nāma* and an Arabic translation later made from this. In addition, Sergius b. Hilya rendered a translation into Arabic directly from the Greek ([29]). The full impact of Cassianus within the Arabic tradition remains to be assessed, but it was considerable, comprising as he did (along with the *Synagoge*) one of two major late antique treatises on farming inherited by the Muslim conquerers of the Levant.

Of the person of Cassianus Bassus we have nothing save his name and his title, *scholastikos*. Lemerle noted that the office of *scholastikos* went out of use sometime before the tenth century and Cassianus is common-

(26) P. Reynolds, *Pottery Production and Economic Exchange in Second Century Berytus : Some Preliminary Observations of Ceramic Trends from Quantified Ceramic Deposits from the Souks Excavations in Beirut*, in *Berytus*, 43 (1997-1998), pp. 35-110 ; Id., *The Beirut Amphora Type, 1st Century BC - 7th Century AD : An Outline of its Formal Development and Some Preliminary Observations of Regional Economic Trends*, in *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta*, 36 (2000), pp. 387-427.

(27) J. Banaji, *Agrarian History and Labour Organisation of Byzantine Large Estates*, in A. Bowman - E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 193-216 ; Id., *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity : Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance*, Oxford, 2001 ; P. Sarris, *The Origins of the Manorial Economy : New Insights from Late Antiquity*, in *English Historical Review*, 119 (2004), pp. 279-311.

(28) Oder, p. 32.

(29) Sezgin, pp. 317-318.

ly held to have lived in the sixth century (30). Cassianus is the author attributed in the lemma of *Geoponica* 5, 6, 6, "On the time of planting vines" and should be accepted as such. In *Geoponica* 5, 6, 6, the *Maratonumo* estate is mentioned by Cassanius, who writes in the first person in this section (31). We thus can with some certainty link Cassianus with the estate at the place *Maratanumo*. This *Maratonumo* estate is mentioned, again by the author in the first person, in *Geoponica* 10, 2, 4, a chapter dealing with the time of planting trees, this time the lemma attributes the passage to the authority of Florentinus. Gemoll had already correctly observed that the two sections mentioning the *Maratonumo* estate must belong to the same author, and that this author was Cassianus Bassus (32).

So far, scholars have been unable to localise this estate of Cassianus at Maratonumo. Meyer felt that Cassianus was from Bithynia, misled by the material on Bithynian vines that occurs later in *Geoponica* 5, 2 (33). Teall was much closer to the mark when he suggested that there were places in Syria whose names bore a resemblance to 'Maratonumo', and his impulse is correct (34).

In fact there is no reason to link Cassianus or the *Eclogues* to Bithynia, but rather to Syria. The Semitic 'Bassos' is a common name in Syria in Late Antiquity (35). If we seek a Syrian origin for Cassianus it is no longer difficult to localise him : *Maratonumo* is present-day Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān in central Syria, north of Hama. Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān, today a town of about 25,000, lies on the Homs-Aleppo highway at the foot of the plateau known as the Jebel Zawiya. The town's most famous son is the late ʿAbbassid poet Abu 'l-ʿAla Al-Maʿari (d. 1058). The Arabic geographers knew of the place as a rich agricultural centre, where the crops

(30) P. LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism. The First Phase. Notes and Remarks on Education and Culture in Byzantium from its Origins to the 10th Century* (*Byzantine Australiensia,* 3), Canberra, 1986, pp. 332-336. See also RODGERS, *Apuleius*, p. 197.

(31) Τοῦτο φαίνομαι πεποιηκὼς ἔν τε τῷ Μαρατωνύμῳ χωρίῳ, ὅθεν ὁρμῶμαι, καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις οἷς κέκτημαι ἀγροῖς.

(32) GEMOLL, pp. 68-69.

(33) E. MEYER, *Geschichte der Botanik*, II, Königsberg, 1855 (= Amsterdam, 1967), p. 219.

(34) J. TEALL, *The Byzantine Agricultural Tradition*, in *DOP* 25 (1971), p. 40.

(35) A brief perusal of the volumes I-III of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* yields ten *Bassoi.*

were dependent on rainfall rather than irrigation. The town produced a rich crop of olives, figs, pistachios, apricots, and vines ([36]).

In Late Antiquity this village was within the confines of the city territory of the Roman city of Apamea (Afamia), in the time of Justinian the capital of Syria Secunda. As with the landscape around Berytus, the countryside of Apamea was intensively exploited. The lands surrounding Apamea have yielded spectacular archaeology evidence of settlement vitality in the Byzantine period. The low limestone hills that run north-south in a line from the ruined city of Cyrrhus, east of Antakya (ancient Antioch) into the northern hinterland of Apamea are littered with the remains of more than 700 early Byzantine period villages ([37]). Olives and vines were major crops in the region. The large village of El Bara preserves a large press with a Latin inscription extolling the gifts of Bacchus ([38]). El Bara and its neighbouring hill villages were probably the source of the grapes that the emperor Elagabalus infamously offered as provender for his horses in Rome ([39]). In the early Byzantine period, the inhabitants of Apamea and the surrounding hills exported in LR1 (Late Roman amphora type) amphorae. They thus shared in a vibrant export trade in foodstuffs that travelled down the Orontes River, to the Mediterranean and beyond ([40]).

Wine and oil were not the only products of the countryside of Apamea, which boasted a rich agrarian fabric woven from an array of agricultural pursuits. The large villages of the Jebel Zawiya also engaged in ranching and produced tree crops and grain ([41]). Indeed, it is this mixed agriculture,

(36) G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land, from 650 to 1500*, London, 1890 (= Beirut, 1965), pp. 495-496.

(37) G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord : le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, I, Paris, 1953, pp. 378-403.

(38) *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, IV, Paris, 1955, no. 1459 : Nectareos succos Baccheia munera cernis / Quae bitis genuit, aprico sole refecta.

(39) *Vita Heliogabali* 21, 2, ed. D. Magie, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, II (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London - Cambridge (MA), 1924 (= 1980), pp. 146-147.

(40) M. Decker, *Food for an Empire : Wine and Oil Production in North Syria*, in S. Kinsley - M. Decker (eds.), *Economy and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 69-86.

(41) G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du IIe au VIIe siècle*, Paris, 1992, pp. 243-247. At El Bara, the lintel of a large house records preserves a

with its complex and careful exploitation of a variety of animal and plant resources, that we find portrayed in the texts of both Anatolius and Cassianus as transmitted via the *Geoponica*. Maʿarrat an-Nuʿmān was an admirable choice for the progressive farmer, lying as it does where the intensively worked, olive- and vine-clad uplands meet the rich plains where cerealculture on a grand scale was as much a feature of the ancient countryside as it is today. Cassianus thus had an estate which demanded varied terrain for the multifarious pursuits of the ideal ancient domain.

In localizing Cassianus and placing him in context alongside the greatest writer on agriculture of Late Antiquity, Vindanius Anatolius of Berytus, we gain a sharper focus on not only the authors but the text of the *Geoponica* and the well-tended countryside in which the elites of the fourth-seventh centuries took such an interest. What is more, it is now certain that the greatest bulk of the material of the *Geoponica* does not belong to Asia Minor or the western portion of Byzantium, but to the eastern territories severed from them by the coming of Islam, specifically Syria. It is this latter region that stands at the heart of the dynamics of agrarian exploitation that we witness via the *Geoponica* and in the archaeological record and demands even closer inspection as one of the most prosperous and wealthy regions of the early Byzantine state.

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SUMMARY

The tenth century agricultural encyclopaedia known as the *Geoponica* contains much material from the fourth-century writer Vindanius Anatolius and the later, probably sixth century, Cassianus Bassus. Scholars have assumed that Cassianus Bassus held estates in Asia Minor. It is possible, however, to localize Cassianus Bassus, and thus place the scenes of his agricultural innovations to north-central Syria, with implications both for the *Geoponica* and for late antique agriculture.

Christian inscription giving thanks for the bounty of grain, wine, and olive oil : see *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* n° 1459 (see above, note 38).

A PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION FOR ZOSIMA'S *APOLIKAPTII* MONASTERY IN CONSTANTINOPLE

The *Xenos* (*Хожение инока Зосима*), or "Wanderer", of the deacon Zosima is the account of his pilgrimage to Constantinople and the Holy Land between the spring or early summer of 1419 and May 1422. As the last known account of Constantinople written by a Russian traveler before the city's conquest by the Ottoman Turks thirty-one years later it is an important source of information on the Byzantine religious sites, buildings, and monuments extant when the city passed under Turkish rule. While the majority of religious sites that Zosima visited during his stay in Constantinople are familiar from other Russian and Western accounts (1), one of the sites mentioned in his account that has never been satisfactorily identified is the Apolikaptii Monastery. In this article we will propose a possible identification for this monastery based on an examination of Zosima's text. However, before discussing this proposed identification, it is necessary to briefly review the information in Zosima's account, and then look at the approaches of the scholars R. Janin and G. Majeska to identifying the Apolikaptii Monastery (2).

Zosima devotes only two sentences in his account to the Apolikaptii Monastery ; the first reads : "To one side of this monastery (the Pantokrator Monastery) and two arrow shots away is the monastery called the Apolikaptii (И всотронь того монастыря, з два перестрѣлища,

(1) G. Majeska, *Russian Pilgrims in Constantinople*, in *DOP*, 56 (2002), pp. 104-106.

(2) R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères* (*La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, première partie, *Le Siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Œcuménique*, III), Paris, 1969², p. 41 ; G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (*DOS*, 19), Washington, 1984, pp. 295-296 (edition of this text, pp. 176-195).

зовется монастырь Аполикаптии)" (3). Such a brief description makes locating the Apolikaptii Monastery rather difficult. While providing an approximate distance from the Pantokrator Monastery – "two arrow shots" – Zosima's account does not state the direction. To add to the difficulty, the name Apolikaptii has, so far, not been found in any other source, and is generally believed to have been corrupted in the transmission (4). As a result of these factors, the attempts of Janin and Majeska to locate and/or identify the Apolikaptii Monastery have resulted in two very different proposals.

Beginning with Janin, in his work *Les églises et les monastères*, only two paragraphs discuss the Apolikaptii Monastery, which he refers to as the Apolikaptia Monastery (5). After giving the information from Zosima's account and mentioning the difficulty of identifying this site, Janin proposes that the Apolikaptii Monastery be identified with the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos, known from Byzantine sources, presumably due to the similarity of the two names. Janin then states that the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos is to be identified with today's Kalenderhane Camii, located near the center of Byzantine Constantinople and south-southeast of the Pantokrator Monastery. In this, Janin is following the identification first proposed by V. Laurent (6). However, it should be noted that in their work on the Kalenderhane Camii Striker and Kuban state that the Kalenderhane Camii can "unambiguously" be identified with the Kyriotissa Monastery mentioned in a 13th century typicon (7).

Moving to Majeska's discussion of the Apolikaptii Monastery, he states that "it is impossible to say what Byzantine monastery Zosima refers to under the title *Apolikaptii* or its variants..." (8). He does, however, believe that the general location of the monastery can be determined from the text - near the Pantokrator Monastery and most probably somewhere to the northwest of it. Majeska's locating the Apolikaptii Monastery somewhere to the northwest of the Pantokrator Monastery is based on

(3) MAJESKA, 1984, pp. 186-187.

(4) JANIN, 1969, p. 41 ; MAJESKA 1984, p. 295.

(5) JANIN, 1969, p. 41.

(6) V. LAURENT, a review of T. Öz, *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden,* published in *EO* 34 (1935), p. 227.

(7) C. L. STRIKER - Y. D. KUBAN, *Kalenderhane in Istanbul : The Buildings, Their History, Architecture and Decoration,* Mainz, 1997, p. 15.

(8) MAJESKA, 1984, p. 295.

Zosima's itinerary that took him from the Pantokrator Monastery to the Philanthropos Monastery via the Apolikaptii Monastery, and then finally to the Kecharitomenè Convent. Since Majeska places both the Philanthropos Monastery and the Kecharitomenè Convent in the northwest section of Byzantine Constantinople, it is logical to assume that the Apolikaptii Monastery, too, was located in the same general area of the city (9).

Janin and Majeska have reached very different conclusions concerning the location of the Apolikaptii Monastery and, in Janin's work, with which Byzantine church it is to be identified. However, when examined more closely there are problems with both scholars' proposals concerning the Apolikaptii Monastery. These difficulties involve two issues : first, the distance of the Apolikaptii Monastery from the Pantokrator Monastery, and, second, the direction of the Apolikaptii Monastery from the Pantokrator Monastery.

The first of these issues, determining the distance of the two sites from one another, revolves around what distance Zosima intended to describe with the phrase "two arrow shots". Although the distance of an arrow shot can depend on a number of factors, such as the type of bow used, the skill of the archer, and wind conditions, Zosima clearly thought that his readers would understand the distance of two arrow shots without further explanation. In order to determine what distance Zosima could have meant with the phrase "two arrow shots", a look at other medieval accounts and modern research on medieval weaponry can help.

There is an earlier medieval account that uses the same expression to describe the distance between two sites. At the end of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, an anonymous work most likely composed in 1101 which describes the events of the First Crusade through the conquest of Jerusalem, there is a section entitled "Incipit Descriptio Sanctorum Locorum Hierusalem". Like Zosima's account of Constantinople, this section describes the places a pilgrim to Jerusalem would visit, and gives both their locations relative to one another and the distances between them. The anonymous author ends his description of the various locales in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by mentioning the still-extant Latin monastery of St. Mary the Virgin which marks the spot where the three Marys watched the Crucifixion (10). He then moves

(9) MAJESKA, 1984, pp. 296-297.
(10) John, 19, 25.

on to a description of "the Temple of the Lord built by Solomon", that is, the Muslim shrine today known as the Dome of the Rock. The writer states that the distance between the Latin monastery of St. Mary the Virgin and the Dome of the Rock is "two arrow shots (*bis mittere sagittam*)" ([11]). A look at a map of Jerusalem shows that the distance between these two sites is approximately 500 meters. Closer to Zosima's own era, 14th century English longbows had an effective range of approximately 200 meters ([12]). This would indicate that by the phrase "two arrow shots" Zosima was describing a distance of 500 meters or less.

The second issue related to the identification of the Apolikaptii Monastery is its location relative to the Pantokrator Monastery. Zosima states that he proceeded from the Pantokrator Monastery to the Apolikaptii Monastery, but does not mention the direction he traveled. As previously mentioned, Majeska proposed locating the Apolikaptii Monastery somewhere to the northwest based on Zosima's itinerary following his visit to the Apolikaptii Monastery which included sites he grouped to the northwest of the Pantokrator Monastery. While this would seem to be a sound approach at first sight, a closer reading of Zosima's account shows that in many places in his narrative he often describes sites in Constantinople with little regard to topography or distance, a fact which Majeska himself admits ([13]). In addition, the locations of the sites on which Majeska based his claim – the Philanthropos Monastery and the Kecharitomenè Convent – are uncertain, and Majeska can only conjecture as to their approximate locations ([14]). This being the case, there is no reason to assume that in this section of his account Zosima has listed the sites he visited based on their proximity to one another, or that their directions from the Pantokrator Monastery can be established with any certainty.

Taken together, these data indicate that Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery should be located within a 500 meter radius, and possibly, but

(11) *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (*Oxford Medieval Texts*), ed. Rosalind HILL, Oxford, 1962 (= 1998), p. 99.

(12) A. AYTON, *Arms, Armour, and Horses*, in M. KEEN (ed.), *Medieval Warfare : A History*, Oxford, 2001, p. 204.

(13) MAJESKA, 1984, pp. 167-168.

(14) MAJESKA, 1984, pp. 296-298. See also JANIN, 1969, p. 297 ; V. KIDONOPOULOS, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204-1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 1), Wiesbaden, 1994, pp. 33-36.

not necessarily, to the northwest of the Pantokrator Monastery, known today as the Zeyrek Kilise Camii. Before discussing sites that meet these criteria, let us first look at the identification, accepted by Janin, of Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery with the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos, and its identification with today's Kalenderhane Camii.

Based on the similarities of the two names it is clear why Zosima's otherwise unattested Apolikaptii Monastery should be identified with the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos. This religious institution is first mentioned in one of Alexios Comnenos' novellas dated to 1092, and states that it is located "near the aqueduct (κατὰ τὴν Κάμαρϊν)", but provides no further clues as to its location ([15]). Nonetheless, due to its proximity to the southeastern end of the Aqueduct of Valens, the Kalenderhane Camii has been identified as the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos, and Janin accepts this identification ([16]). However, the identification of the Kalenderhane Camii as the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos is not universally accepted. W. Müller-Wiener in his extensive work on Byzantine structures in Istanbul notes that the Kalenderhane Camii was "later equated with the Μονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ 'Ακαταλήπτου" ([17]). Majeska expresses doubts about this identification ([18]), and in their work on the Kalenderhane Camii, Striker and Kuban reject both the identification of the Kalenderhane Camii with the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos, as well as identifying the Akatalèptos Monastery with Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery. They propose that Zosima was, in fact, referring to an otherwise unattested "Apokalypseos" monastery ([19]). Thus, if the identification of the Kalenderhane Camii as the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos is questionable, then identifying this structure as the otherwise unattested Apolikaptii Monastery is even more dubious.

In addition, even if the Kalenderhane Camii is the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos, there is still a problem in equating it with the monastery mentioned in Zosima's account, namely its distance from the Pantokrator Monastery. Zosima stated that the distance between the Pantokrator

(15) *PG* 127, 973 D11-12.

(16) JANIN, 1969, p. 505.

(17) W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion - Konstantinopolis - Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, 1977, p. 153.

(18) MAJESKA, 1984, p. 296, n. 51.

(19) STRIKER - KUBAN, p. 13.

Monastery and the Apolikaptii Monastery was "two arrow shots", and earlier we showed that other medieval accounts and modern research into medieval weaponry indicate that the distance of two arrow shots is approximately 500 meters or less. However, the distance between the Pantokrator Monastery and the Kalenderhane Camii is over 700 meters, a distance closer to three, rather than two arrow shots. Janin recognized this difficulty, and stated that "one of the Russian manuscripts says : 'at two *great* arrow shots', which seems to confirm our hypothesis, without, however, removing the doubt" ([20]). However, Janin does not mention which text of Zosima's account contains this reading, and Majeska's Russian text of Zosima does not include this among the variant readings of the text given ([21]). On the other hand, Striker and Kuban do state that the 700 meter distance between the two sites could be described as two arrow shots ([22]).

Up to this point we have shown that the identification of the Kalenderhane Camii as the monastery of Christ Akatalèptos is speculative at best, and, while the view that the name Apolikaptii found in Zosima's account is a corruption of the Greek term Akatalèptos may have merit, there is no certain basis on which to identify the Apolikaptii Monastery with the Kalenderhane Camii. In addition, the distance between the Pantokrator Monastery and the Kalenderhane Camii presents difficulties. We have also seen that Majeska's proposition that the Apolikaptii Monastery should be located a short distance to the northwest of the Pantokrator Monastery, is also problematic due to the fact that Zosima often does not list sites according to their proximity to one another. This being the case, where is the Apolikaptii Monastery to be located ?

If the Apolikaptii Monastery mentioned in Zosima's account has not disappeared in the centuries since his visit, it may still be among the Byzantine churches in Istanbul whose original names have been lost. Within a radius of "two arrow shots" (maximum 500 meters) of the Pantokrator Monastery there are on Janin's own map of Byzantine Constantinople three unidentified Byzantine churches which could potentially be

(20) JANIN, 1969, p. 41.

(21) MAJESKA, 1984, p. 187.

(22) STRIKER - KUBAN, p. 13 n. 68. They base this claim on E. SCHILBACH, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, 4), München, 1970, p. 42.

Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery – the Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi, the Sekbanbaşı Mescidi, and the (Vefa) Kilise Camii ([23]).

The first of these, the Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi, is approximately 120 meters to the west-southwest of the Pantokrator Monastery. On Janin's map it is simply labeled a "Byzantine chapel" ; Müller-Wiener likewise provides no identification for this small, octagonal structure ([24]).

The second structure, the Sekbanbaşı Mescidi, is located approximately 300 meters distant, and almost directly south of the Pantokrator Monastery. It is the closest of the three structures to the Aqueduct of Valens and is also labeled a "Byzantine chapel" by Janin. Müller-Wiener, however, states that the Greek name is unknown, but notes the oldest ascription is as the Monastery of the Lady Martha (Μονὴ τῆς Κυρᾶς Μάρθας) ([25]).

The third and most distant structure from the Pantokrator Monastery is the (Vefa) Kilise Camii. It is found approximately 500 meters to the southeast of the Pantokrator Monastery, and is the largest of these three Byzantine churches that are unidentified on Janin's map. In Müller-Wiener's work, the Kilise Camii is identified with some degree of certainty as a church dedicated to St. Theodore (Ἅγιος Θεόδωρος τὰ Καρβουνάρια) ([26]).

Of these three structures two are within a plausible distance of "two arrow shots" from the Pantokrator Monastery, the Kilise Camii and the Sekbanbaşı Mescidi. The first however, is a considerably larger and even today a more richly decorated structure than the latter, and would likely have elicited more comment from Zosima if it were his Apolikaptii Monastery. In addition, the relatively recent evidence mentioned by Müller-Wiener for the Kilise Camii's identification as a church dedicated to St. Theodore would also indicate that it is unlikely to be Zosima's Apolikaptii Monastery.

This leaves the Sekbanbaşı Mescidi as the most likely candidate of the three Byzantine structures unidentified by Janin within a 500-meter

(23) See *Byzance Constantinople : Carte Archéologique et Topographique* accompanying JANIN, 1969.

(24) See *Byzance Constantinople : Carte Archéologique et Topographique* ; MÜLLER-WIENER, pp. 202-203.

(25) See *Byzance Constantinople : Carte Archéologique et Topographique* ; JANIN, 1969, pp. 324-326 ; MÜLLER-WIENER, p. 196.

(26) See *Byzance Constantinople : Carte Archéologique et Topographique* ; JANIN, 1969, p. 148 ; MÜLLER-WIENER, p. 169.

radius of the Pantokrator Monastery. It dates from the 11th or 12th centuries and, like the Akatalèptos Monastery, is located relatively near the Aqueduct of Valens – approximately 100 meters to the north. Although in ruins today as a result of fire and nearby construction in the 20th century, 19th century engravings indicate that it was a well-maintained structure at that time. In the 15th century, this small church may have merited a visit and mention by Zosima ([27]).

While definitive identification of the Sekbanbaşı Mescidi and other Byzantine structures may have to await further archeological investigations, or the discovery of new textual sources, this paper has shown that the accounts of Russian travelers to Constantinople, like Zosima, deserve to be considered carefully and may be a useful aid in identifying those Byzantine structures in Istanbul whose names have been lost over the course of time.

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SUMMARY

This article examines the use of the medieval Russian account of the deacon Zosima's journey to Constantinople and the Holy Land as a source to help identify extant Byzantine structures in modern Istanbul. In particular, it focuses on the otherwise unattested Apolikaptii Monastery mentioned in Zosima's work, previous attempts at identifying this building, and the problems associated with each of these proposed identifications. The article then looks at other medieval works and modern research that may help to clarify the interpretation of Zosima's description of the Apolikaptii monastery's location relative to other known Byzantine structures. Finally, a new identification for the Apolikaptii monastery that more closely fits the criteria of Zosima's account is proposed.

(27) MÜLLER-WIENER, pp. 196-197.

INNOCENT I AND ANYSIUS OF THESSALONICA (*)

The very first letter Innocent I, bishop of Rome from 402 to 417, wrote that has been preserved for us was to Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica (1). It is an important letter in terms of the evidence it contains about the development of the church in this region and about Innocent's understanding of his own office in relation to other bishops, but in order for us to appreciate the extent to which this letter informs us about developments in the notion of papal primacy we have to place it in the context not only of the letter collection in which it is preserved but also of the place of Illyricum within the structures of the Roman empire in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. In other words, we have to assess Innocent's claims to intervene in affairs in Thessalonica in the light of the activity of his predecessors and we have to consider, on the basis of the political evidence, whether Illyricum was considered part of Innocent's own *prouincia* as a patriarchal bishop or not. As Greenslade observed in 1945 : "[t]he secular allegiance of eastern Illyricum bears upon the history of the Church at several points" (2). Yet, this is no easy task, as Gaudemet

(*) This paper was written while I was a National Endowment for the Humanities Research Fellow at the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, working in the Vatican Film Library of Saint Louis University between February and April 2006. I am grateful for the assistance and hospitality from all concerned.

(1) Innocent, *Epistula* 1 (*PL* 20, 463-468). Ph. JAFFÉ, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, I, *A S. Petro ad a. MCXLIII*, rev. F. KALTENBRUNNER, Leipzig, 1885² (abbreviation used in this article : JK), no. 285. See C. SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum ad Vicarios per Illyricum aliosque Episcopos : Collectio Thessalonicensis* (*Textus et Documenta, Series Theologica*, 22), Rome, 1937, pp. 20-21 for the current critical edition. I am preparing a critical edition of all Innocent's letters, funding for which is being provided by the Australian Research Council.

(2) S. L. GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches and the Vicariate of Thessalonica, 378-95*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 46 (1945), p. 20.

observed : "[l]'histoire politique de l'Illyricum au Bas-Empire est des plus complexe et sur plusieurs points encore incertaine" (3).

In this paper I wish to begin by considering the political evidence for the status of Illyricum before turning my attention to the letter collection that preserves Innocent's letter to Anysius. Finally, and most significantly, I shall offer an analysis of this letter. This will be the first in a short series of papers to examine Innocent's involvement in ecclesiastical affairs of Illyricum orientale. The argument here is that there is an alternative to the position put forward by scholars. I am going to suggest that the newly-elected Innocent, writing to Anysius, renewed what he believed was Rome's delegation of its prerogatives to the bishop of Thessalonica but actually extended Thessalonica's responsibilities further than his predecessor, Siricus, had. Nevertheless, all of the Roman bishops were of one mind, viz., that eastern Illyricum was part of the Western Church under Rome's oversight and that the activities of its bishops should not be seen as part of the expansion of papal primacy into the East but as the efforts of a leading bishop to preserve the boundaries of what today we would describe as his patriarchate in the face of changing political circumstances.

1. Political Assignment of Illyricum

The political history of Illyricum in the late fourth century has been of interest to scholars for more than a century. There has been much debate and only a few firm conclusions have been reached upon which scholars agree. Sozomen noted that when Theodosius was made emperor by Gratian in January 379 he was entrusted with the East and Illyricum by Gratian (4). This was taken by scholars to mean that two of the three dioceses of Illyricum, viz., Dacia and Macedonia, formed a new entity known as Illyricum Orientale that belonged to the East from that time onwards (leaving only the diocese of Pannonia as Illyricum Occidentale). In 1897 Rauschen concluded instead that at various points between 379 and 395 the two parts of eastern Illyricum were under Western control and therefore that a division of Illyricum did not occur until 395 (5). As a

(3) J. Gaudemet, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IVe-Ve siècles)* (*Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Église en Occident*, 3), Paris, 1989², p. 403.

(4) Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7, 4, 1.

(5) G. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1897.

variation of that Stein and then Palanque argued that indeed Illyricum was divided first in 379 but that the division only lasted until late 380 when Gratian met Theodosius at Sirmium, after Theodosius had been gravely ill in Thessalonica early in that year, with eastern Illyricum then being returned to Gratian. Theodosius moved to Constantinople, not returning to Thessalonica until 387. These scholars agreed that the final division took place in 395 (6). For Palanque, Illyricum remained the one prefecture in 379 although divided between two emperors. That Illyricum was nominally at least a western prefecture during most of these decades was argued also by Demougeot and Grumel (7). The former believed that only eastern Illyricum had been given to Theodosius in 379 and constituted as a separate prefecture (on this she differed from Palanque) but was soon returned to the West. Grumel believed that Illyricum had been split in 379 but that the new prefecture of Illyricum Orientale was under Theodosius' control only until September 380 when it was reunited with its western part and entrusted to Valentinian II. More recently, Thomas Burns has suggested that Theodosius received all of Illyricum in 379 and only Pannonia was returned to Gratian in 380 with eastern Illyricum

(6) E. STEIN, *Untersuchungen zur spätrömischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 74 (1925), pp. 347-394 ; ID., *À propos d'un livre récent sur la liste des préfets du prétoire*, in *Byz.*, 9 (1934), pp. 327-352 ; J.-R. PALANQUE, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris, 1933 ; ID., *Sur la liste des préfets du prétoire du IVe siècle (réponse à M. Ernst Stein)*, in *Byz.*, 9 (1934), pp. 703-713 ; ID., *La préfecture du prétoire d'Illyricum au IVe siècle*, in *Byz.*, 21 (1951), pp. 5-14 ; M. J. HIGGINS, *Reliability of Title and Dates in the Codex Theodosianus*, in *Byz.*, 10 (1935), pp. 621-641.

(7) É. DEMOUGEOT, *Les partages de l'Illyricum à la fin du IVe siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, 198 (1947), pp. 16-31 ; EAD., *Note sur la politique orientale de Stilicon*, in *Byz.*, 20 (1950), pp. 27-37 ; EAD., *De l'unité à la division de l'empire romain 395-410 : essai sur le gouvernement impérial*, Paris, 1951 ; EAD., *Le partage des provinces de l'Illyricum entre la* pars Occidentis *et la* pars Orientis, *de la tétrarchie au règne de Théodoric*, in *La géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 14-16 juin 1979*, Leiden, 1981, pp. 229-253. V. GRUMEL, *L'Illyricum de la mort de Valentinien Ier (375) à la mort de Stilicon (408)*, in *REB*, 9 (1951), pp. 5-46, especially the summary on pp. 45-46. P. J. HEATHER, *Goths and Romans 332-489 (Oxford Historical Monographs)*, Oxford, 1991, p. 149, says simply that Theodosius "received control of probably the Illyrian diocese of Dacia and Macedonia, which normally belonged to Gratian's western empire."

returned sometime between 381 and 383 ([8]). Errington argues that in 382 all of Illyricum returned to the West for several years ([9]).

Numismatic evidence indicates that Theodosius was in control of Illyricum again between 383 and 384, following the death of Gratian and the usurpation of Maximus, whether or not the prefecture had been assigned to him legally ([10]). Although Illyricum was entrusted to Valentinian II in the West in 384, Theodosius was certainly in control of it again from 387 because of further activity of Maximus, returning it once again to Valentinian by 391 ([11]). Zakythenos, in an argument adopted by Koder and Hild, believes that from 392, with the death of Valentinian II, Illyricum belonged to the East and that this marks "einen ... willkürlichen, aber symbolträchtigen Beginn" for Greek Byzantine history ([12]). Burns points to the fact that from Valentinian's death in 392 the prefecture of Illyricum was detached from that of Italy and Africa ([13]).

To demonstrate the point that for at least some of the time between 379 and 395 eastern Illyricum was part of the western empire we can point to a couple of praetorian prefects who held Illyricum as part of a western appointment. On the one hand some individuals are attested as praetorian prefect of Italy without mention of Illyricum (or even of Africa for that matter). We can identify Flavius Syagrius, praetorian prefect of Italy from

(8) T. S. Burns, *Barbarians Within the Gates of Rome : A Study of Roman Military Policy and the Barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D.*, Bloomington (Indiana), 1994, pp. 46-47.

(9) R. M. Errington, *Theodosius and the Goths*, in *Chiron*, 26 (1996), pp. 22-27.

(10) J. W. E. Pearce, *Notes on some* aes *of Valentinian II and Theodosius*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th ser., 14 (1934), pp. 112-113 ; Id., *Gold Coinage in the Reign of Theodosius I*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 5th ser., 18 (1938), pp. 205-246.

(11) Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 4, 47, 2.

(12) D. A. Zakythenos, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ἑλλὰς 392-1204*, Athens, 1965, pp. 19-27 ; J. Koder and Fr. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia* (*TIB*, 1), Vienna, 1976, p. 49.

(13) Burns, *Barbarians*, pp. 158-164. See also Grumel, *Illyricum*, p. 23 : "Il y a tout lieu de croire que c'est alors que Théodose dessina le partage, entre ses deux fils, de l'Orient et de l'Occident : à Honorius, l'Occident, comprenant la préfecture des Gaules et celle d'Italie-Afrique ; à Arcadius, la préfecture d'Orient et celle de l'Illyricum". He referred to *CTh* 12, 12, 12 where Apodemius is attested as praetorian prefect of Illyricum only.

at least June 380 to before April 382 ([14]), Flavius Afranius Syagrius, attested as praetorian prefect of Italy in July and August of 382 ([15]), Nonius Atticus Maximus, praetorian prefect of Italy in March 384 ([16]), Flavius Neoterius, praetorian prefect of Italy between at least February and July 385 ([17]), and Principius, praetorian prefect of Italy between at least August and December 385 ([18]). On the other hand there are prefects of Italy, or Italy and Africa during this time, who were entrusted with responsibility for Illyricum as well. The famous Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus was praetorian prefect of Italy, Africa and Illyricum from 368 to 375 and again in 383 until early 384 at the latest ([19]). A decree from Gratian early in 383 would indicate that Probus administered all of Illyricum ([20]). Vettius Agorius Praetextatus was praetorian prefect of Italy and Illyricum in 384 until his death later that year ([21]). Again this is not decisive proof as Illyricum could refer only to Illyricum Occidentale. However, Flavius Eusignius was praetorian prefect of Italy, Africa and Illyricum (including its specifically named eastern dioceses) in a law in *Codex Theodosianus* dated to January 386, until at least May 387 ([22]). Trifolius was praetorian prefect of Illyricum in 388, to which Italy probably was added after Theodosius defeated Maximus during that year ([23]).

(14) *PLRE* I, pp. 862-863 (Syagrius 3).

(15) *PLRE* I, p. 862 (Syagrius 2). On these two individuals see J. R. MARTINDALE, *Notes on the Consuls of 381 and 382*, in *Historia*, 16 (1967), pp. 254-256, and A. DEMANDT, *Die Konsuln der Jahre 381 und 382 namens Syagrius*, in *BZ*, 64 (1971), pp. 38-45.

(16) *PLRE* I, p. 586 (Maximus 34).

(17) *PLRE* I, p. 623 (Neoterius).

(18) *PLRE* I, p. 726 (Principius 2).

(19) O. SEECK, *Anicius* 45, in *RE* 1, 2 (Stuttgart, 1894), col. 2205-2207 ; *PLRE* I, pp. 736-740 (Probus 5) ; A. CHASTAGNOL, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (*Études Prosopographiques*, 2), Paris, 1962, pp. 124-125.

(20) *CTh* 11, 13, 1.

(21) *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 1258 (= *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6, 1777) ; 1259 (= *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6, 1779). *PLRE* I (Praetextatus 1), although correctly identifying him on p. 723 as praetorian prefect of Italy, Illyricum and Africa, is mistaken in identifying him as praetorian prefect only of Italy and Africa in the tables on p. 1051. On this individual as urban prefect and his support for Damasus in his election dispute see M. KAHLOS, *Vettius Agorius Praetextatus and the Rivalry between the Bishops in Rome in 366-367*, in *Arctos*, 31 (1997), pp. 41-54.

(22) *PLRE* I, pp. 309-310 (Eusignius).

(23) *PLRE* I, p. 923 (Trifolius).

Felix Iuniorinus Polemius was praetorian prefect of Italy and Illyricum from at least January to June 390 ([24]).

What this suggests is that even though Theodosius was effectively in charge of Illyricum from the death of Gratian in 383 until he handed it over to Valentinian II in 384, and again in 387 and 388, the fact that Probus for one held Illyricum together with Italy and Africa as prefect would indicate that Illyricum had not been reassigned permanently to the East at this time. Theodosius' control and the region's eastern assignment could have been more *de facto* than *de iure*.

Although Demougeot believed that Illyricum was inherited by Honorius in the West when Theodosius died, with the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia being handed over to the Eastern Empire at the end of that year ([25]), Grumel differed, arguing that when Theodosius died in 395, the whole of Illyricum was inherited by Arcadius in the East (to whom it had been assigned since 392), but that, as a result of the fall of Rufinus, praetorian prefect of the Orient, later in 395 – which had been engineered by the eunuch Eutropius, who took over as guardian of Arcadius, and by Stilicho, the Vandal who was *magister utriusque militiae* in the West and married to Serena, the niece and adoptive daughter of Theodosius I, and the guardian of Honorius – the diocese of Pannonia was detached from Illyricum and transferred to the western empire as the new prefecture of Illyricum Occidentale, while the other two dioceses remained eastern as the new prefecture of Illyricum Orientale ([26]). As Alan Cameron has argued in support of Grumel, this makes the statement in Zosimus, which omits any reference to Honorius inheriting Illyricum, accurate, to which a couple of lines from Claudian's *In Rufinum* can be

(24) *PLRE* I, p. 710 (Polemius 5).

(25) DEMOUGEOT, *Les partages de l'Illyricum*, p. 30 : "Il est vraisemblable que Théodose mourut sans avoir rien décidé au sujet du partage de l'Illyricum". On p. 31 she argues that this was for military reasons, similar to what happened in 379 when Gratian ceded the prefecture to Theodosius because of Gothic invasion.

(26) See Claudian, *Panegyricus dictus Manlio Theodoro consuli* 200-205, who includes Illyricum (we should understand this as a reference only to Western Illyricum), together with Italy and Africa, as being administered by Flavius Manlius Theodosius while praetorian prefect, a position first attested for him in January 397. In *De consulatu Stilichonis* 2, 191-193 Claudian referred to Pannonia enjoying the benefit of Stilicho's rule.

added in support ([27]). Further, he argues that while it might have been Stilicho's policy in 405 to try and wrest control of Illyricum Orientale from the East it was not his policy in 395 and only became such in 404 ([28]). From 395 to 397 Stilicho had been content to let Alaric run riot in the Balkans ([29]). In the only full-length study of Innocent I ever produced, Malcolm Green agreed in his 1973 Oxford doctoral dissertation that Grumel's and Cameron's reasoning seems entirely satisfactory ([30]). Burns, however, has suggested that the transfer of Pannonia back to the West occurred as late as 400 ([31]). It is this division we find listed in *Notitia dignitatum*. It was Stilicho's goal to reattach the two parts of Illyricum, under western control, to which Dacia and Macedonia traditionally had belonged in recent years, that saw him utilise Alaric, the Gothic leader, and contributed to his own ultimate downfall in 408 ([32]).

2. Ecclesiastical Assignment of Illyricum

Whether eastern Illyricum was seen as part of the Western Empire between 379 and 395, though sometimes controlled by Theodosius from

(27) A. Cameron, *Theodosius and the Regency of Stilicho*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969), pp. 270-271. See Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 4, 59 ; Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2, 153-154, 301-307 ; John of Antioch, fragm. 190, 2 (*FHG* IV, 610). Cameron argues on pp. 271-272, based on Grumel, *Illyricum*, p. 18, that as Theodosius had restored to Valentinian in 391 only Gaul, Spain and Italy, so he would give Honorius in 395 the western empire without Illyricum. Greenslade, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 19, believed that the restoration to Valentinian of his father's territories included Illyricum.

(28) A. Cameron, *Claudian : Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 59-62. Stilicho's ambition was the more general one of reuniting both halves of the empire still with its two emperors but under his guardianship or indirect control. See also S. Williams and G. Friel, *Theodosius : The Empire at Bay*, London, 1994, p. 147.

(29) Claudian, *In Rufinum* 2, pr. 9-10 ; 2, 36-40. The point of this poem was to deflect blame for failing to deal with Alaric from Stilicho to Rufinus.

(30) M. R. Green, *Pope Innocent I : The Church of Rome in the Early Fifth Century*, dissertation, Oxford, 1973, pp. 43-44. See also J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Barbarians and Bishops : Army, Church, and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*, Oxford, 1990, p. 58.

(31) Burns, *Barbarians*, pp. 175-179.

(32) Symmachus, *Epistulae* 7, 13 ; Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum* 2, 696-720 ; Claudian, *Panegyricus de sexto consulatu* 201-228, 281-319 ; Id., *De bello*

the East, or eastern between 379 and 395, though sometimes controlled by western emperors may seem like a moot point to some, yet it is important for understanding ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which depended upon civil jurisdictions. Again, as Greenslade observed : "although the details may seem unimportant, the papal policy of these years will be obscured if they are misunderstood ([33])". The recognition of metropolitan bishops at the Council of Nicaea in 325 was based upon the civil diocesan structure ([34]), and metropolitans would only develop in Illyricum late in the fourth century ([35]). Under western control Illyricum was part of the praetorian prefecture of Italy, Africa and Illyricum. Ecclesiastically therefore, the churches of Illyricum had been part of Rome's area of responsibility. Only from 392 or from the death of Theodosius in 395 are Dacia and Macedonia (as Illyricum Orientale) civilly part of the Eastern Empire alone. Thus, when Acholius and the Macedonian bishops attended the Council of Constantinople in 381 they did so as bishops from the West, as Ambrose asserted ([36]). Greenslade referred also to two Arian bishops from eastern Illyricum summoned to a synod in Aquileia in 381, again strengthening the view that all of Illyricum until 392 ecclesiastically as well as civilly was considered western ([37]). With Dacia and Macedonia attached to the eastern empire, ecclesiastical supervision too ought, in theory at least, to have been transferred from Rome to Constantinople, yet it was not. Over time the position Rome took with regard to Illyricum would be broadened to produced the theory of papal primacy over the whole church.

Getico 554-635 ; Jerome, *Apologia contra Rufinum* 3, 21 ; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8, 25 ; Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos* 7, 37, 2. To this one can add the comments of Honorius in his letter to Arcadius about the situation in Illyricum : *Collectio Avellina* 38, 1 (*CSEL* 35, 85-88 = [Innocent I], *Epistula* 8, 1 [*PL* 20, 507]). See H. WOLFRAM, *History of the Goths*, trans. Th. J. DUNLAP, Berkeley, 1988, p. 153 ; LIEBESCHUETZ, *Barbarians and Bishops*, pp. 65-67 ; HEATHER, *Goths and Romans*, pp. 193-213 ; ID., *The Fall of the Roman Empire : A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 216-227 ; J. MATTHEWS, *Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court AD 364-425*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 274-275.

(33) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 21.

(34) Council of Nicaea, *can.* 4 in G. ALBERIGO *e.a.*, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, Bologna, 1973[3], p. 7.

(35) GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, p. 42.

(36) Ambrose, *Epistula* 9, 7 (extra collect.). Cf. BURNS, *Barbarians*, p. 46.

(37) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 22.

In order to consider the impact of this scholarly redating of the permanent division of Illyricum from 379 to 395 and the assigning of Illyricum to the East from 392 (remembering that Illyricum Occidentale returned quickly to the West) on ecclesticial affairs we need to consider the collection of letters from the fourth and fifth centuries that concerns events in Thessalonica, the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*. While others have done this, I believe that there is still more insight and information to be gained than have been extracted by previous scholars and an alternative reconstruction of the history that concern can be suggested.

In December 531 in Rome, a synod presided over by Boniface II considered the case of Stephen, bishop of Larissa in the province of Thessalia, which was part of the diocese of Macedonia. His election was disputed by some of his clergy who took the matter to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, who quickly decreed that his election was indeed invalid and had Stephen arrested and taken to Constantinople, despite Stephen's protest that it was Rome not Constantinople that had the prerogative to investigate ecclesiastical matters in Thessalia. Theodosius of Echinus, another Thessalian bishop, managed to take the matter to Rome where he was able to present to Boniface and the other members of the synod a collection of letters from Rome kept in the Thessalonican archives dating back a century and a half, reminding the Roman Church that it had jurisdiction over the churches of all Illyricum. The *Collectio Thessalonicensis* is the partial record of the Roman synod and Stephen's appeal, together with the letters from Rome until the time of Leo the Great. The remaining letters (from Hilary, Simplicius, Felix III [II] and Hormisdas) and the final decision of the synod are no longer preserved. The *collectio* is found in one manuscript (*Vatican, lat.* 5751), a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript from northern Italy, and in two seventeenth-century hand-written copies of that manuscript (*Vatican, lat.* 6339 and *Vatican, Barb. lat.* 650 [olim 3386]) ([38]). In 1937 Silva-Tarouca published an edition of the manu-

(38) Fr. MAASSEN, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*, I, *Die Rechtssammlungen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Graz, 1870, pp. 766-767 ; SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, pp. VIII-IX ; L. KÉRY, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140) : A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington, D.C., 1999, pp. 40-41. The suggestion of K. FRIEDRICH, *Über die Sammlung der Kirche von Thessalonich und das päpstliche Vicariat für Illyricum*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

script. This collection of letters enables us to trace some of the history of the church of Thessalonica in its relationship with Rome in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.

As others have shown, in the letters from Damasus of Rome to Acholius of Thessalonica, which open the *collectio*, the former merely asks the latter to use his influence over Theodosius, who was living in Thessalonica for much of 380, which is when Jaffé dated the letters ([39]), to prevent the machinations of Peter of Alexandria to have Maximus the Cynic accepted as the new bishop of Constantinople. Acholius did have ready access to Theodosius in Thessalonica in 380, baptising him after a serious illness ([40]). So Damasus' request is easy enough to understand as the asking of a favour from one bishop to another without us having to conclude that Damasus had created a vicariate to retain the churches of Illyricum as part of a western ecclesiastical structure now that the civil dioceses had been entrusted in 379 to Theodosius and the East ([41]). Indeed, any vicariate created at this time would have been premature given that Illyricum was to be back in western hands civilly by the end of 380 or a year or two later (although, it must be admitted, that could only be known with hindsight). Acholius attended the episcopal synod of Rome in 382 ([42]), and presumably not as an easterner under western jurisdiction but as any other western bishop.

Siricius wrote, possibly in 385 but more likely between 395 and 398, to Anysius, Acholius' successor, admonishing him to prevent problems arising by requiring that no bishop be ordained in Illyricum without his

(München), philosophisch-historische Klasse (1891), pp. 771-887, was refuted by R. VON NOSTITZ-RIENECK, *Die päpstlichen Urkunden für Thessalonike und deren Kritik durch Prof. Friedrich*, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 21 (1897), pp. 1-50, which was accepted by SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. x.

(39) Damasus, *Epistulae* 5 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, pp. 16-18 = JK 237) and 6 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, pp. 18-19 = JK 238).

(40) Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 6, 3-6 ; Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7, 4, 3.

(41) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 25 ; J. MACDONALD, *Who instituted the Papal Vicariate of Thessalonica ?*, in *Studia Patristica*, 4, *Papers presented to the 3rd International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1959*, ed. F. L. CROSS (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 79), Berlin, 1961, p. 479 ; GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, pp. 37-38.

(42) Ambrose, *Epistula* 7, 51, 10 ; Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 9, 1.

consent (43). The point Greenslade made was that even if Siricius was exercising some authority in Thessalonica he was not doing so over an eastern part of the empire but over a western one (44). Green stated that Siricius was "granting him [Anysius] a veto over all episcopal consecrations in Illyricum (45)". This would seem to indicate that Siricius had some control over eastern Illyricum (46). However, he then concluded : "Siricius is not here claiming any jurisdictional authority over Thessalonica. He is throwing the moral authority of the see of Rome behind Anysius, for the purposes of resolving the disorders in Illyricum. Anysius is being encouraged to take firm action and is assured of Roman support if he does (47)". The emphasis here is different. Macdonald believed that Anysius "was asked to supervise episcopal appointments in the neighbourhood but this duty fell far short of the authority conferred by Innocent" (48).

(43) Siricius, *Epistula* 4 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 19 = JK 257) : "... huiusmodi litteras dederamus, ut nulli licencia esset sine consensu tuo in Illyrico episcopos ordinare praesumere". While GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 26 dated *Epistula* 4 before 392, GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, pp. 44-45 dates *Epistula* 4 to after the Bonosus' affair and the death of Theodosius. While reasonable on one level, his argument works only if Siricius granted something to Anysius. If, however, Siricius was only offering his opinion and lending his support to Anysius, as Green asserts elsewhere (p. 38), this would weaken the grounds for placing Siricius, *Epistula* 4 after the Bonosus' affair, although what Siricius wrote still makes most sense if it came after the synod of Capua. That Siricius was concerned with Milan's reach seems a plausible explanation for his efforts to assert Rome's traditional responsibility for Illyricum by offering his support to Thessalonica.

(44) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 26. Cf. T. G. JALLAND, *The Church and the Papacy : An Historical Study*, London, 1944, p. 272, who wrote about Thessalonica that "Siricius took it upon himself to nominate its bishop Anysius as metropolitan".

(45) GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, p. 38.

(46) GAUDEMET, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain*, p. 404 sees this as the first manifestation of a papal vicariate in Illyricum : "Le pape donne à l'évêque de Thessalonique, Anysius, des pouvoirs disciplinaires supérieurs".

(47) GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, p. 38.

(48) MACDONALD, *Who instituted*, p. 479. This view is echoed by Ch. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana : Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440) (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 224), Rome, 1976, pp. 1075-1076.

Things may be seen slightly differently from Green, more in line with Greenslade and Macdonald. It makes sense to imagine that before 395 Siricius saw Illyricum very much as part of his ecclesiastical *prouincia*, as was Italy, Gaul and Spain (Africa, I believe, was different, even though civilly Africa sometimes had been joined with Italy and Illyricum in the one prefecture), over which he exercised a degree of oversight ([49]). If this is so then the bishop of Rome had the supra-metropolitan (or patriarchal) prerogatives over Illyricum as he had over other churches in his undefined region, as recognised at the Council of Nicaea, which, specifically in the case of the bishop of Alexandria – and presumably for the other "patriarchs" as well –, included the responsibility for the ordination of all bishops in the area under his sway ([50]). Further, after 395 Siricius wanted this arrangement to continue unchanged.

The fact that Anysius and his fellow bishops had turned to Milan rather than to Rome in 392 for support in the deposition of Bonosus of Naissus or Serdica ([51]) would indicate that the churches in eastern Illyricum,

(49) I take the authority requested by the synod of Rome in 378 (the date has been disputed) that bishops condemned by the bishop of Rome or synods of bishops meeting in Rome should be removed from their cities by civil authority if need be, granted by the emperors Gratian and Valentinian II in their rescript *Ordinariorum sententias* 11-12 (*CSEL* 35, 57-58), applied only to those parts of the empire where the praetorian prefects of Italy and Gaul had authority, i.e., to Damasus' particular "patriarchiate." See F. W. PULLER, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, London, 1914, pp. 147-150 ; JALLAND, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 247. Both authors, though, believed that eastern Illyricum had been transferred permanently to the East in 379, thereby making Damasus the creator of the vicariate.

(50) Council of Nicaea, *can.* 6 in ALBERIGO, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, pp. 8-9. For the controversy of whether or not a similar responsibility was envisaged by the bishops at Nicaea for Rome see H. CHADWICK, *Faith and Order at the Council of Nicaea : A Note on the Background of the Sixth Canon*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, 53 (1960), pp. 171-195.

(51) In support of Naissus see Innocent I, *Epistula* 16 (*PL* 20, 519 = JK 299) ; J. ZEILLER, *Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1918, pp. 346-347 ; E. CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, I, *Römische Kirche und Imperium Romanum*, Tübingen, 1930, p. 283 ; J.-R. PALANQUE, *Saint Ambrose et l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1933, p. 259 ; F. H. DUDDEN, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, Oxford, 1935, p. 401 ; DEMOUGEOT, *De l'unité à la division*, p. 64 ; GAUDEMET, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain*, p. 120 ; H. E. J. COWDREY, *The Dissemination of St. Augustine's Doctrine of Holy Orders During the Later Patristic Age*, in *The*

although western, did not see themselves at that point as having Rome as their necessary or only court of appeal (52). Indeed, it had been Ambrose

Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. 20 (1969), p. 464 ; J. MOORHEAD, *Ambrose : Church and Society in the Late Roman World*, London, 1999, p. 196. In support of Serdica see Pseudo-Marius Mercator, *Appendix de Contrad. XII Anathem. Nest.* 15 (*PL* 48, 928) (see E. AMANN, *Marius Mercator*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, IX, Paris, 1927, col. 2485) ; G. RAUSCHEN, *Jahrbücher*, pp. 341-342, n. 9 ; X. LE BACHELET, *Bonose*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II, 1, Paris, 1932, coll. 1027-1031 ; Ch.W. NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary in the Works of Saint Ambrose* (*Paradosis*, 17), Fribourg, 1962, pp. 206-209 ; PIETRI, *Roma Christiana*, p. 1078 ; H. HESS, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (*Oxford Early Christian Studies*), Oxford, 2002, p. 51 (although he misspells Meletian and Bonosus). My problem with Neumann's work is that he reads history only from a modern perspective, saying on p. 209, for example, that Ambrose was apprehensive to discover Bonosus' "error" and on p. 210 that Illyricum was full of "confused" ideas about Mary. Such a judgement assumes that there was a patently obvious truth from which Bonosus and others deviated consciously.

(52) The synod of Capua, intended originally to convene in Rome, met under Ambrose's presidency in 392, without the presence of Siricius, to resolve the Meletian schism at Antioch. See Ambrose, *Epistula* 10, 70 ; Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 23 ; R. WARD, *The Schism at Antioch in the Fourth Century*, dissertation, London, 2003. It referred also the teaching of Bonosus, who had stated that Mary and Joseph had children together after the birth of Jesus, perhaps on the basis of Jn. 2:4 about Mary being called *mulier* (a term that normally excluded *uirgo*) as NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary*, pp. 212-216 suggests, to the Illyrian bishops under Anysius. One need not consider here the other heresies attributed to Bonosus in later sources. Those bishops barred Bonosus from his see whereupon he appealed to Ambrose about whether he could reclaim his church, to which Ambrose counselled patience in a non-extant letter. The Illyrian bishops too wrote to Ambrose about what they should do, to which he replied with *Epistula* 10, 71 (*Epistula de causa Bonosi*), which contains the little we know about earlier events, claiming that the synod had given them the responsibility of deciding matters. Ambrose's theological opinion was expressed forcefully in his later *De institutione virginis* (ed. F. GORI, *Opere morali*, II, 2. *Verginità e vedovanza* [*Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi Mediolanensis Opera*, 14/2], Milan, 1989, pp. 110-194). Here, like Dudden, Palanque and Neumann, I support the view of F. CAVALLERA, *La lettre sur l'évêque Bonose est-elle de saint Sirice ou de saint Ambroise*, in *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* 21 (1920), pp. 141-147, that Ambrose was the author of the letter, against Rauschen, Zeiller, Caspar, Demougeot and O. VIGHETTI, *I sacramenti della penitenza e dell'ordine nella dottrina di S. Innocenzo I*, in *Miscellanea Francescana* 52 (1952), p. 105, n. 5, who believed that the Illyrians appealed to Siricius and he was the author of the letter, which was attributed to him by P. COUSTANT, *Epistolae Romanorum*

who had taken Theodosius to task over the imperially decreed massacre at Thessalonica in 390, although the extent to which this was known could be debated ([53]). We have a letter from Ambrose to the clergy of Thessalonica on the death of bishop Acholius in 383 and to Anysius as his successor, suggesting a particularly close tie between Milan and at least this particular Illyrian Church ([54]). Even though Rome exercised or attempted to exercise some degree of responsibility over other churches, with the imperial court at Milan instead of at Rome, and with Ambrose being such an outstanding figure, it was only natural for the Illyrian bishops to turn to the leading bishop of the day in their region (the important point being that they saw themselves as part of a western ecclesiastical region).

However, Neumann asserts that Siricius did not attend the synod because it was convoked under imperial pressure, but that he entrusted it (thereby maintaining his supremacy), like that in Aquilea in 381, to Ambrose, and sent delegates ([55]). Further, against Greenslade, he believes that this incident reveals the fact that Anysius was already papal vicar and that was why he, rather than Anemius of Sirmium, was asked to handle Bonosus, who then attempted to play off Sirmium (connected with Ambrose) against Thessalonica (the agent of Rome), although Ambrose loyally would have none of it ([56]). While one may agree with the chrono-

Pontificum, Paris, 1721, pp. 679-680 (= Siricius, *Epistula* 9 [*PL* 13, 1176-1178 = JK 261]).

(53) F. KOLB, *Der Bussakt von Mailand : Zum Verhaltnis von Staat und Kirche in der Spätantike*, in *Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für K. D. Erdmann*, ed. H. BOOCKMANN, K. JÜRGENSEN and G. STOTTENBERG, Neumünster, 1980, pp. 41-74 ; N. B. MCLYNN, *Ambrose of Milan : Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (*The transformation of the classical heritage*, 22), Berkeley, 1994, pp. 315-330 ; MOORHEAD, *Ambrose*, pp. 192-196.

(54) Ambrose, *Epistula* 7, 51 and 7, 52.

(55) NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary*, p. 223. DUDDEN, *Saint Ambrose*, p. 399, suggested that Siricius might not have attended because it was Ambrose who had caused the synod to be convened. H. SAVON, *Ambroise de Milan (340-397)*, Paris, 1997, p. 278, notes simply that "Sirice se tient à l'écart, et l'assemblée se réunit à Capoue au lieu de siéger à Rome".

(56) NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary*, pp. 226-227. He does not explain how Ambrose could be played off against Anysius by Bonosus in light of the fact that Ambrose and the bishops at Capua had approached Anysius rather than Anemius. PIETRI, *Roma Christiana*, p. 1079, considers Anysius to have been made as vicar by Ambrose and the Italian bishops.

logy he maps out ([57]), his argument is far from convincing. This was an age when emperors invoked synods of bishops regularly. Anysius did not need the "greater authority" of being a papal vicar to be entrusted with the task of deciding upon Bonosus. If we accept that the churches of Illyricum were western and if we accept that the politically experienced and outspoken Ambrose, the bishop of the new imperial capital in the West, outshone the bishops of Rome in exercising leadership in the western church, then the synod's commission was all the authority a group of bishops needed. Neumann's alternative reason why Thessalonica was invited to assume leadership in this matter rather than Serdica (if Bonosus was bishop of Naissus, answerable to his metropolitan in Serdica – a position Neumann only entertains hypothetically), viz., because Thessalonica was more impartial than Serdica (and Sirmium), particularly if the bishop of Serdica (and Sirmium) was leading the accusations against Bonosus, seems more plausible ([58]). We do not know the extent to which Thessalonica's status as an ancient apostolic church nor Anysius' personality and ability played a part. They could have been significant factors. The Bonosus affair does not prove that the bishop of Thessalonica was Roman vicar by 392.

The fact that Ambrose eclipsed the bishops of Rome may be one of the reasons why, together with the transfer of Illyricum to the East from 392, Siricius sought to preserve and reassert Rome's traditional sphere of influence over the churches of eastern Illyricum when he wrote *Epistula* 4. He certainly did not want bishops like Bonosus appearing in the future. Therefore, he delegated his responsibility, as confirmed earlier in a vague fashion at Nicaea, for oversight of the election of bishops throughout Illyricum to Anysius, thereby making the bishop of Thessalonica his vicar in the exercise of this particular responsibility alone ([59]). Perhaps Siricius did it in competition with Ambrose for the loyalty of the Illyrian churches or perhaps only after Ambrose had died in April 397 in the vacuum created by the Milanese bishop's death.

(57) NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary*, p. 234.

(58) NEUMANN, *The Virgin Mary*, pp. 224-225.

(59) I agree with GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, when he wrote on p. 26 that : "Siricius' own letter speaks of no *other* duty or jurisdiction than the supervision of episcopal appointments, which does not constitute a vicariate". It must be repeated that Greenslade dated the Bonosus affair to after Siricius, *Epistula* 4.

Although Greenslade thought that it was not Siricius but one of his successors, Anastasius or Innocent I, who established the vicariate ([60]), Macdonald makes the point that the *Collectio Thessalonicensis* contained no letter from Anastasius because none was written by him to Anysius during his brief episcopate and that it must have been Innocent who established it ([61]). The real point to be made, and Greenslade made it in a footnote ([62]), is that the spelling out of Rome's enduring interest in a part of the empire now transferred to the East happened slowly. The *collectio* does not contain a formal decree instituting a papal vicariate, because it is something that emerged piecemeal.

What is important to understand is that until 392 eastern Illyricum belonged for the most part to the western empire and therefore, under the arrangements of Nicaea, Rome saw itself as having a leadership role in Illyricum. After 392, with Illyricum Orientale permanently in eastern hands, this arrangement ought to have ceased. Indeed, Koder and Hild simply assert that Rome's Vormachtstellung is to be dated from 395 ([63]). What we find, though, are the Roman bishops only gradually but increasingly trying to preserve all of Illyricum as part of their ecclesiastical orbit, by delegating slowly some of their responsibilities to the bishop of Thessalonica to exercise on their behalf. Siricius and Anastasius did not seem to have faced any challenge from Constantinople to their belief that the churches of Illyricum Orientale remained part of their responsibilities. Indeed, with the transfer of western Illyricum back to the West by 396 (if we disregard Burns' position on this question) and given the his-

(60) *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

(61) MACDONALD, *Who Instituted*, pp. 480-481. However, his point, that if Anasatius had written any relevant letter it would have been preserved in the archives of Thessalonica to be delivered to the synod presided over by Boniface II in 531, overlooks the fact that, while Innocent, *Epistula* 13 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, pp. 21-22 = JK 300) to Anysius' successor, Rufus, was in the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*, such important letters as those from Innocent to Rufus and the other Macedonian bishops (*Epistula* 17 [*PL* 20, 526-537 = JK 303] and 18 [*PL* 20, 537-540 = JK 304]) were not.

(62) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 27, n. 1. He was following the idea put forward by F. STREICHHAN, *Die Anfänge des Vikariats von Thessalonisch*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 12 (1922), pp. 330-384, who, however, had argued that an exarchate had been established in Illyricum in the fourth century.

(63) KODER and HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*, p. 80.

tory of Illyricum being something of a political football between East and West, one can understand why the bishop of Rome did not hand responsibility for Illyricum over to the bishop of Constantinople in 392 – there was every likelihood that it would soon once again be administered from the West. A Roman bishop could have made the argument that stability demanded that Illyricum remain under his care rather than pass backwards and forwards between Rome and Constantinople.

I would point out, that in writing to his imperial brother Arcadius in 405 for a third time about the exile of John Chrysostom, the emperor Honorius suggested that a synod of eastern and western bishops needed to meet and that the western bishops were suggesting that it ought to meet in Thessalonica ([64]). This would indicate that the Italian bishops considered Thessalonica to be western enough to be suitable for them and neutral enough because it was in the eastern political prefecture of Illyricum Orientale to be acceptable to the eastern bishops. The permanence of Illyricum Orientale being controlled from the East could not have been known at the time, particularly given Stilicho's efforts to reclaim it for the West ([65]). An earlier letter between the imperial brothers on the Chrysostom affair in 404 indicates that Honorius argued implicitly that what was happening to Illyricum Orientale demonstrated that it was not an effective policy having it controlled by the East ([66]). Thus, it is understandable that the bishop of Rome would not have been interested in surrendering his patriarchal responsibilities in that part of the world if

(64) Palladius, *Dialogus* 3, 115-132. On Innocent's involvement in the Chrysostom affair see G. D. DUNN, *Roman Primacy in the Correspondence Between Innocent I and John Chrysostom*, in *Giovanni Crisostomo : Oriente e Occidente tra IV e V secolo. XXXIII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana. Roma 6-8 maggio 2004* (*Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum*, 93/2), Rome, 2005. pp. 687-698 ; ID., *The Date of Innocent I's* Epistula *12 and the Second Exile of John Chrysostom*, in *GRBS*, 45 (2005), pp. 155-170.

(65) Although Stilicho's desire for Illyricum orientale returning to the western empire in the political sphere might have been similar to Innocent's efforts to keep Illyricum Orientale as part of the Roman Church in the ecclesiastical sphere, DEMOUGEOT, *De l'unité à la division*, p. 337, is not justified when she claims : "Depuis 402 d'ailleurs, Stilicon encourageait le pape Innocent à maintenir la traditionnelle primauté de Rome sur tout l'Illyricum, y compris naturellement l'Illyricum oriental".

(66) *Collectio Avellina* 38, 1 (*CSEL* 35, 85-88) = [Innocent I], *Epistula* 8, 1 (*PL* 20, 507).

there was still some likelihood that it would soon be returned to western political control, as Illyricum Occidentale was. Even though we find no evidence during Innocent's episcopate for the church of Constantinople asserting a claim to responsibility for Illyricum, one could well imagine, especially after the fall of Stilicho, that Constantinople would grow increasingly unhappy with Rome's claims to a traditional responsibility for Illyricum given that the political change was becoming more obviously fixed. Theodoret gives the impression, whether reflecting the opinion of the time or of several decades later it is hard to tell, that the bishops of Illyricum, who supported Flavianus as bishop of Antioch rather than Evagrius, supported by Rome ([67]), were, from an eastern perspective, part of the East and not the West ([68]). However, he gives no evidence of Constantinople asserting any specific jurisdiction over the churches of Illyricum. By 421 we find evidence of Constantinople asserting ecclesiastical authority over the churches of Illyricum in a rescript of Theodosius II, but we need not suppose that this must have been the case a generation earlier ([69]).

3. Innocent's Letter to Anysius

Innocent informed Anysius of the death of Anastasius, his predecessor in Rome, and of his own election and indicated, in words that Innocent probably used in many of his first letters to his episcopal colleagues that no longer survive, that he held the addressee in particular regard ([70]). The bishop of Rome then reminded Anysius how his predecessors had "handed over to your holiness ... everything that may arise in those parts that needs to be investigated ([71])". Innocent, not wanting to deviate from

(67) The fact that the bishops of Illyricum took a different position to that of Rome is no indication of the eastern or western identification of the churches of Illyricum nor of the status of a Roman ecclesiastical vicariate in Illyricum.

(68) Theodoret, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5, 23.

(69) *CTh* 16, 2, 45. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy*, p. 275, described this as "one of the most fertile seeds of future schism".

(70) Thus, E. G. Weltin, *The Ancient Popes* (*The Popes Through History*, 2), Westminster, Md., 1964, p. 273 and Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, p. 1086 are too definitive in calling Innocent's letter to Anysius his very first rather than simply his earliest to have survived.

(71) Innocent I, *Epistula* 1 (Silva-Tarouca, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 20) : "ut omnia quae in illis parentibus gererentur sanctitati tuae ...

what they had established, quickly reassured Anysius that he too would continue to recognise Thessalonica's privileges and he renewed the bestowal of responsibility upon Anysius ([72]). Innocent believed that if those who preceded him in Rome felt Anysius personally worthy enough to be so favoured then it was not his business to disagree with them. It would seem that Innocent's understanding was that whatever had been granted to Anysius by his predecessors lapsed with their deaths and needed to be granted anew by those who succeeded them if it were to continue. As well, it lapsed when the bishop of Thessalonica died, as Innocent's renewal of his understanding of what existed in *Epistula* 13 to Rufus, Anysius' successor, indicates ([73]). The question is about just what responsibility Innocent had in mind.

Greenslade suggested that Innocent's statement about what his predecessors had granted to the bishops of Thessalonica was "a readily understood generalization, magnifying the precedents ([74])". Caspar made much the same point ([75]). Macdonald asserted that Innocent did not want to appear as an innovator and that the bishop of Thessalonica was not about to point out that the enhanced authority he was receiving was in fact a novelty ([76]). Macdonald implied that Innocent knew that he was creating

traderent cognoscenda". CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, p. 308, translates: "daß sie alle Angelegenheiten jener Gegenden deiner Heiligkeit ... zur Kenntnisnahme und Prüfung (*cognoscenda*) überwiesen".

(72) Innocent I, *Epistula* 1 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 21): "Prae me itaque fero, ut hoc ipsum etiam meae parvitati reservatum recognoscam, ut pari iudicio similique forma et bonis adaequer, et tuae caritati id tribuam quod mereris".

(73) I shall argue in a future paper that Innocent's *Epistula* 13 to Rufus does not contain any expansion in the arrangement between Rome and Thessalonica but a spelling out of what Innocent in *Epistula* 1 presumed Anysius knew already and therefore did not need to mention.

(74) GREENSLADE, *The Illyrian Churches*, p. 25.

(75) CASPAR, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, p. 308: "In Illyricum, auf dem wichtigsten politischen Tätigkeitsfelde der römischen Kirche schon unter Siricius, setzte Innocenz I. also sofort ein, und er umschrieb die unter Damasus I. zuerst aufgenommene römisch-thessalonicher politische Korrespondenz und die ersten Verfügungen des Siricius mit verallgemeinernder und erweiternder Interpretation als ein seit jenen Tagen kraft päpstlicher Verfügung bestehendes Oberaufsichtsrecht von Thessalonich über alle kirchlichen Angelegenheiten in Illyricum".

(76) MACDONALD, *Who Instituted*, p. 481.

something new but masked it and that he took this step because of fear of the bishop of Constantinople trying to exert influence over Illyricum Orientale now that it was under Eastern civil control (77). Gaudemet argued that Innocent was renewing the independent authority entrusted personally to Anysius (rather than one given to the office of bishop of Thessalonica), granted under Siricius, to ward off the encroaching influence of Constantinople (78). Green's assessment, like that of Seppelt, is that Innocent added to what had been developing under his predecessors such that "Thessalonica's authority over Illyricum was regarded as fully equal to that of the exarchates of the East over their dioceses, but was yet derived from that of the Roman see, not independently exercised (79)". Green seems to assert that Innocent consciously was taking a "great step forward" in dealing with Thessalonica (80), i.e., that Innocent knew that Damasus and Siricius had only encouraged and supported Thessalonica and that he was taking it – deliberately and consciously but not openly – to a new level. However, that denies what Innocent himself asserted, viz., that he believed that he was doing nothing other than continue the policy

(77) *Ibid.*, pp. 481-482.

(78) GAUDEMET, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain*, pp. 404-405 : "Il s'agirait, non pas de confirmer un ancien lien entre Thessalonique et Rome, mais de créer une juridiction supérieure indépendante de Rome, capable de résister efficacement aux entreprises de Constantinople. En tous cas le pape ne parlait pas de création d'un vicariat et la mesure présentait un caractère strictement personnel. Elle était prise pour Anysius et non au profit de son siège. Elle devait être renouvelée pour tout nouvel évêque et par chaque nouveau pape. C'est ce que fit Innocent I en se référant aux mesures de ses prédécesseurs". WELTIN, *The Ancient Popes*, p. 273, believes that Illyricum was a buffer zone between Rome and Constantinople and that Innocent inherited the papal vicariate, making no comment about any transformation Innocent might have made to it. D. O'GRADY, *Beyond the Empire : Rome and the Church from Constantine to Charlemagne*, New York, 2001, p. 40, asserts that it was Innocent who established the vicariate and adds boldly and without specific evidence that it was done "to avoid Greek-speakers there allying with Constantinople".

(79) F. X. SEPPELT, *Geschichte der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*, I, *Der Aufstieg des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des sechsten Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1954, p. 138 : "Innocenz begnügte sich aber nicht mit dieser Bestätigung der früher verliehenen Vorrechte. Er hat sie noch erweitert, und so wurde er zum eigentlichen Begründer des päpstlichen Vikariats von Thessalonich". GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, p. 46.

(80) GREEN, *Pope Innocent I*, p. 46.

of his predecessors who had handed over ecclesiastical oversight for the churches in those parts to Anysius.

There are a couple of alternative views yet to be considered. First, it is possible that Innocent was simply confirming Siricius' arrangement whereby the bishop of Thessalonica had been delegated to supervise the election of bishops in Illyricum and that the *omnia quae ... gererentur ... cognoscenda* to which Innocent referred should not be understood to mean "absolutely everything" but "everything concerned with the appointment of bishops". In other words, *omnia* did not mean *omnia*. However, it is not an option that should be pursued given that in *Epistula* 13 to Rufus, Anysius' successor, Innocent did envisage the responsibilities given to the bishops of Thessalonica to be wider than just the appointment of bishops. The second alternative is that rather than deliberately exaggerate what his predecessors had done or simply confirm what actually they had done in creating the bishop of Thessalonica a primate over the Illyrian churches, Innocent mistakenly could have confirmed what he believed they had done (but which actually they had not) ([81]). In other words, Innocent actually granted to Anysius more sweeping responsibility as head of the Illyrian churches (for want of a better term) than Siricius had – although he had been heading in that direction – simply believing that he was only repeating what Anastasius, Siricius and Damasus had previously. It was a mistaken interpretation because his predecessors had not conferred powers to that extent upon Anysius or his predecessors. Rather than augmenting the authority of Thessalonica in Illyricum orientale by stealth, Innocent just could have been wrong, thereby extending something that actually he thought he was just confirming. So when the new bishop of Rome said that he handed over to Anysius all those matters in those parts that needed to be investigated he believed that this was precisely what Damasus, Siricius and Anastasius had done before him. Thus, Innocent can be taken at his word when he

(81) The alternative would be to argue that Greenslade, Macdonald and Green are wrong in their assessment of the force of those earlier letters (thereby dating the foundation of the vicariate to Damasus or Siricius) and that Innocent therefore was not mistaken in his reading of those letters and was indeed only continuing their policy. This is the position of GAUDEMET, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain*, p. 405, at least with regard to Siricius : "C'est ce que fit Innocent I en se référant aux mesures de ses prédécesseurs". However, I do not think these three scholars are wrong on this point.

wrote : "I uphold this decision and have the same intention ([82])". This mistaken belief then became fixed in the papal mind, as Sixtus III and Leo I's statements about granting certain authority to Anastasius, Rufus' successor in Thessalonica reveal ([83]). This answers Puller's question about how the clear statement of Innocent that his predecessors had established the vicariate can be passed over ([84]).

Had Innocent been acting more along the lines prosed by Greenslade, Caspar, Macdonald and Green, even surreptitiously, one would expect him to have been more specific about these supposed extended powers. Simply by referring to *in illis parentibus* and *omnia quae ... gererentur ... cognoscenda* Innocent presumed that Anysius knew exactly what he meant because it referred to nothing other than what his Roman predecessors supposedly had granted to him. When Innocent came to write *Epistula* 13 to Rufus several years later he did spell out more clearly exactly what was being conferred on him because Rufus, as the new bishop, could not be presumed to know. Further, in 402, as a new bishop himself passing on news of his recent appointment to many other bishops, Innocent could not have been expected yet to be familiar with the details of all the relationships the church of Rome had with other churches, making the possibility of a mistake plausible.

(82) Innocent I, *Epistula* 1 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 20) : "hoc tenere iuditium eandemque habere voluntatem". Let it be said that I believe that if Innocent had realised that Siricius had only granted a limited leadership role to the bishop of Thessalonica in Illyricum he would have had little hesitation in extending it quite openly. There was no reason at this time for him to have done so by stealth as others have suggested.

(83) Sixtus III, *Epistula* 7 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 37 = JK 393) : "cum sciamus nihil novum illi a nobis fuisse concessum, sed id quod eius decessoribus nostri decessores detulerant" ; Leo I, *Epistula* 6 (SILVA-TAROUCA, *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum*, p. 54 = JK 404) : "Postquam itaque nobis petitio tuae dilectionis innotuit per filium nostrum Nicolaum presbyterum, ut tibi quoque a nobis, sicut decessoribus tuis, per Illyricum cum nostra vice propter custodiam regularum acutoritas praestaretur, praebentes assensum, nostra adhortatione conpellimus, ut nulla dissimulatio, neglegentia nulla proveniat circa ecclesiarum regimen per Illyricum positarum, quas dilectioni tuae vice nostra committimus, beatae recordationis Siricii exemplum secuti, qui sanctae memoriae Anysio, praedecessori tuo, bene de apostolica sede tunc merito, re rebus post sequentibus approbato, certa tum primum ratione commisit, ut per illam provinciam positis, quas ad disciplinam teneri voluit, ecclesiis subveniret".

(84) PULLER, *The Primitive Saints*, pp. 157-158, n. 6.

Macdonald's point about how Anysius reacted to Innocent's news is one worth considering. In this regard it does not matter whether Innocent was acting to expand the privileges granted to the bishop of Thessalonica or was confirming something he believed mistakenly had already been given him. Lack of further evidence about the activity of Anysius prevents us from concluding whether or not he recognised that something even more extensive than what Siricius had given was now being conferred upon him. However, given how vague Innocent's words are and the fact that he emphasised how he was only continuing his predecessors' policy, it would be quite possible that Anysius did not realise that Innocent had said something more sweeping than had Siricius.

I am not claiming that this theory that Innocent honestly was mistaken rather than that Innocent was exaggerating what had happened in the past is proven beyond doubt, but it is being asserted here that it is a possibility that ought to be considered, particularly as in *Epistula* 1 Innocent no where spelled out what authority had been given to the bishops of Thessalonica by his predecessors.

What is interesting is that Innocent's only claim to authority to do what he did was that of the precedent of Damasus, Siricius and Anastasius. Nowhere did he assert that he or they were acting because they were the successor of Peter or had universal primacy. Such claims were to be typical of decretals ([85]). Perhaps the absence of this feature provides some explanation as to why Innocent's *Epistula* 1 was not included with many of his other letters in collections of decretals, such as the *Collectio Dionysiana*. In a future paper, on Innocent's letter to Rufus, I shall consider his understanding of his own relationship with the Illyrian bishops and the basis of his authority over them. What can be said here is that there is no reason to see Innocent's activity in Illyricum Orientale as a grab for papal or universal primacy. After the death of Theodosius the Roman bishops were attempting to preserve their field of influence not expand it and they were acting to delegate some of their "patriarchal" responsibilities to the bishop of Thessalonica, responsibilities not unique to the bishop of Rome but shared by the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch (and since the council of Constantinople in 381 by the bishop of

(85) D. JASPER, *The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition : Papal Letters from the Origin of the Genre through the Pontificate of Stephen V*, in D. JASPER and H. FUHRMANN, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, Washington, D.C., 2001, p. 9.

the new eastern capital as well). As well, what has been suggested in this paper is that there is no evidence of Innocent acting out of fear of Constantinople incorporating Illyricum orientale into its eastern ecclesiastical network, although such fear could have grown, particularly after Stilicho's fall.

4. Conclusion

Innocent's efforts to maintain a western, particularly Roman, ecclesiastical hegemony over a part of the empire that politically, with the death of Theodosius in 395, had passed permanently to the East, whether from a mistaken belief in what his predecessors had done or from a political sleight of hand, indicates just how long the Balkans have been caught in the crossfire of tension between East and West. I have argued in this paper, unlike other scholars who have investigated this matter, that Innocent believed that his predecessors in Rome had delegated much of their "patriarchal" prerogatives to Anysius of Thessalonica, whereas in fact they had only taken some initial steps in that direction. Based on this mistaken reading of the past, the newly-elected Innocent wrote to Anysius of Thessalonica thinking he was confirming and renewing something that in fact he had just extended.

While one can imagine that Constantinople would have liked to extend its religious influence over newly acquired eastern Illyricum, the bishops of Rome seemed to have been more concerned about the influence of Ambrose of Milan in that region more than that of the bishops of Constantinople. But with Ambrose's death in 397 and the movement of Honorius from Milan to Ravenna in 402 that concern would begin to diminish. The longer the division of Illyricum between East and West endured the more likely it would be that Constantinople's interest in the religious administration of the area would rise. Yet, we do not have to conclude, as Martin Connell does, that Innocent's interventions in ecclesiastical matters in Illyricum reflects a dispute between Rome and Constantinople about who had jurisdiction over the prefecture ([86]). The church of Constantinople's interest in Illyricum orientale had yet to be expressed or even aroused.

(86) M. F. Connell, *Church and Worship in Fifth-Century Rome : The Letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio* (*Joint Liturgical Studies*, 52), Cambridge, 2002, p. 8.

As the sixth-century *Collectio Thessalonicensis* itself reveals, this part of Europe was to be caught up in a tug-of-war between East and West that engulfed new groups of peoples who settled in the area over the centuries. In our own generation we have witnessed the Balkans conflict in the former Yugoslavia that, in part, can be characterised as the boiling over of tensions between Catholic Croatians and Orthodox Serbians. Indeed, nearly a century ago, the event that finally sparked the First World War was the assassination by an Orthodox Serbian of the Hapsburg heir to the Catholic Austro-Hungarian empire. Although one would not argue for any causal connection, the policy of Innocent I in asserting a western ecclesiastical interest in Illyricum must be seen as being at the dawn of that enduring tension. Innocent laid the groundwork for one source of tension between Rome and Constantinople for centuries to come.

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SUMMARY

The political assignment of the provinces of Illyricum from the West to the East in the late fourth century had ecclesiastical implications in terms of who exercised patriarchal responsibilities over the churches in the affected provinces. The letters of the Collectio Thessalonicensis reveal that Rome saw itself as preserving a responsibility for those churches even after the transfer. In this paper it is argued that the papal vicariate of Thessalonica, by which the Roman bishops delegated some of their patriarchal responsibilities to the bishop of Thessalonica, developed piecemeal and by accident. The argument is made here that in 402, at the start of his episcopate, Innocent I of Rome wrote to Anysius of Thessalonica confirming what he believed his predecessors (Damasus and Siricius) had granted Anysius, but what he in fact did was to expand Anysius' role as papal vicar because he misunderstood the arrangement made by his predecessors, which was more limited. The misunderstanding was due to the fact that Innocent was a new bishop who had not yet grasped the intricacies of the situation.

NOTES ON THE DATE AND VENUE OF THE *ORATION TO THE SAINTS* (*CPG* 3497)

Constantine's *Oration to the Saints*, which I shall here take to be genuine, is the apology of a convert and the first of an inexhaustible line of apologies to the converted. It set a fertile precedent with its false but seductive reading of his *Fourth Eclogue* ; at the same time it hinted, by reviving a pagan argument against collegiate governance in the physical world, that only a Christian monarch, ruling singly, could be the image and plenipotentiary of God. The first of these innovations is a token of his Latin culture, the second a manifesto of his ambition, or perhaps the imprimatur to an ambition already realised if the speech was delivered after the submission of Licinius, his last rival, in November 324. Although there is reason to think that it was drafted in Latin, the text survives in Greek, and if delivered in that language, will of course have been destined for an eastern venue. Unfortunately, we learn nothing of the venue from the *Oration*, except that, at the time of composition, it was the Emperor's "dearest city" (1). Most scholars have surmised that it was written in the wake of one of Constantine's incursions into the territory of Licinius : Piganiol assigns it to Thessalonica in 323 (2), Mazzarino to Byzantium in 324 (3), De Decker and Lane Fox to Antioch

(1) We have used the edition of I. A. HEIKEL, *Eusebius* Werke, I, *Über das Leben Constantins. Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung. Tricennatsrede an Constantin* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*), Leipzig, 1902. See here *Oration* 22, p. 188, 2, where the city is apostrophized.

(2) A. PIGANIOL, *Dates constantiniennes*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 12 (1932), pp. 360-372.

(3) S. MAZZARINO, *Antico, Tardantico ed èra Costantiniana I*, in *Storia e Civiltà*, 13 (1974), pp. 98-150. Mazzarino notes the predilection of Constantine for this city, as evidenced in some passages of John Lydus, and the similarity between the *Theodosian Code* (7, 20, 2) and the peroration to the speech (MAZZARINO, p. 109). He does not, however, explain why the praises lavished by the Emperor on his "new Rome" after 325 might not come to his lips when addressing the old Rome ten years earlier.

in 325 ([4]), Barnes (most recently) to Nicomedia in the same year, Bleckmann to Nicomedia on a somewhat later occasion ([5]). Theories of an earlier date, however, are not untenable, since Barnes had argued previously for 317 and 321, with Serdica as the venue (or at least the most probable venue) on both occasions ([6]), while Drake, had he forced his tentative case for Rome to its logical outcome, would have been obliged to offer dates as early as 314 or 315 ([7]).

As has been shown elsewhere ([8]), this last position derives support from the presence in the speech of a detailed commentary on the *Fourth Eclogue* (not yet a classic text in the Greek world) and of an oracle attributed to the Sibyl, whose books had hitherto been monopolised in Rome by pagan scholars. If it has none the less failed to win assent, that is partly because objections of some substance have not yet received a satisfactory answer, but primarily because it has been eclipsed by the recrudescence of an old theory that the *Oration* was designed for Nicomedia, and is hence to be dated after 324. The most recent defence of a Roman venue, *Constantine and Christendom* by Mark Edwards, appeared too soon after Timothy Barnes's palinode in favour of Nicomedia to take more than passing notice of it ; Barnes, in his review of this book, maintains that its central thesis cannot be matched with the known itinerary of Constantine, and notes a number of superficial errors which, in his view,

(4) D. De Decker, *Le discours à l'assemblée des saints attribué à Constantin et l'œuvre de Lactance*, in J. Fontaine and M. Perrin (eds.), *Lactance et son temps*, Paris, 1978, pp. 75-79. R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth, 1986, p. 643.

(5) T. D. Barnes, *Constantine's* Speech to the Assembly of the Saints : *Date and Place of Delivery*", in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 52 (2001), pp. 26-36. B. Bleckmann, *Ein Kaiser als Prediger : zur Datierung der konstantinischen 'Rede an die Versammlung der Heiligen'*, in *Hermes*, 125 (1997), pp. 183-202.

(6) T. D. Barnes, *The Emperor Constantine's Good Friday Sermon*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 27 (1976), pp. 414-423 ; Id., *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge (MA), 1981, pp. 73-77.

(7) H. A. Drake, *Suggestions of Date in Constantine's* Oration to the Saints, in *American Journal of Philology*, 106 (1985), pp. 335-349 ; Id., *Constantine and the Bishops : the Politics of Intolerance*, Baltimore, 2000, esp. pp. 192-205. No date is allotted to the speech in either study.

(8) Drake (1985) ; M. J. Edwards, *The Constantinian Circle and the Oration to the Saints*, in M. J. Edwards - M. D. Goodman - S. R. F. Price (eds.), *Apologetics in the Roman Empire : Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 251-276.

compound the weakness of the argument (9). In the course of the following paper, I shall attempt a complete review of all those passages in the speech which are agreed to be indices of its date and venue. I shall argue, on the one hand, that there is none that requires us to date it to the period after Constantine transferred his seat to the East in 317, and on the other, that its cryptic sneers at Constantine's dead rival would have been most readily understood by an audience which could still recall the events which had preceded and cemented his enthronement in Rome as monarch of the West.

THE SUPERSCRIPTION

All the commentators named above believe the speech to be authentic ; those who do not, if any still exist, have allowed their case to go unheard in recent years. It can certainly not be argued that the speech is too ornate, or too abstruse to be the work of a layman, a neophyte, a soldier or whatever name his detractors choose to throw at Constantine. Suffice it to say that in eloquence and cogency it is easily surpassed by the works of Caesar, Augustus, Alfred, Cromwell and Frederick the Great ; its grasp of Christian dogma is rudimentary in comparison to the standards achieved after eight weeks' study by undergraduates at any university where patristics is a core paper in theology. Cameron and Hall observe that in content and design it fits the pattern which Eusebius declares to have been typical of the Emperor's apologetic essays. It is no index of learning and reflection, but a measure of the royal neophyte's sincerity and his patience under instruction that this order of exposition should be one prescribed in the longest surviving manual of ecclesiastical discipline from the fourth century (10).

> When someone is to be catechized in the word of piety, let him be taught before his baptism the knowledge about the Unbegotten, the understanding of the only-begotten Son, and the full truth about the Holy Spirit. Let [the cate-

(9) T. D. BARNES, review of M. J. EDWARDS, *Constantine and Christendom* (*Translated Texts for Historians,* 39), Liverpool, 2003, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 55 (2004), pp. 351-355.

(10) Translating the text of C. K. J. VON BUNSEN, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, London, 1854, p. 360. My argument does not require me to form a view on the date or genesis of this compilation, which is cited as a representative document of ancient Christianity.

> chumen] learn the economy of creation in its diversity, the chain of providence, the righteous administration of diverse laws. Let him be taught for what purpose the world came into being, and why man was given his place as a citizen of the world. Let him come to understand what sort of thing his own nature is. Let him be taught how God punished the wicked with water and fire, but glorified the saints in each generation ... and how in his providential government God did not repudiate the human race, but called it from error and vanity to the understanding of truth, leading it at diverse seasons from servitude and impiety to freedom and piety, from unrighteousness to righteousness, from eternal death to eternal life (*Apostolic Constitutions* 7, 39).

Whether Constantine was ever a catechumen we do not know, but he could have heard a similar lesson from Lactantius, or from Hosius of Cordova, or from any private mentor. The speech ascribed to him celebrates the fecundity of creation (p. 160, 22 of the edition of Heikel), ridicules those who attribute its benign vicissitude to fate or chance (p. 159, 9 and p. 161, 19), and declares that nature abhors impiety (p. 160, 4). As an illustration of this it cites the innocence of the first humans (p. 158, 19-20), who were endowed with reason enough to maintain the order and felicity of the living world, but fell into impotence, misery and vice when they preferred their own crooked ways to those of providence (p. 166, 28-30). Hence the mission of Christ, who as the Word was the Father's viceroy in the cosmos (p. 163, 18-31), but took on a human form to bring back health to the invalid, sight to the blind, and virtue to the soul (p. 169, 10-15). Those who have learned through him to subject their appetites to reason in obedience to the Spirit (p. 164, 12) will attain everlasting life ; those who persist in unbelief and wickedness are equally sure of hell. Even the appeal to the pagan sibyl as a witness to the truth of Biblical prophecy (p. 179, 19 - p. 181, 2) is authorized elsewhere in the *Apostolic Constitutions* ([11]), and it is therefore hardly possible to argue that there is anything in the speech too bold, too arcane or too original to have been contrived by a novice in the faith.

We may reasonably assume, on the authority of Eusebius, that the text was drafted by the Emperor in his native Latin ([12]). This does not mean that any bold conjectures should be founded on a reconstruction of the original Latin or, for that matter, on any faults in the Greek translation of

(11) *Apostolic Constitutions* 5, 7, p. 166 of the translation.

(12) Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 4, 52 ; MAZZARINO (1974), p. 111 ; EDWARDS (1999), pp. 254-260.

the *Fourth Eclogue* ([13]). Even where translators do not err, they may correct, expand or modify the archetype. Such changes, then as now, will often accompany the mere process of transcription, and we cannot be sure that our written text bears any more resemblance to the speech on its first delivery than the canonical *Pro Milone* bore to Cicero's faltering plea before the senate ([14]). The Sibylline testimony, for example, takes the form of a long acrostic, which could hardly have been deciphered on first hearing whatever the language of delivery ; we may therefore presume that only the reader's version will have contained the full poem – perhaps with no translation to mar the acrostic even in the Latin text of the *Oration*. To add another caveat, we can hope at best to ascertain the implied or intended occasion of delivery ; we cannot prove that the speech was in fact delivered, or indeed that it was more than a hypothetical exercise.

Yet even in a fictitious or unconsummated performance, for example, a speaker would not be likely to waive a title which he had come to employ habitually in public affairs. Some significance therefore must be attached to the name that he gives himself in the rubric : "Constantine Augustus, to the assembly of the saints". The modesty of the nomenclature in this rubric was once thought to present an insuperable obstacle to any dating after 324. It was in November of that year that, having won the east by the overthrow of Licinius, Constantine assumed the title *victor* (νικητής), which he never waived thereafter in other letters and orations to his subjects ([15]). Barnes, who endorsed this argument in 1976, disowns it 25 years later without explaining why it is now invalid ([16]). Perhaps he

(13) See the notes to EDWARDS, *Constantine and Christendom*, pp. 44-53.

(14) Harold Drake inclines to the view that the present text is a palimpsest, revised since the first delivery for publication or for performance in a new locality : see most recently his review of EDWARDS, *Constantine and Christendom*, in *The Classical Review* 55 (2005), p. 155.

(15) C. T. H. R. EHRHARDT, *"Maximus", "Invictus" und "Victor" als Datierungskriterien auf Inschriften Konstantins des Grossen*, in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 38 (1980), pp. 177-178, though he notes that November 324 marks not the first appearance of the epithet, but the point at which it became prescriptive. BLECKMANN (1997), p. 190 remarks pertinently that a title which would be almost sure to survive in an inscription might be lost in the transmission of a manuscript (as indeed at *Life of Constantine* 4, 9).

(16) BARNES's palinode (2001), p. 27, rebutting BARNES (1976), p. 417. For Constantine's use of the epithet in proclamations addressed to Christians after

was persuaded by Lane Fox's observation that the title *victor* does not appear in a letter addressed by Constantine to the Persian king Sapor. This letter in fact has lost its superscription, and it might be said in any case that reticence in his correspondence with another monarch would be no precedent for his dealings with the Church. More germane to this question is the omission of the title a catholic epistle enjoining the Roman date for easter after the Council of Nicaea in 325. Even this, when set against other evidence, can establish nothing more than a *possibility* that the *Oration* is a document of the same era. Historians customarily attach more weight to probabilities than to possibilities, and it remains a statistical truth that any undated text by Constantine which lacks the term *victor* is most likely to have been composed before this would have been felt as an omission – that is, before November 324.

Church and primate

Who are the saints addressed in the superscription ? D. Woods has proposed that they are the product of an erroneous translation, the original Latin being *ad sanctum coetum*, and a common designation for the senate ([17]). From the second paragraph, however, it is clear that the implied addressees are leaders of the Church. It is possible that the first sentence of this chapter salutes the primate himself ; the inference, however, is contingent upon a choice between three variants ([18]). The reading

324, see Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 2, 64 ; 3, 30 ; 3, 52 ; 3, 60 ; 3, 61 ; 3, 62 ; 3, 64 ; 4, 35 ; 4, 36 ; 4, 52. But cf. 3, 17, where the style appears to be simply "Constantine Augustus".

(17) D. Woods, review of Edwards, *Constantine and Christendom*, in *Peritia*. 16 (2002), p. 498. His conjecture implies that the correct title of the speech is the one accorded to it by Gelasius, *Ecclesiastical History* 2, 7. Gelasius is, however, an author of little repute, except where he transcribes his predecessors accurately, and the title that Eusebius gives to the speech is "About the Assembly of the Saints" : *Life of Constantine* 4, 32.

(18) See Barnes (2001), p. 34n, and Barnes (2004), p. 353, rightly chastising both Lane Fox and Edwards for their failure to interpret Heikel's apparatus correctly, or to take account of Valesius at *PG* 20, 1237, n. 94. On questionable readings in Heikel's edition (still, by common consent, the best available), see F. Winkelmann, *Annotationes zu einer neuen Edition der Tricennatsreden Eusebs und der* Oratio ad Sanctum Coetum *in* GCS *(*CPG *3498. 3497)*, in *ANTIΔΩ-PON. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la* Clavis Patrum Graecorum, I, Wetteren, 1984, pp. 1-7.

of Valesius in the earliest printed edition of the speech is : ἄκουε τοίνυν, ἀγνείας παρθενίας τ' ἐπήβολε ναύκληρε, ἐκκλησία τε ἀώρου καὶ ἀδαοῦς ἡλικίας τιθήνη. Confirmed though it is by three of five extant witnesses, this text is rendered suspect by a grammatical anomaly. The imperative ἄκουε is in the second person singular, but subtends two terms, ναύκληρε and ἐκκλησία. This would cause no offence if the second object were an afterthought – for example, if it were preceded by the words καὶ σύ, whose Latin equivalent, *tuque*, Valesius smuggled into his own translation. In the Greek, however, there is nothing to indicate a new addressee except the particle τε, and only then if we place it where Valesius has it. Perhaps it was the inelegance of the Valesian reading that persuaded Heikel, who is agreed to have set new standards in his edition of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*, to print a variant from a sole manuscript, in which the particle τε is divorced from ἐκκλησία, and the latter term now stands in apposition to ναύκληρε : ἄκουε τοίνυν, ἀγνείας παρθενίας τ' ἐπήβολε ναύκληρε, <ἐκκλησία> ἀώρου τε καὶ ἀδαοῦς ἡλικίας τιθήνη. This makes good sense and tolerable syntax, though Heikel himself was so distressed by the ugly juxtaposition of ἐκκλησία and τιθήνη that he proposed in his apparatus to delete the former term.

This conjecture carries little weight for me, not only because it suppresses a word attested in all our manuscripts, but because ἐκκλησία is the one term that could function simultaneously as the referent of the metaphors ναύκληρος and τιθήνη. The second, which is feminine and means "nurse", could hardly be used of a man ; on the other hand, ναύκληρος πόλις ("a maritime city") seemed an acceptable usage to Philostratus, a third-century connoisseur of rhetorical diction. Thus we need not suppose that there would be any inconcinnity in coupling the term ναύκληρος with the feminine noun ἐκκλησία. Where, as in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, ναύκληρος connotes direction and guidance, "pilot" is the most satisfactory rendering, and this indeed was one sense of the word when it passed into Latin nautical usage ([19]). That a church should be commended as both pilot and nurse seems credible enough, whether by church we mean a particular assembly or the entire commu-

(19) Ναύκληρος as "pilot" (in metaphorical sense of "guide, director, steersman") : Aeschylus, *Supplices* 177 ; Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1224. BARNES, review (2004), p. 353, prefers "sea-captain", and cites Liddell and Scott in a manner that appears to deny the presence of a metaphor.

nion of saints. If the whole communion of saints is meant, the church at large is apostrophized as the pilot and nurse of the world for which Christ suffered ; if Constantine is speaking of a particular assembly, he will mean that he is addressing a congregation which is the pilot and nurse of all other Christian bodies. Rome was the one community to which he, or any Christian of his time, would have accorded that distinction ; a magisterial status had already been conferred on Rome in his dealings with the Donatists, and was acknowledged with some irony by the bishops of the West when they lamented the failure of Pope Silvester to take his seat at Arles in 314. No doubt there were other prelates, such as Hosius of Cordova or the Alexandrian patriarch Alexander, who could be said to guide the Church by their sagacity ; to my mind, it is difficult to imagine that Eusebius of Nicomedia could have been thought to merit this accolade in the Eastertide of 325, when his patronage of Arius had already exposed him to censure ([20]). This objection does not hold against Bleckmann's dating of the speech, since the refusal of Eusebius to sign the anathemas to the Nicene Creed resulted in his deposition before the end of 325 ; but this event deprived his see of any claim to primacy, and by the time of his restoration in 327 or 328 the Emperor's thoughts were already bent on the creation of a new capital in Byzantium. If we were after all to follow Heikel and Valesius in attaching the term ναύκληρος to an ecclesiastical dignitary, there was no congregation – certainly none that could have provided an audience for this speech – whose leader stood so high in Constantine's esteem as the bishop of Rome.

Easter and Authority

The occasion, as we gather from the exordium, is a solemn one : "The splendour that outshines day and the sun, the day of the passion is here." David Woods again differs from the majority, arguing that these words could betoken any celebration of the eucharist ([21]). Comparison with the opening of a homily on the pasch ascribed to Hippolytus, however, suggests that a preface of this kind was ordained by custom for Easter-

(20) If the acerbic letter ascribed to Constantine at Theodoret, *Church History* 1, 19, is authentic, Barnes's theory convicts him of impolitic partiality before the Nicene Council and of crude tergiversation in its aftermath.

(21) Woods, review of Edwards, p. 498.

tide ([22]). Since it would be impossible to convene an assembly of prelates on a holiday which required them to be present in their own sees, the day must be one that was recognized, but not yet sanctified, in the ecclesiastical calendar. Good Friday seems to me to be indicated, since there is evidence of a fast but not of liturgical celebration ([23]) ; others prefer the Saturday, but the question need not detain us, as an answer to it would not help to determine the date or venue of the speech. We can at least say that the date would not have coincided with that of any council in this Emperor's reign, unless we accept the thesis of Lane Fox that the council of Antioch which preceded the Nicene synod was in session at Eastertide in 325. It is frequently assigned to an earlier date, because the great council at Ancyra that it anticipates was in fact held at Nicaea in June 325, and it seems unlikely that all the prelates invited to that gathering could have been told within two months of a change of venue. Barnes, furthermore, will not allow that Constantine could have visited Antioch at any time after the winter of 324 – a plausible date for the council, but not for Easter by any calendar.

If, as seems more probable, the speech addressed an extemporary gathering of clerics who were expecting to serve their own congregations on the following Sunday, it is clear that they cannot have travelled far. But this is to say no more than that the venue was a large centre of population, as every theory has presupposed. Wherever they met, these prelates must have regarded the man who summoned them as an autocrat set over them by God. We have noted above that the rule of one on earth was the tacit corollary of the arguments for the rule of one in heaven which are advanced in the apologetic portion of this speech. If there were more than one divine suzerain, says the Emperor, how would we know which one to approach for succour ? How could we be sure of pleasing one without

(22) "Now already the sacred rays of the light of Christ shine forth and the pure torches of the holy spirit are raised, and the celestial treasuries of divine glory are open" (*Paschal Homily*, dated to the fourth century by P. NAUTIN, *Homélies pascales*, I, *Une homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâques d'Hippolyte* [*SC*, 27], Paris 2003², p. 47).

(23) K. GERLACH, *The Antenicene Pascha : a rhetorical history* (*Liturgia condenda*, 7), Leuven, 1998, pp. 312-330. The same consideration has induced Barnes to postpone the delivery to the Saturday, notwithstanding the clear allusion to the passion and the echo of *Matt.* 27, 45. A hiatus in the liturgy is, however, the opportunity of the lay preacher.

giving exciting the malevolence of the other ? The logic is clear, the application dubious. Did it serve as a proem to war against Licinius or as the peroration of victory ([24]) ? Those who have held two opinions on this question have good reason to halt between them for a cognate of this argument in Lactantius must be dated to the joint reign of Licinius and Constantine, while another in Athanasius can be plausibly assigned to any phase in his career from 318 to 373 ([25]).

Second God

At the risk of throwing good ink after bad, we must pause to ask whether any terminus for the dating of the speech can be inferred from the Christology of chapters 9 and 10. Constantine is writing as an apologist, whose tenets do not seem to him any less orthodox because he thinks them partially reconcilable with Plato's. The latter, we hear, set one god over all as the crown and measure of perfection, while deputing to a second god the creation and governance of the physical realm. So too it is with God and the son of God, who orders all things at his Father's will and returns them to him at the consummation. This is good Pauline doctrine, but some readers have maintained that the term "second god" betrays sympathy for the position of Arius, which was publicly reprobated by the Council of Nicaea in 325 ([26]). Since Constantine himself convened this council and enforced its resolutions, it is inconceivable (so the argument runs) that he would willfully have taken up a position that

(24) At *1Clement* 20-21, the periodicity of nature and the unvarying revolutions of the stars are adduced as symbols of a harmony which prevails in heaven but *not yet* in the Church.

(25) Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 1, 3, 18-19 ; Athanasius, *On the Incarnation* 36-38 ; see also Edwards (1999), p. 272.

(26) J. M. Rist, *Basil's "Neoplatonism" : its Background and Nature*, in P. J. Fedwick (ed.), *Basil of Caesarea, Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, Toronto, 1981, esp. pp. 155-158 ; but he sees that it is not the subordination of the Son but the affirmation of two essences that would contradict the "homoousian" teaching of Nicaea. Barnes (2001), p. 35 maintains that the term "second god" implies subordination, and that this is an unequivocal token of Arian sympathies. M. J. Edwards, *The Arian Heresy and the* Oration to the Saints, in *Vigiliae Christianae* 49 (1995), pp. 379-387 points out that the term is not used as a dogmatic formulary, but only in the exposition of Plato, who is expressly said to have fallen short of truth in some particulars.

it condemned. If this passage is not a fabrication by some opponent of the council, Easter 325 is thus the latest possible date for its delivery. If this was indeed the occasion, as both Lane Fox and Barnes contend, we must suppose that two months later he turned his coat at the Nicene council, leaving his Arian friend Eusebius of Nicomedia to suffer for views that both had once professed.

This argument will not move theologians, as its premises are denied in almost every book on Arius or Nicaea that has appeared in the last three decades under an academic imprint. Of the speech itself such works say little : why should they, unless the Emperor had spoken of Christ himself as a second god ? In fact it is only Plato – meaning, of course, the Plato of second century exegetes like Numenius – who is said in the *Oration* to use this title of the Demiurge ; it could not have been applied to Christ by Constantine unless he was ready to postulate two gods and thus to contradict his own strictures on the polytheism of the Greek philosopher. Although it is supposed to be proved by a battery of evidence that the Arians were the only group to posit a δεύτερος θεός in the later years of Constantine, the evidence is never derived from Arius himself or from any avowed opponent of the Nicene creed. Most of it, in any case, states only that Christ is second to the Father, not that he is a second god. Eusebius employs the epithet δεύτερος on several occasions ([27]), δεύτερος θεός only once, in a passage unaccountably neglected in recent work that represents this term as an Arian shibboleth ([28]). Even had Eusebius been an Arian, it is clearly no such thing, because, when opponents whom he quotes in his writings after Nicaea condemn the phrase δεύτερος θεός, it is not because it implies subordination but because it

(27) Especially *Gospel Demonstration* 5, 4, 8, where the Father is the first God, and the Son second, but not second god. See further BARNES (2001), where Origen is cited as a precursor of "Arian" usage. But Origen did not deny the eternity of the Son or his affinity with the Father, and at *Against Celsus* 5, 39 and 6, 61 he appears to be retorting the phrase "second god" upon his adversary, dwelling on the noun "God" where Celsus had urged that the epithet "second" lowered the dignity of the Son. At 7, 57 the Son is to be honoured with worship second to the Father's, but is not called second god.

(28) *Gospel Demonstration* 5, 30, 3, where he concludes that prophets testify to a "second god after the Father". It is clear that he is second because the Father was already known ; it is the next clause, "after the Father" that bespeaks inferiority.

entails two gods ([29]). To entertain belief in two divine beings was a heresy to all Christians, and to Arius above all ; in his willingness to admit the phrase before the Nicene Council, Eusebius shows that whatever he was he was not a disciple of the Alexandrian presbyter who maintained that Christ was created out of nothing, and hence not worthy of the appellation θεός in the same sense as the Father. Only in an improper or "catachrestic" sense would Arius have asserted the divinity of the Son ; to style one πρῶτος ("first") and the other δεύτερος ("second") was to imply that they were beings of the same class, albeit not of equal rank ([30]).

But is the subordination of Christ to the father an unmistakable token of Arian sympathies ? The Council of Nicaea asserted only a *homoousiotês* or consubstantiality of nature between the Father and the Son, which does not logically preclude subordination ([31]). Eusebius, when he continued to maintain the subordination of the Son after the Council of Nicaea, incurred the censure of no-one but the heretic Marcellus. Even Athanasius, when he appointed himself the steward of Nicene orthodoxy, employed the term *homoousios* asymmetrically, and allowed that the Father is greater insofar as he is Father ([32]). It was not his "homoousian" supporters but their "homoiousian" rivals who were thought to have made equality their watchword ; when, conversely, Basil of Caesarea took up

(29) See Marcellus of Ancyra, *Fragmenta e Libro contra Asterium* (*CPG* 2800) : fragm. 80 on the second God in Narcissus, and fram. 85 for the comparison of Eusebius to Valentinus.

(30) Note that even the second letter of Plato avoids such leveling : "all things are around the king of all [not, "the first], the second around the second and the third around the third" (p. 323, cited by Eusebius, *Gospel Preparation* 11, 20, 2). At *Gospel Demonstration* 6, 4, Eusebius has a "first god" and a "second", but no "second god".

(31) Subordination of Son in orthodox writers : G. BULL, *De Subordinatione Filii*, reprinted in *Works*, V, ed. E. BURTON, London, 1846, pp. 685-811 ; R. P. C. HANSON, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God : the Arian Controversy, 318-381*, Edinburgh, 1988, pp. 64, 274 etc. ; L. AYRES, *Nicaea and its Legacy*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 206-207. B. WARFIELD, *Calvin and Augustine*, Princeton, 1909, shows that even the Nicene Creed and its adherents have often been taxed by Reformed theologians with a residual tendency to subordinationism.

(32) See especially *Contra Arianos* 1, 58, in which he allows that the Father is great than the Son, as *John* 14, 28 affirms, though only by virtue of being Father. He goes on to deduce that, since the two can be compared, they are of one nature. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 1, 203-204 : only beings of the same nature lend themselves to enumeration.

the cause of the *homoousion*, he was not afraid to speak of the Son as *deuteros* to the Father (33). For this he was called an Arian by some in his time and not a few today ; for our purpose it suffices that a man of deep intelligence and probity, some fifty years after the Council of Nicaea, did not think that his profession of orthodoxy was imperilled by his adoption of the term. Even had Constantine expressly declared the Son to be second to the Father, there is no reason to suppose that this pronouncement would have favoured either party in an ecclesiastical quarrel, before or after 325.

A Season of Toleration

But if scholars have worked an empty vein in chapter 10, the majority seem to me to have missed a streak of gold close by. It is generally agreed that as his tenure of the throne became more secure the Emperor took more vigorous measures against those cults which he deemed offensive to his own deity. Eusebius purports to know of a law suppressing all sacrifice, and while no formal record of this survives, we can find corroborative testimony in Optatus and perhaps an allusion to it in the ban on sacrifice issued by his sons in 341. It is hard to believe that any such legislation was in force, or even in prospect, when Constantine delivered this aside to the unconverted in chapter eleven of his *Oration to the Saints* (34) :

> Away with you, impious ones (for this command is laid on you on account of your incorrigible sin) to the slaughter of nations and sacrifices, your revelry and feasting and carousing, as you profess to offer worship while you devise unbridled pleasures and debaucheries, and pretend to make sacrifice while you are in thrall to your own pleasures.

The addressees are fictitious, the imperatives rhetorical. But even autocrats, when they turn to rhetoric, are subject to the canons of verisimilitude ; would these have permitted Constantine after 324, at the head of a

(33) For δεύτερος in Basil see *Contra Eunomium* 1, 20, with the tacit apology of Gregory of Nyssa, *Contra Eunomium* 1, 197-204. This has failed to reconcile M. V. Anastos, *Basil's Lapses into Arianism and How Athanasius had Avoided Them*, in J. Chrysostomides (ed.), *ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays presented to J. Hussey*, Camberley, Surrey, 1988, pp. 153-171.

(34) P. 167, 29-33 of the edition of Heikel, trans. Edwards (2003), pp. 22-23.

Christian assembly, to extend the same indulgence to the pagans that he had been obliged to grant at the time of the Edict of Milan ?

The veil of anonymity

The next indication of date occurs in chapter 22, where Constantine celebrates the deliverance of the city from a false champion ([35]) :

> For my part, I ascribe to your goodwill all my good fortune, and that of those who are mine ... For the great city is conscious of it, and gives praise with reverence, while the people of the dearest city approve, even if it was deceived by unsafe hopes into choosing a protector unworthy of it, who was suddenly overtaken in a fitting manner worthy of his atrocities, one that it is not right for me to recall, least of all for me as I speak with you and strive with all solicitude to address you with holy and auspicious speech.

"The great city" is an honorific sobriquet for Rome in the panegyric which Eusebius composed to mark the thirtieth year after Constantine's accession. Bleckmann, however, urges that in the days when Nicomedia was the metropolis of the East, it will have been manifestly the greater of the two cities ([36]). This reasoning would compel us to award the *Oration* to Nicomedia only if it were shown, against the more natural construction of the syntax, that the great city and the dearest city are one. If they are distinct, and Nicomedia is the great city, the success of Bleckmann's argument here will cost him his thesis elsewhere.

It is easy enough to cull letters from Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* in which the conqueror uses similar terms to denounce the cruelties of Licinius and to extend the mailed hand of clemency to his shipwrecked partisans ([37]). Since, however, documents from the time of his capture of

(35) *Oration* 22, p. 187, 28 - p. 188, 7 of the edition of Heikel, trans. Edwards (2003), pp. 53-54.

(36) Bleckmann, pp. 194-197. Cf. Eusebius, *Tricennalian Oration*, p. 239, 5-6 of the edition of Heikel ; Mazzarino, p. 114.

(37) See e.g Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History* 1, 14 ; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* 2, 27, 1 ; 2, 49, 1 ; 2, 43. The Emperor's complaints against Apollo at *Life* 2, 50 and *Oration* 18 prive nothing more (if the anecdote recounted in the *Life* is true) than that Christians had had cause to abhor this god since 303. No scholar in recent years has followed R. P. C. Hanson, *The* Oratio ad Sanctos *Attributed to the Emperor Constantine and the Oracle at Daphne*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 24 (1973), pp. 505-511, in deducing from the allusion to the Daphne of myth that the speech is a forgery of Julian's reign.

Rome do not survive, we cannot be sure that the occasion on which these phrases are first attested is the occasion on which he coined them. If Rome had fallen in 312 after trafficking with Maximinus Daia, and Nicomedia in 324 after harbouring Licinius, why should he cultivate a different idiom when he had the same indiscretion to forgive, the same motive for dwelling on the penalties of sedition ? The history that he goes on to rehearse is certainly that of his rise to sole dominion in the West when he speaks of a field prepared in Rome for truceless war, and hurls a late salvo at the anonymous "monster" who perished in these times ([38]).

This figure is named in the ancient rubric as Maximinus Daia, and most scholars now agree that he is the tyrant whose defeat in 313 made Licinius master of the East ([39]). Maximinus had not undergone a formal coronation, it was said (as it was always said in the victor's manifesto) that he had taxed his subjects cruelly, and he had certainly enforced Diocletian's edicts against the Christians with a singular ferocity, even after the promulgation of an edict of repeal. Constantine professed to have discovered a correspondence between this tyrant and Maxentius ([40]), whose unconstitutional rule in Italy he himself had extinguished in 312 at the Milvian Bridge. Thus in 313 he detached the Christians in the capital from that party which had acquiesced in the government of Maxentius ; but could this alliance have been so notorious, or its consequences so lasting, that no names were required to assist the memory of the audience when a speaker alluded to it a decade later and in a locality far from Rome ? Even in Serdica, even before the irredeemable rupture between Licinius and Constantine, this reference to a plot that failed to mature in Rome would have been a puzzling detour ; all the more so for an audience in Byzantium, Thessalonica, Nicomedia or Antioch after 321. In the Rome of 315, on the other hand, there was a clear object to be gained by the recollection or invention of a history which, while it flattered the partisans of Constantine, was at once a sop and an admonition to Christians who had not yet seen the hand of God in his seizure of the throne.

(38) *Oration*, p. 188, 11-12 in the edition of HEIKEL.

(39) The theory that the champion is Licinius was last upheld by MAZZARINO, p. 115.

(40) See Lactantius, *Deaths of the Persecutors* 43 on the conspiracy of the two tyrants. On this and the consultation of the Sibylline books in Rome (*ibid.*, 44), which would add some piquancy to Constantine's citation of the acrostic, see DRAKE (1985).

In chapter 25 we meet another allusion to an unnamed pretender, who must have ruled the East or a portion of it, since his death is interpreted as a divine assize upon the hitherto unpunished Diocletian ([41]) :

> For all that at last the providence of God came to judge the unholy deeds, not indeed without harm to the people. There was slaughter on a scale that, had it occurred among barbarians, would have sufficed to bring about eternal peace. For the whole army of the aforesaid king [Diocletian], subject to the authority of some good-for-nothing who had seized the Roman Empire ([42]) by force, was exterminated by many wars of all kinds.

It would have taxed the memory of any audience to decipher not one but two anonymous references, and to men whose deaths were separated by eleven years. Yet that is what we must surmise if – as Barnes, Lane Fox and others maintain – the usurper who is said in chapter 25 to have dissipated the army of Diocletian in useless warfare is Licinius. Of all the warring despots of this period, Licinius was the one who could not be said to have seized the purple. Lawfully installed in 308 to replace Severus, the late Augustus of the West, he became trustee to the wife and children of the dying Galerius in 311. Maximinus had meanwhile proclaimed himself Augustus, and there is nothing in ancient sources to prove that he had fewer of Diocletian's troops under his authority than Licinius. Lactantius writes that a garrison established by Licinius was coerced into the service of the usurper, and that, while this was not sufficient to repair a force depleted by an injudicious march through snow and tempest, Maximinus was still able to bring an army of 70,000 into the field against the 30,000 mustered by Licinius ([43]). Subtracting what is hostile or invidious in this testimony, we may infer that when Maximinus assumed the government of Asia he became master of the troops already stationed there, who had hitherto acknowledged Galerius as their chief of staff.

(41) *Oration* 25, p. 191, 24-27 in the edition of HEIKEL, trans. EDWARDS (2003), p. 61.

(42) Or "the government of Romans", no doubt translating *imperium Romanum*.

(43) Lactantius, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* 45. Lactantius may be suspected of extravagance, but it would not be strange if Constantine, as a prophet in his own interest, were to surpass the volubility of his evangelist.

Of course he could not be said without hyperbole, to have inherited the whole army ([44]), whereas Licinius had reunited Diocletian's legions by his defeat of Maximinus in 313. But neither could this defeat of an aggressor by the nominated heir to Galerius fairly be described as a usurpation – and least of all by Constantine, who, a mere three chapters earlier, had said of Maximinus that he had suffered an end in keeping with his deserts. We must remember that this text is not designed to supply posterity with matter for a disinterested chronicle ; if Constantine, in his zeal to show that God had judged Diocletian through his heirs, gave Maximinus the charge of troops whom he had never led, he had no reason to fear in 315 that a Roman audience would be well enough acquainted with the vicissitudes of military command to detect the lie.

The case against Rome

Yet an argument against a Roman venue for the speech can be derived from the mere occurrence in this chapter of the name Rome ([45]) :

> A war without a treaty was proclaimed against you by tyrants, O godly piety, and against all your most holy churches ; and there were not wanting ([46]) some in Rome, who delighted in the magnitude of these public evils, and a field was prepared for battle. But you, coming forward, gave yourselves up, relying on your faith in God.

This passage commemorates the bloody capture of Rome in 312, but is preceded, as we observed above, by a diatribe against the unworthy champion of the "dearest city", and followed by a satire on the eastern despot Maximinus Daia. The logic would have been clear enough in the

(44) It could be said, on the other hand, that between Maximinus' irruption into Asia in 310 and his reluctant cession of Thrace to Licinius in 311 he was (in his own eyes) master of that portion of the realm in which Diocletian had conducted his campaigns. The same pretension could have been advanced when he occupied Thrace in 313. If one were to urge that, as senior Augustus, Diocletian was the commander of every legion in the east, the same logic would demand that his jurisdiction be extended to include all western forces. In that case, it would be fantastical to say of anyone before Constantine that he had secured the "whole army of the aforesaid king".

(45) *Oration* 22, p. 188, 10-14 in the edition of Heikel, trans. Edwards (2003), p. 54.

(46) A Greek calque on the Latin *non defuerunt*.

Rome of 315, where Constantine's apologists were busily disseminating evidence of a pact between Maxentius and this enemy of the Church ([47]). On this view there would be nothing artificial or obscure in the final sentence, which contrasts the recalcitrance of "some in Rome" – the pagan majority, dismissed in chapter 11 – with the complaisance of the Church in the same metropolis. In 325, on the other hand, there would surely have been few in Rome, let alone in Nicomedia, who would recall the brief alliance between a faction in that city and Maximinus. But why, if Rome is the "dearest city" of Constantine's oration ([48]), does he let the name transpire in a parenthesis ? Lane Fox, who reduced this argument to half a dozen words some twenty years ago, informs me that he is not satisfied by the parallels that can be adduced from a Latin panegyric ([49]). The majority of scholars, it would appear, do not need to be satisfied on this point, since the theory that the *Oration* was delivered in Nicomedia has all but won the field, and among the "proofs" advanced in support of it is the speaker's open naming of that city in his account of the dismay which followed the fire of 303 ([50]).

It is also urged that Constantine could not have been in Rome in the Eastertide of any year between his entry into the capital in 312 and his death in 337 ([51]). In 316 he transferred his seat to Serdica, then after 324 to Nicomedia, and at last to Constantinople. In 314 if all our texts have been soundly edited, the evidence which puts Constantine in Trier both before and after Easter, will not allow for a visit to Rome ([52]). In 315, we

(47) Lactantius, *Deaths of the Persecutors* 43. This intrigue, and Maxentius' consultation of the Sibylline books (*ibid.* 44) are among the facts adduced by Drake (1985) to support the identification of Rome as the venue of the *Oration*.

(48) And also the "royal city" of chapter 22, p. 182, 19, where the honour is perhaps accorded to Rome in the age of Virgil rather than in that of Constantine. It should be observed, however, that the same designation is not used more than once of any city in the *Oration*, and it may be that when Constantine named Rome, he had simply run short of sobriquets.

(49) Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, p. 778, n. Cf. Edwards (2003), citing *Latin Panegyrics* 2, 1 and 10, 1, 1.

(50) Barnes (2001), p. 29 : "the fact that Constantine names Nicomedia and subsequently, in a closely parallel passage, appeals to the knowledge that the 'great city' has of his successes, might together be considered to constitute almost a formal proof that Constantine was speaking in that city."

(51) So Barnes (2004), p. 354.

(52) *CTh* 3, 30, 1 places him at Trier on March 26. At 13, 5, 2 he is at Trier on June 1, 314. The unemended version of 13, 5, 3, however, places him in

are told he was at Trier. The evidence for the latter claim, however, seems equivocal : it consists of a letter to Donatist petitioners, signed not, according to wont, by Constantine but by two deputies ([53]). If we knew on other grounds that he was in Trier on this occasion, we might assume that he was driven to this uncharacteristic use of intermediaries by illness or the embarrassments of business ; so far as our evidence goes, however, it is at least equally probable that he sent this letter by proxy because he was no longer present to supervise the departure of the men whose case he had heard while he was still resident in the city. If this note, then, tells us only where he was not in the spring of 315, we can entertain the possibility – and of course it is no more than a possibility – that he passed the Easter of that year in Rome.

Conclusion

This paper has examined a number of questions which have either been left open or (in my view) too precipitately resolved in previous studies of the *Oration to the Saints*. I have urged that the omission of the term *victor* or νικητής in the rubric is still a ponderable, though not a decisive, argument against dating the *Oration* to any year after 324. Endorsing the common view that it is a homily for Eastertide, I submit that the case for delivery on Good Friday is strengthened rather than compromised by the want of evidence for liturgical celebration of this holiday in the age of Constantine. I have noted that the locution δεύτερος θεός, sometimes thought to be a token of Arian sympathies, does not occur in Christian texts addressed to other Christians, that its sense is "second in order of knowledge" rather than "second in rank", and that those writers who took offence at it were not so wary of making the Son inferior to the Father as of positing two gods. It would therefore (I maintain) have served an Arian no better than a catholic as a dogmatic formulary, and its function in the speech is to promote a frail analogy between Platonism and Christian teaching rather than to take sides in any controversy debated by a Church

Constantinople on May 28. See further T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge (MA), 1982, p. 71.

(53) Barnes (1982), p. 72, cites Optatus, *Against the Donatists*, Appendix 8, which is dated to April 28 at Trier, and adds that the year (not stated) is certainly 315, because Domitius Celsus is named as *vicarius Africae*. At p. 243 Barnes describes this (accurately) as the letter of Petronius Annianus and Julius Julianus to Domitius.

council of this epoch. I have argued that the Emperor's allusive strictures on his predecessors would have been difficult to parse if they were not directed against a single man within a few years of his fall ; I have added that if history forbids to recognise Maximinus Daia as the prodigal who squandered the whole of Diocletian's army, it would likewise have forbidden Constantine to denounce Licinius as an adventurer who had seized the realm by force. I have tried to show that neither the appearance of the name Rome in the *Oration* nor the known itinerary of Constantine in 315 subverts the theory that it was delivered in, or at least intended for, the western capital in that year. At the same time, it does not seem that proponents of a Nicomedian venue, who attach the grand salutations of the second chapter either to this Church alone or to bishop and Church together, have produced evidence that this see vied with Rome in the estimation of other Christians or that the formidable Eusebius, its leader in 325 and 328 enjoyed the full confidence of the Emperor – let alone of the Church at large – in either year.

I have not developed the argument for Rome that might be based on the long citation of the *Fourth Eclogue*, which could not have been expected to stir a Greek audience any more deeply in its own tongue than in the original ; one might say in reply that the Greekless autocrat would have neither the will nor the means to woo the tastes of men unknown to him, whose loyalty was of greater moment to him than their culture. Nor have I dwelt on the fact that demonstrations like the one described in chapter 22 are said to have taken place throughout Italy after Constantine's occupation of Rome in 312 ; every city that fell to him will have staged such exhibitions of docility, though we cannot be sure that a ny seat but Rome played host to a triumph in which the Cross enjoyed the same prominence that is given to the Sibylline acrostic in the *Oration*. It ought by now to be evident that I do not profess to find anything in the text that puts the date beyond controversy. A date of 325 in Nicomedia can certainly be defended if a satisfactory answer can be returned to the questions raised in the present paper. But if the speaker is Constantine, if he had any skill in playing on the sympathies and interests of his audience, and if his mockery of late tyrants is intended to quicken rather than cloud the memory, I cannot think of any venue so propitious to this defence of his conversion and career than the western capital which he had wrested from Maxentius in 312.

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SUMMARY

This paper reviews the various theories advanced in the last twenty years concerning the date and venue of the Oration to the Saints ascribed to Constantine. Taking up in turn those passages in the speech which have been adduced as evidence on these questions, it argues (a) that the superscription renders a date before 324 A.D. more probable ; (b) that the speech was most probably intended for a Good Friday ; (c) that chapter 2 is unlikely to have been addressed to Eusebius of Nicomedia ; (d) that the arguments for monotheism are compatible with an early date in Constantine's career ; (e) that nothing can be learned as to the Emperor's churchmanship or the date of the speech from its theology ; (f) that the toleration extended to pagans in chapter 11 implies a date before 324 ; (g) that the occurrence of the name "Rome" in chapter 22 need not preclude delivery in that city ; and (h) that chapters 22 and 25 allude to the events of 313, and would be most easily construed by Constantine's audience if he were speaking within a few years of this date.

ZU DEN GRÄBERN IN DER PAMMAKARISTOSKIRCHE

Unlängst hat Ursula Weißbrod versucht (1), anhand einer Analyse der Gräberbeschreibungen im *Codex Cantabrigiensis* die Lage der einzelnen in den § 1-24 erwähnten Grabstätten und Dekorationen innerhalb der Pammakaristoskirche zu bestimmen (Abb. 1) (2). Ihre Ausführungen bedürfen jedoch einer kritischen Überprüfung, da sie von Mißverständnissen des Textes und der Sekundärliteratur begleitet sind sowie von einer mangelnden Kenntnis des Baubefundes der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) zeugen, was zu unbegründeten Eingriffen in den ohnehin nicht in allen Teilen gesicherten Grundriß der Kirche geführt hat (3).

(1) U. Weissbrod, *„Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes...". Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens* (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 5), Wiesbaden, 2003, S. 185-195, Abb. 97 ; im Folgenden als Weissbrod, *Knecht Gottes*, zitiert.

(2) *Cambridge, Trinity College*, Cod. O.2.36, fol. 145^{v}-152^{r}. Der Originaltext bei P. Schreiner, *Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels*, in *DOP*, 25 (1971), S. 218-248, hier S. 221-226, § 1-27 ; Kommentar S. 233-241 ; im Folgenden als Schreiner, *Beschreibung*, zitiert. Englische Übersetzung bei C. Mango, *The Monument and its History*, in : H. Belting - C. Mango und D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (*DOS*, 15), Washington D.C., 1978, S. 39-42 ; im Folgenden als Mango, *Monument*, zitiert. – Zum Verfasser (Johannes Malaxos) und zum Datum (1572-1587) siehe G. De Gregorio, *Studi su copisti greci del Cinquecento : II Ioannes Malaxos e Theodosios Zygomalas*, in *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 38 (1996), S. 189-241, 258-259 ; im folgenden als De Gregorio, *Studi*, zitiert ; P. Schreiner, *John Malaxos (16th century) and his Collection of* Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae, in N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (*The Medieval Mediterranean*, 33). Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2001, S. 203-214.

(3) Es existieren drei neuere Grundrisse der Pammakaristoskirche : 1.) Der Plan von H. Hallensleben, *Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen*

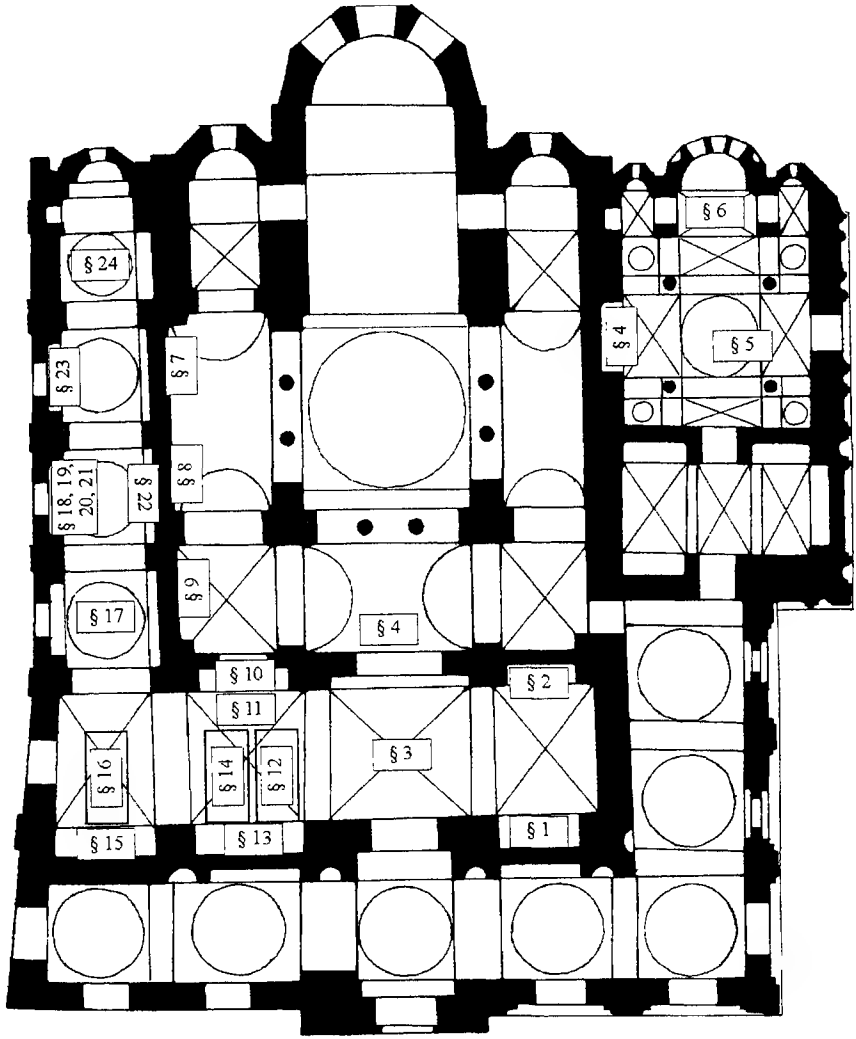

ABB. 1. — Verteilung der Gräber in der Pammakaristoskirche nach WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, Abb. 97.

Pammakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 13-14 (1963/1964), S. 130, Abb. 1 ; im folgenden als HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, zitiert ; 2.) der vorläufige von C. MANGO und E. J. W. HAWKINS, *Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962-1963*, in *DOP*, 18 (1964), S. 313-333, Plan A, mit Rekonstruktion der komnenischen Kirche ; im folgenden als MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, zitiert ; 3.) der definitive von MANGO, *Monument*, S. 2, Plan A, mit Angabe der tatsächlichen Baulinien gemäß

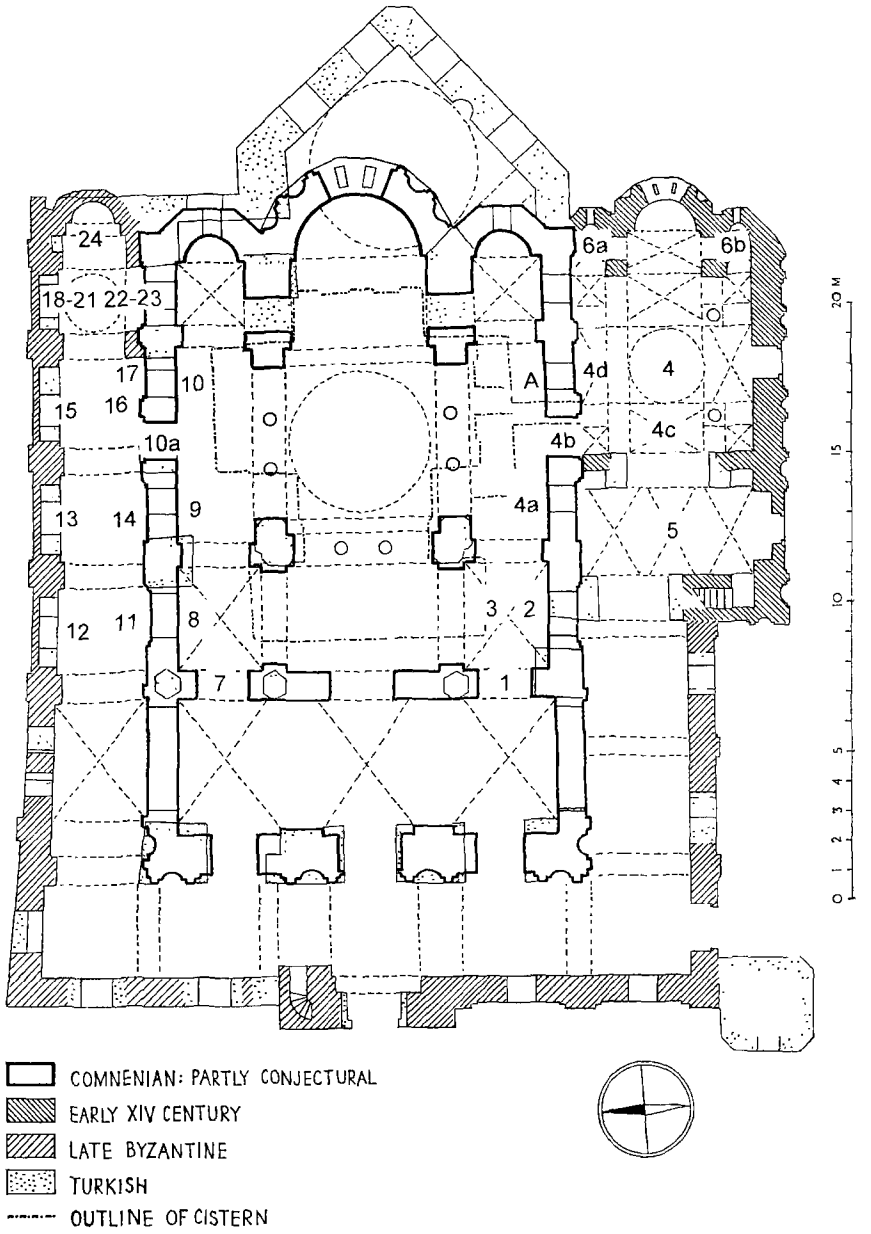

ABB. 2. — Verteilung der Gräber in der Pammakaristoskirche nach EFFENBERGER (basierend auf dem Plan von MANGO - HAWKINS, *Field Work*, Plan A).

Bereits P. Schreiner, dem wir die Erstpublikation dieser wichtigen Quelle samt einer ausführlichen Kommentierung verdanken, ging davon aus, daß der Autor die Kirche „der Längsachse nach in zwei gleiche Hälften" eingeteilt und getrennt in zwei halben Rundgängen beschrieben habe (4). G. De Gregorio konnte unlängst nachweisen, daß der seit langem bekannte Kopist Johannes Malaxos der Verfasser des Gräberverzeichnisses war und seine „Beschreibung" vor Ort angefertigt hat (5). C. Mango zufolge beginne der Rundgang „in the south part of the naos, proceeds to the parekklesion, and then goes on to the north side of the naos and, presumably, the north arm of the ambulatory (6)". In der Tat wird am Ende des § 6 (Z. 45-46) der erste Rundgang mit der abschließenden Bemerkung : „Dieses also befindet sich an der rechten Seite [der Kirche] des Patriarchats" verlassen und werden ab § 7 die Gräber der linken Seite beschrieben. Der Eingangssatz (Z. 1-2) εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ π(ατ)ριαρχείου ὡς σὰν ἐμπένομεν τὴν πόρταν νὰ ἐλθοῦμαι μέσα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν wirft zunächst die Frage auf, durch welche Tür Johannes Malaxos welchen Teil der Kirche betreten hat (7). Denn die Pammakaristoskirche besitzt den üblichen Hauptzugang in der Mitte der Westfront des Exonarthex und einen Nebenzugang an der Südseite (8), der in das südwestliche Eckjoch des Exonarthex führt und von hier aus zwei Wegerichtungen ermöglicht, nämlich nach Norden zu einem der Durchgänge in den Esonarthex oder nach Osten durch die Südhalle direkt in das Parekklesion (Abb. 3) (9). Da Johannes Malaxos als erstes die Gräber im Kernbau und in der rechten (südlichen) Hälfte

den türkischen Veränderungen. Letztere beiden divergieren nicht unerheblich, besonders in der Zeitbestimmung einzelner Bauabschnitte. Für die Bezeichnung bestimmter Bauteile ist der Grundriß von Hallensleben heranzuziehen. Für die Diskussion der Lage der Gräber ist es jedoch zweckmäßig, den rekonstruierten Plan von MANGO - HAWKINS zu benutzen.

(4) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 233. Danach im Folgenden die § und Zeilen zitiert.

(5) DE GREGORIO, *Studi*, S. 226-230, hier S. 227 : „andava compilando *in situ* di persona".

(6) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 7.

(7) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 39, übersetzte : „On the right-hand side of the church of the patriarchate, when we enter the door to come within the church".

(8) HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 182, Taf. 68, 1.

(9) Das Parekklesion wird erst in den § 4-6 beschrieben und im § 6 unter Bezug auf das Stiftergrab (§ 4) sowie die dort vorhandenen Heiligendarstellungen (§ 5) als „dieselbe kleine Kirche" (ἐκκλησίτζα) bezeichnet.

beschreibt, spricht mehr dafür, daß er durch das Hauptportal eingetreten war und den Exo – sowie den Esonarthex passiert hat. Weißbrod läßt die Beschreibung gleich im Esonarthex beginnen, mit der Behauptung, daß dieser im 16. Jahrhundert „als zur Kirche zugehörig empfunden" und der Kernbau „offensichtlich als Bemabereich angesehen" wurde ([10]). Aus dem Gesamtzusammenhang geht aber eindeutig hervor, daß die Gräber der § 1, 2, 7-10 im Kernbau lagen, wie unten gezeigt werden soll.

Die Abfolge der Beschreibung in den § 1-4 läßt deutlich zwei getrennte Gebäudeteile erkennen. In dem zuerst aufgesuchten befanden sich die beiden Gräber der § 1 und 2. Im § 1 wird das als „groß" bezeichnete Grab mit den Bildern der Inhaber, der Sebaste Eudokia und ihres Mannes Alexios Tarchaneiotes, ihrer Kinder Johannes und Anna Komnene sowie von deren Gatten Nikephoros Artabasdos beschrieben. Sie waren die Nachkommen des nur durch ein verlorenes Epigramm ([11]) bekannten Stifterpaares Johannes Komnenos und seiner Frau Anna Dukaina, die sich trotz aller Versuche bislang nicht identifizieren ließen, deren genealogische Beziehungen zu den anderen in den § 7, 8 und 10 erwähnten Personen jedoch eindeutig sind ([12]). Mango lokalisierte Grab § 1 „in the south aisle of the naos, perhaps in the westernmost bay ([13])". Weißbrod verzeichnet die beiden Familiengräber der § 1 und 2 im südwestlichen Eckjoch des Esonarthex, und zwar einander gegenüber liegend in dem vermeintlichen Durchgang der Westwand des Kernbaus und im südlichen Durchgang der Esonarthex-Westfassade, wo sie zum Esonarthex hin orientierte Wandnischen postuliert (Abb. 1). Die seitlichen Durchgänge

(10) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 187. Johannes Malaxos gebraucht βῆμα stets für den eigentlichen Naos, vgl. Z. 29, 42.

(11) Ehemals am Bemabogen der Kirche ; siehe dazu SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 229-230 ; MANGO, *Monument,* S. 5. Zur frühesten Überlieferung des Epigramms (*Vindobonensis, Medicus gr.* 27, fol. 124[r]) siehe DE GREGORIO, *Studi.* S. 204-205, Abb. 7.

(12) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 7-10, Stemma der gesamten Familie S. 8. wodurch die Überlegungen von SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 226-230, 233-234 zu § 1, überholt sind.

(13) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 7. Mango ging S. 9 auch auf das Fehlen des eigentlichen Stiftergrabes – des Johannes Komnenos und seiner Frau Anna Dukaina – ein und nahm an, daß es sich ursprünglich „in the easternmost bay of the south aisle" befunden habe, durch die Anlage des Arkosoliums für Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes im angrenzenden Parekklesion (§ 4) aber zerstört worden sei, oder aber am Westende der Südhalle lag und bereits verfallen war, weshalb Grab § 2 an seine Stelle getreten sein könnte.

der einstigen Westfassade des Narthex (Esonarthex) sind zwar nicht gesichert, aber wahrscheinlich ([14]) ; für die Westfront des Kernbaus sind sie jedoch auszuschließen ([15]). Insofern ist es reine Willkür, wenn der südliche Durchgang der Esonarthexfassade verschlossen und hier Grab § 1 verortet wird (Abb. 1). Da der Narthex (Esonarthex) wahrscheinlich erst unter Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes dem Kernbau hinzugefügt worden war ([16]), muß ein komnenisches Grab hier ohnehin ausgeschlossen werden. Lediglich am Westende der südlichen Umgangshalle des Kernbaus ist – wie schon Mango vorschlug – eine Grabnische denkbar, wo Grab § 1 lokalisiert werden kann (Abb. 2, 1). Der Grabdekor wird dem Bildtypus E zugewiesen, der „nicht vor palaiologischer Zeit zu belegen" sei ([17]). Da die im § 1 erwähnten Grabinhaber zweifellos der komnenischen Stifterfamilie angehören ([18]), müßte allerdings erklärt werden, wie dieser Anachronismus aufgelöst werden kann ; diese Erklärung sucht man jedoch vergebens ([19]).

Im § 2 werden die Darstellungen am Grab des Megas Papias Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes und seiner Frau Theodora Dukaina Branaina Glabaina sowie weiterer Mitglieder der Familie be-

(14) HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 160, 170-173 ; MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work,* S. 322.

(15) Eingezeichnet in Plan A von MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work.* HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 165, hat seitliche Durchgänge in der Westwand des Kernbaus in Frage gestellt und nahm hier nur halbrunde oder schräg eingeschnittene Nischen an, vgl. unten Anm. 28 und 45. – Den Satz von MANGO und HAWKINS, ebd., S. 322 („We may imagine that there were three doors in the west façade") bezieht WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 188, Anm. 44, irrtümlich auf die Westwand des Kernbaus, obgleich eindeutig von der Westfassade des Esonarthex die Rede ist.

(16) HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 170-173. Diese Auffassung wird heute von der Forschung mehrheitlich geteilt, vgl. M. RESTLE, *Konstantinopel,* in *RBK,* 4 (1992), Sp. 536-537.

(17) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 186, vgl. S. 116-121.

(18) Vgl. oben Anm. 12. Zu Alexios Tarchaneiotes siehe I. G. LEONTIADES, *Die Tarchaneiotai. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (*Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται,* 27), Thessaloniki, 1998, S. 57-58, Nr. 19 ; im Folgenden als LEONTIADES, *Tarchaneiotai,* zitiert.

(19) Stattdessen findet sich S. 186 die Behauptung, wonach „das im § 1 erwähnte Grab nicht zwingend in die Reihe der Grabstätten der komnenischen Stifternachfahren einzugliedern" sei : „Seine palaiologische Entstehungszeit läßt vielmehr die Möglichkeit zu, dieses auch in anderen, nachkomnenischen Raumteilen der Kirche zu suchen".

schrieben ([20]). Dieses Grab kann sich, wenn Johannes Malaxos den Weg von West nach Ost nahm, nur im südwestlichen Eckjoch des Kernbaus an der Südwand unterhalb des Fensters befunden haben (Abb. 2, 2) ([21]). Das Fenster wurde zwar bei der Errichtung des Parekklesions zu zwei Dritteln vermauert, doch blieb die gesamte innere Wandfläche unterhalb der Fensterbrüstung davon unberührt und stand für die Anlage eines Grabes zur Verfügung. An anderer Stelle habe ich nachzuweisen versucht, daß es sich bei Grab § 2 um die von Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa gestiftete Grabstätte ihrer Eltern gehandelt haben könnte ([22]), doch gehörte es in jedem Falle der Palaiologenzeit an. Mango und Hawkins haben im Narthex des Parekklesions noch zwei Arkosolgräber an der Ostwand beiderseits des Durchgangs in den Naos festgestellt und ein weiteres an der Nordhälfte der Westwand angenommen ([23]). Da diese Gräber von Johannes Malaxos nicht erwähnt werden, waren sie zu seiner Zeit vermutlich bereits weitgehend zerstört, obwohl am südlichen Arkosolium der Ostwand noch Mosaikreste und auf dem Ziegelgrund des nördlichen Grabes ein gemaltes Kreuz erhalten blieben ([24]). Die Inhaber von Grab § 2 – Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes und Theodora Dukaina Branaina Glabaina – gehörten einer jüngeren Stiftergeneration an und verstarben zu einer Zeit, als im Narthex des Parekklesions schon alle Gräber belegt waren, wobei der Mantelraum an der Nordseite für ihr Begräbnis anscheinend nicht in Betracht kam ([25]).

(20) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 232 ; MANGO, *Monument*, S. 17-18. Zu Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes [Neilos] siehe *PLP*, Nr. 27507 ; LEONTIADES, *Tarchaneiotai*, S. 81-82, Nr. 45.

(21) Zu diesem Fenster siehe MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, S. 323, 325, Abb. 9 und 19, Schnitt D. WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, Abb. 97, zeichnete an dieser Stelle einen Durchgang ein, doch handelt es sich dabei nur um einen der türkischen Wanddurchbrüche, wie aus HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 162, Abb. 1, und Schnitt D von Mango und Hawkins klar hervorgeht.

(22) A. EFFENBERGER, *Zu den Eltern der Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa*, in *JÖB*, 57 (2007), S. 171-184.

(23) MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, S. 327-328 ; MANGO, *Monument*, S. 20, Plan A.

(24) MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, Abb. 23 und 24 ; MANGO, *Monument*, S. 20, Abb. 97 und 99.

(25) Schon MANGO, *Monument*, S. 17-18, wies Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes einer jüngeren Stiftergeneration zu, ebenso *PLP*, Nr. 27507 : „1. D(rittel). 14. Jh. (?)". Maria Dukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa wurde nach dem Tod ihres Gatten (zwischen 1305 und

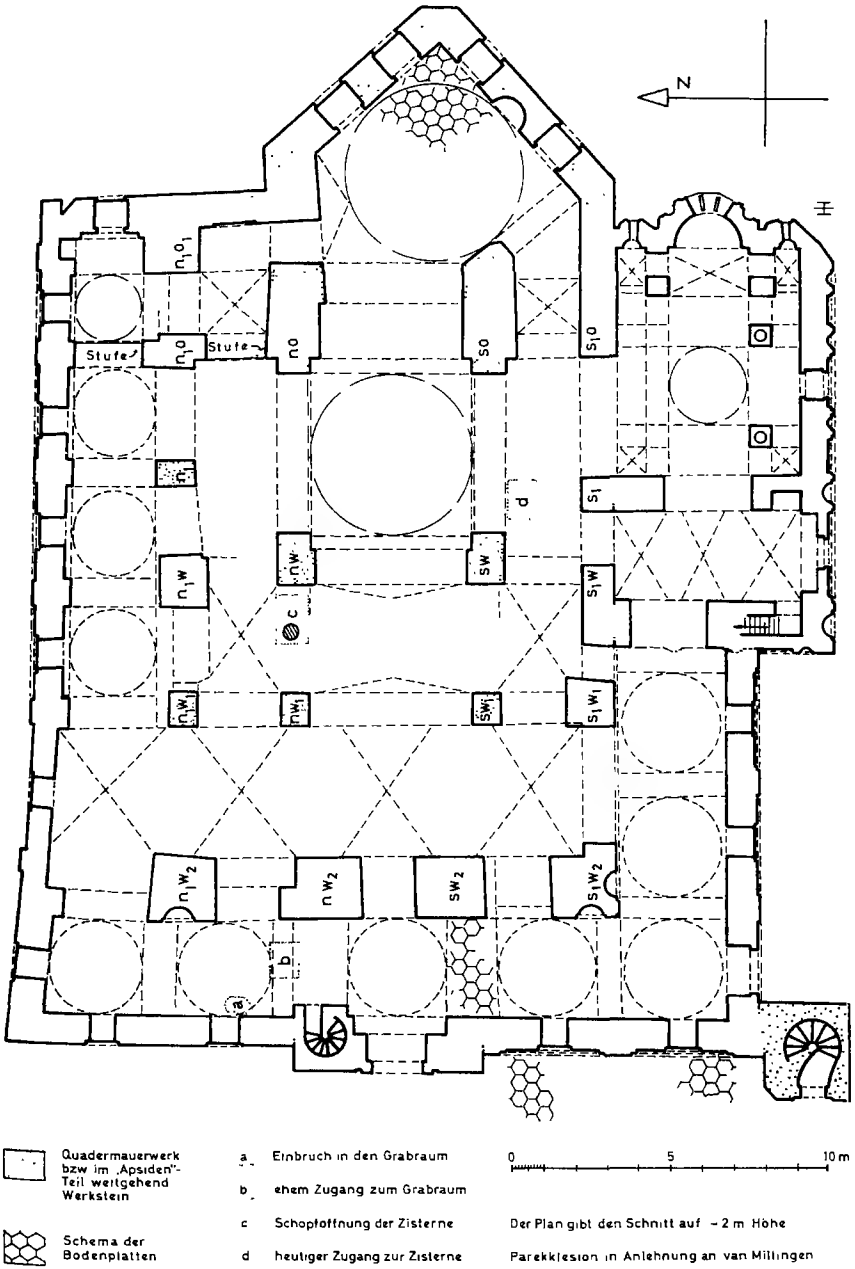

ABB. 3. — Plan der Pammakaristoskirche nach HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, Abb. auf S. 120.

Die fünf im § 3 erwähnten Darstellungen (Panhagia, Johannes Prodromos, Hagios Theodosios ὁ Ἀτράντου ([26]), Michael, Gabriel) – vermutlich Mosaiken – lokalisiert Weißbrod am Gewölbe des mittleren Eingangsjoch des Esonarthex bzw. am Tympanon über dem mittleren Eingangsportal (Abb. 1) ([27]). Aus der Abfolge der Beschreibungen kann man sich Maria nur an der Schildbogenwand über Grab § 1 ([28]) und die vier Heiligen an den vier Gewölbezwickeln des südwestlichen Eckjochs vorstellen (Abb. 2, 3). Die Südwand über Grab § 2 scheidet für das Marienbild aus, da sich hier im oberen Wandbereich als Rest des vermauerten Fensters noch ein schmaler Lichtschlitz befand.

Johannes Malaxos ging sodann – vorbei an einer inkrustierten Marmorwand – bis zu einer Tür, die in das „Bema" führte, womit das Parekklesion gemeint ist (§ 4). Hier befand sich das Grab des Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes und, nach Meinung des Autors, auch seiner Frau Maria Dukaina „Brabraina" [Branaina] Palaiologina Tarchaneiotissa, deren weltliche Namen und Titel mitgeteilt werden ([29]). Stephan Gerlach verdanken wir eine Beschreibung des Mosaikbildes. Danach war das prächtig gekleidete Paar zuseiten des erhöht stehenden Christus dargestellt, durch Beischriften als Stifter und Stifterin ausgewiesen, wobei Michael eine Schriftrolle in Händen hielt und Maria Christus ein Kirchenmodell darbrachte ([30]). Mango und Hawkins haben an der Nordwand

1308) Nonne und nahm den Namen Martha an. Sie muß 1330 noch gelebt haben. vgl. A. EFFENBERGER, *Die Klöster der beiden Kyrai Martha und die Kirche des Bebaia Elpis-Klosters in Konstantinopel,* in *Millennium,* 3 (2006), S. 261, Anm. 25. War sie die Stifterin von Grab § 2, in dessen Bild sie bereits als Nonne dargestellt wurde, können die Inhaber nur zwischen 1305/1308 und 1330 verstorben sein.

(26) Der Beiname ist unklar, vgl. SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 234 zu § 3.

(27) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 188.

(28) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 39, ließ offen, ob εἰς τὴν καμάραν mit „vault [or arch ?]" zu übersetzen sei. Mir scheint ein Bogenfeld naheliegender, zumal HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 165-166, Abb. 1, auf der Gegenseite noch ein „tympanonartiges Segment" mit Mosaikresten in der Nische zwischen den Pfeilern n_1w_1 und nw_1 beobachtet hat.

(29) Zur Problematik des Stifterbildes siehe demnächst A. EFFENBERGER, *Zur Restaurierungstätigkeit des Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes im Pammakaristoskloster und zur Erbauungszeit des Parekklesions,* in *Zograf,* 31 (2007) (im Druck).

(30) Stephan GERLACHS dess Aeltern *Tage-Buch* ..., Frankfurt am Main, 1674, S. 462B (unter dem 3. März 1578) ; im Folgenden als GERLACH, *Tage-Buch,* zi-

des Naos des Parekklesions noch Spuren des Arkosoliums festgestellt und danach die gesamte Mauer mit der Grabnische rekonstruiert (Abb. 2, 4d) ([31]). Die Interpretation der Eingangspassage des § 4 (Z. 28-31) εἶτα ἕνε ὀρθομαρμάρωσιν ε(ως) νὰ ὑπαγένης ἕως τὴν θύραν τοῦ βήματος, τῆς δεξιᾶς μερέας ὡς εἴπαμεν, ἤγουν τὸ ἑσπέριον μέρος. ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος ἔνε ἡ πόρτοπούλ(α) ὁποῦ ὑπαγένης καὶ ἐμπένης εἰς τὸ παρακλήσιον τὸν ἅγιον Ἰω(άνν)ην hat zu mancherlei Mißverständnissen geführt. Schreiner übersetzte ([32]) : „Dann ist eine inkrustierte Marmorwand bis man zum Eingang des Bema des rechten Teiles, wie wir sagten, geht, d. h. des westlichen Teils. Jener Teil bildet die Tür, wo man in das Parekklesion des Heiligen Johannes hineingeht und eintritt ([33])". Er schloß aus den scheinbar verwirrenden Richtungsangaben, daß sich das erwähnte Stiftergrab (wie auch die inkrustierte Wand) nicht im Parekklesion, sondern westlich davon im südlich davor errichteten Ambulatorium (Abb. 3) befunden habe oder später hierher verlegt worden sei. Diese Deutung impliziert, daß Johannes Malaxos von den Gräbern der § 1 und 2 zurück in den Exonarthex und von da in das Südambulatorium gegangen sein müßte, sich also im westlichen Teil aufgehalten habe, bevor er das Parekklesion betrat. Hingegen nimmt Weißbrod zu Recht an, daß Johannes Malaxos, um in das Parekklesion zu gelangen, den Weg durch den westlichen und südlichen Umgang des komnenischen Naos nahm und durch eine Verbindungstür in das Parekklesion eintrat ([34]). Hier müßte man zunächst der Frage nachgehen, wo sich diese Tür befunden haben könnte. Mango und Hawkins haben in ihrer Grundrißrekonstruktion der komnenischen Kirche genau in der Mittelachse des Naos eine in den Südumgang des Kernbaus führende Tür eingezeichnet (Abb. 2, 4b). Denn an dieser Stelle wurde eine Türschwelle gefunden, die etwa 20 cm unter dem Niveau des Fußbodens des Parekklesions lag, weshalb anzu-

tiert ; die Beischriften brieflich mitgeteilt an Martin Crusius unter dem 7. März 1578 : Martin Crusius, *Turcograeciae libri octo,* Basel, 1584, S. 189.

(31) Beschrieben von Mango, *Monument,* S. 21, Abb. 9 (Wiederherstellung) und Plan A.

(32) Schreiner, *Beschreibung,* S. 234 zu § 4.

(33) Mango, *Monument,* S. 39, übersetzte : „Then there is a marble revetment until you reach the door of the bema, of the right-hand side, as we have said, i.e., the western side" und bemerkte dazu (Anm. 192) : „This indication is confusing. The right-hand side of the church is, as usual, its south side, and the description is proceeding from west to east".

(34) Weissbrod, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 189.

nehmen ist, daß diese Tür bei der Errichtung der Grabkapelle vermauert worden war ([35]). Doch zur Zeit des Johannes Malaxos muß sie wieder geöffnet gewesen sein, weshalb er von hier zunächst in den westlichen Kreuzarm des Parekklesions gelangte (Abb. 2, 4c), der den eigentlichen Durchgang zum inneren Naos, dem „Parekklesion des hl. Johannes Chrysostomos" bildete (Abb. 2, 4). Besser sollte man daher übersetzen : „Dort ist eine inkrustierte Marmorwand, wo man bis zur Tür des Bema – des an der rechten Seite gelegenen, wie wir sagten – entlanggeht, die in den westlichen Teil führt. Dort (ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος) befindet sich die kleine Tür, wo man durchgeht und in das Parekklesion des heiligen Johannes eintritt ([36])". Die inkrustierte Marmorwand wäre demnach an der Innenseite des komnenischen Südumgangs anzunehmen (Abb. 2, 4a) ([37]).

Fraglich ist, ob sich § 5 noch auf das „Bema", also den Naos des Parekklesions bezieht ([38]). Die erwähnten Darstellungen von zehn Heiligen (Theodoros Tiron, Georgios, Demetrios, Eustratios, Auxentios, Paraskeve, Eirene, Eudokia, Pelagia, Basileios der Große) lassen sich, wie auch Weißbrod gesehen hat, nicht mit den im Parekklesion erhaltenen Mosaikdarstellungen identifizieren ([39]). Umgekehrt haben die dort noch vorhandenen Heiligenmosaiken in der „Beschreibung" des Johannes Malaxos keinen Niederschlag gefunden. Allerdings sind infolge der türkischen Eingriffe im Narthex des Parekklesions die zehn Gewölbeabschnitte (Abb. 2 und 3) und die Mosaiken, die sich hier sowie an der Nord- und Südwand und vielleicht auch an den Rückwänden der Arkosolien befunden haben, bis auf geringe Reste ([40]) verloren gegangen. Man kann daher nur vermuten, daß Johannes Malaxos auch den Narthex des Parekklesions betreten und die dort angebrachten Darstellungen gesehen hat, obwohl er die hier einst vorhandenen Arkosolgräber nicht erwähnt

(35) MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, S. 323, und Plan C („door sill").

(36) Diether Roderich Reinsch danke ich für wichtige Hinweise.

(37) Nach Martin Gruneweg war die Kirche „inwendig mit gruenem porfier außgefuettert" ; vgl. A. BERGER, *Ein westlicher Besucher im orthodoxen Patriarchat von Konstantinopel im Jahr 1584*, in S. KOLDITZ und R. C. MÜLLER (ed.). *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von Günther S. Henrich und Klaus-Peter Matschke*, Leipzig, 2005, S. 473 ; im Folgenden als BERGER, *Besucher*, zitiert.

(38) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 234 zu § 5, vermutete die hier angebrachten Darstellungen im südlichen Umgang.

(39) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 189-190.

(40) Oben Anm. 24.

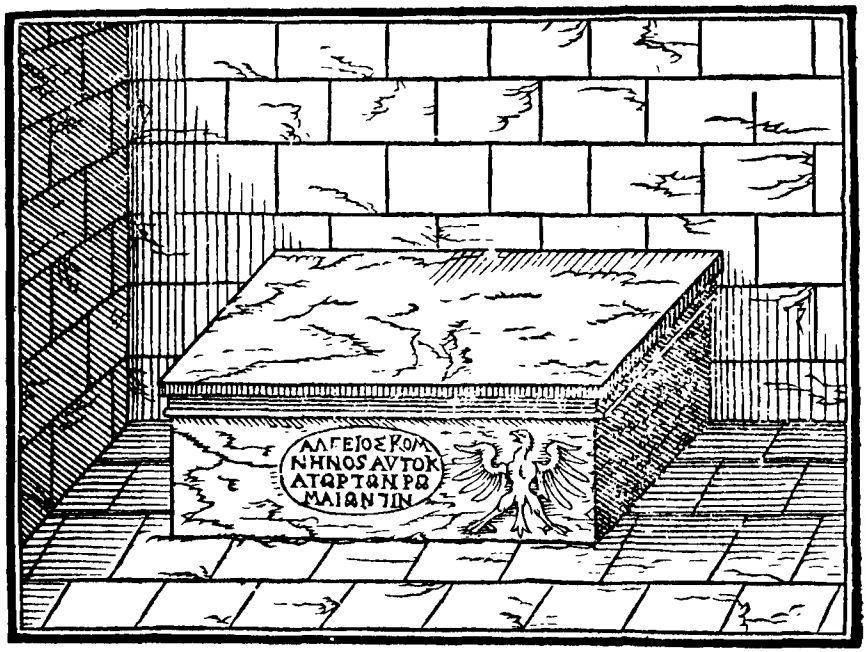

ABB. 4. — Nische mit dem Sarkophag des Kaisers Alexios Komnenos nach SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, Abb. auf S. 120.

(Abb. 2, 5). Die beiden hölzernen Kästen mit den Reliquien (§ 6) waren vermutlich gut sichtbar in den Nebenapsiden des Parekklesions aufgestellt (Abb. 2, 6a/b), zumal Johannes Malaxos an den Gebeinen des Johannes Chrysostomos den Namen des Heiligen lesen konnte (41).

Ab § 7 besucht Johannes Malaxos die Gräber an der linken Seite, und auch hier hat er erst nach Durchschreiten des Esonarthex seinen Rundgang in der Kirche begonnen, denn er sagt eindeutig (Z. 47) : „An der linken Seite, wenn wir wie zuvor eingetreten sind". Daher ist es naheliegend, daß er die Gräber der § 7-9 wieder in der Reihenfolge von West nach Ost aufzählt (42). Weißbrod läßt ihn den umgekehrten Weg nehmen, d. h. vom Parekklesion quer durch den Kernbau in den nördlichen Umgang, und ordnet demzufolge die Gräber der § 7-14 von Ost nach West an (Abb. 1), wobei sie die Existenz der Tür, die eben noch (§ 4) vom Süd-

(41) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 234-235 zu § 6.
(42) So schon MANGO, *Monument*, S. 7, 31.

umgang des komnenischen Naos in das Parekklesion führte (Abb. 2, 4b), nun plötzlich in Abrede stellt ([43]). Die Gräber bargen eindeutig Mitglieder der Komnenenfamilie ([44]). Von den drei Gräbern war das mittlere (§ 8) groß und überwölbt, das letzte klein (§ 9). Man wird das erste (§ 7) – analog zum ersten Grab der Südseite (§ 1) – am Westende der Nordhalle des komnenischen Kernbaus in einer Wandnische lokalisieren (Abb. 2, 7), wo Hallensleben Mosaikreste an der Innenseite zwischen den Pfeilern n_1w_1 und nw_1 (Abb. 3) nachweisen konnte ([45]). Das zweite überwölbte Grab befand sich dann gewiß an der Nordwand des nordwestlichen Eckjochs (Abb. 2, 8), das kleinere lag im anschließenden Kompartiment ebenfalls vor der Nordwand (Abb. 2, 9). Über den Gräbern (§ 8 und 9) werden sich Fenster befunden haben, die den Fenstern der Südwand entsprachen ([46]) und mit ihrer Brüstung die Höhe der Gräber begrenzten. Schreiner wollte Grab § 8 mit Blick auf das dort angebrachte Epigramm nahe dem Eingang im Esonarthex lokalisieren ([47]), doch ist es wegen der palaiologischen Entstehungszeit dieses Bauteils nicht möglich, hier ein komnenisches Arkosolgrab zu erwarten. Ob sich die Türsymbolik der Inschrift wirklich auf einen nebenbei befindlichen Durchgang bezieht, bleibt ohnehin fraglich.

Das folgende überwölbte Grab (§ 10), das Nachkommen der komnenischen Stifter gehörte, führte, wie Schreiner übersetzte ([48]), „in Richtung auf die heutige Tür für die Frauen" (ἄλλο μνημεῖον καμαρωτὸν καὶ

(43) Weissbrod, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 190, Anm. 73: „Der Baubefund sagt nichts darüber aus, ob es eine Verbindung zwischen Parekklesion und Kernbau gab". Es gab diesen Durchgang, und ganz sicher war zur Zeit des Johannes Malaxos wieder geöffnet.

(44) Mango, *Monument*, S. 7-10, Stemma S. 8. Weissbrod, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 186, begründet die komnenische Familienzugehörigkeit mit ihrem Bildtypus B, der nicht vor 1197 zu belegen sei: Da in den § 7, 8 und 9 „Grabausstattungen dieses Bildtypus aufgeführt werden ... können nur diese drei Grabstätten der Komnenenfamilie zugerechnet werden". Eine merkwürdige Logik angesichts des Datums 1197.

(45) Hallensleben, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 165-166, Abb. 1. An der Stelle, wo Weissbrod Grab § 9 lokalisiert, sollen sich die von Hallensleben beobachteten Mosaikreste befunden haben. Hallensleben beschrieb aber eindeutig die Innenseite der Nische zwischen den Pfeilern n_1w_1 und nw_1!

(46) Siehe Mango und Hawkins, *Field Work*, Schnitt D.

(47) Schreiner, *Beschreibung*, S. 235 zu § 8.

(48) Schreiner, *Beschreibung*, S. 236 zu § 10.

ἀνοίξαν τὰ νῦν πορτοπούλα διὰ γυναῖκες), doch ist es wohl richtiger zu sagen : „Ein anderes überwölbtes Grab und man hat jetzt dort eine kleine Tür für die Frauen geöffnet (49)". Schreiner erwog mehrere Möglichkeiten für den Ort dieser Tür und entschied sich für einen Durchgang „zu einem für Frauen bestimmten Raum im Kirchenschiff", womit jedoch nichts über dessen Lage gesagt ist. Mango erkannte, daß die Tür nur in den nördlichen Mantelraum geführt haben kann, ohne daß es möglich sei, den Punkt zu bestimmen, wo Johannes Malaxos aus dem Naos des Kernbaus in den Mantelraum hinüber wechselte (50). Weißbrod sucht diesen Durchbruch „im nördlichen Wandbereich der Westwand des Kernbaues" und verortet das Grab in dem angeblichen nördlichen Nebenzugang der Westwand des komnenischen Naos und zum Esonarthex hin gewandt (Abb. 1) (51). An dieser Stelle ist nur eine Wandnische denkbar, die zum nordwestlichen Eckjoch des Naos orientiert war und Grab § 7 enthielt (Abb. 2, 7). Den Grabdekor weist sie wie schon denjenigen des komnenischen Grabes § 1 ihrem angeblich erst in palaiologischer Zeit nachweisbaren Bildtypus E zu, und auch hier scheint sie den Anachronismus nicht bemerkt zu haben (52).

Was die im § 10 erwähnte und für die Frauen geöffnete Tür betrifft, so ist anzunehmen, daß sich an der Nordwand des Kernbaus ein Zugang entsprechend der Tür an der Südseite befand (Abb. 2, 4b und 10a) (53), der hier allerdings durch den türkischen Wanddurchbruch bzw. durch den in diesem Bereich aufgemauerten türkischen Pfeiler n_1 (Abb. 3) gänzlich beseitigt wurde (54). Diese Nordtür und die Fenster in der Nordwand des Kernbaus müßten nach Errichtung des nördlichen Mantelraums unter Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes (55) ebenso zugemauert worden sein wie der südliche Zugang nach der Erbauung des Parekklesions (Abb. 2,

(49) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 40, übersetzte : „Another arched tomb has now been opened as a door for the woman".

(50) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 31-32.

(51) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 191. Hier fällt ihr zum einen auf, daß der Esonarthex jüngeren Datums ist, und zum anderen (Anm. 77), daß der nördliche Durchgang in der Westwand des komnenischen Kernbaus sowenig gesichert ist wie dessen südliches Pendant, wo sie Grab § 2 verzeichnet hat.

(52) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes,* S. 191.

(53) Vgl. oben Anm. 35.

(54) Vgl. HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 164, Abb. 1.

(55) Dazu HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* S. 175-176.

4b) ([56]). Insofern kann Johannes Malaxos, wenn er den nördlichen Umgangsraum von West nach Ost durchmaß, nur diese Tür gemeint haben, denn schließlich ist es einfacher, eine vermauerte Tür wieder zu öffnen als einen neuen Wanddurchbruch vorzunehmen. Grab § 10 befand sich demnach in dem Wandbereich östlich dieser Tür (Abb. 2, 10). Die fünf Figuren wurden von dem Durchbruch anscheinend nicht tangiert, zumal die Tür schon in komnenischer Zeit existiert haben müßte. Damit wird ein weiteres Mal deutlich, daß die drei zuvor beschriebenen Gräber (§ 7-9) und Grab § 10 sich nur den Platz im nordwestlichen Eckjoch und an der inneren Nordwand des Umgangs des Kernbaus einschließlich dem letzten Joch vor dem Apsisnebenraum geteilt haben können (Abb. 2, 7-10).

Auch die Reihenfolge der Gräber der § 7-10 ist von Bedeutung, denn sie sind gemäß dem genealogischen Rang ihrer Inhaber von Ost nach West angeordnet worden. Grab § 10 galt dem Sebastos Alexios, dem Sohn des Gründerpaares, und seiner Frau Eirene Synadene ([57]). Es hatte eine privilegiere Stellung nahe dem Bema und könnte das Pendant zum verschollenen Stiftergrab (Abb. 2 A) gebildet haben ([58]). Adrianos Monachos ist vielleicht mit Alexios identisch, der Sebastos Adrianos ist hingegen der Sohn von Alexios und Eirene Synadene. Außer dem Grab des Nikolaos Komnenos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes (§ 2) ist Grab § 10 unter den beschriebenen Gräbern der Pammakaristoskirche das einzige Beispiel, wo ein und dieselbe Person in zweierlei Gestalt, nämlich als Laie und als Mönch dargestellt war. Die Inhaber des kleines Grabes § 9 sind unbekannt. Das große Arkosolgrab § 8 gehörte einem anderen Sohn des Stifterpaares, Andronikos Komnenos und seiner Frau, der Sebaste Eudokia Dukaina. In Grab § 7 waren schließlich der Enkel der Gründer, der Sebastos Adrianos Komnenos und seine Frau, der Sebaste Anna Kontostephanina bestattet. In Grab § 1 als räumliches Pendant zu Grab § 7 (Abb. 2, 1 und 2, 7) ruhte als ranghöchstes Familienmitglied die Sebaste Eudokia, eine Tochter des Stifterpaares. Man kann daher vermuten, daß sich vor der inneren Wand des Südumgangs der Kirche bis zur Tür (Abb. 2, 4b) ursprünglich weitere Gräber von Nachkommen des

(56) Das ist schon deshalb anzunehmen, weil der betreffende Gurtbogen des Mantelraums, der an der Nordwand über einer Wandvorlage beginnt, genau über dieser Tür geendet haben müßte, vgl. MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work,* Plan A.

(57) Zum folgenden siehe MANGO, *Monument,* Stemma S. 8.

(58) Vgl. oben Anm. 13.

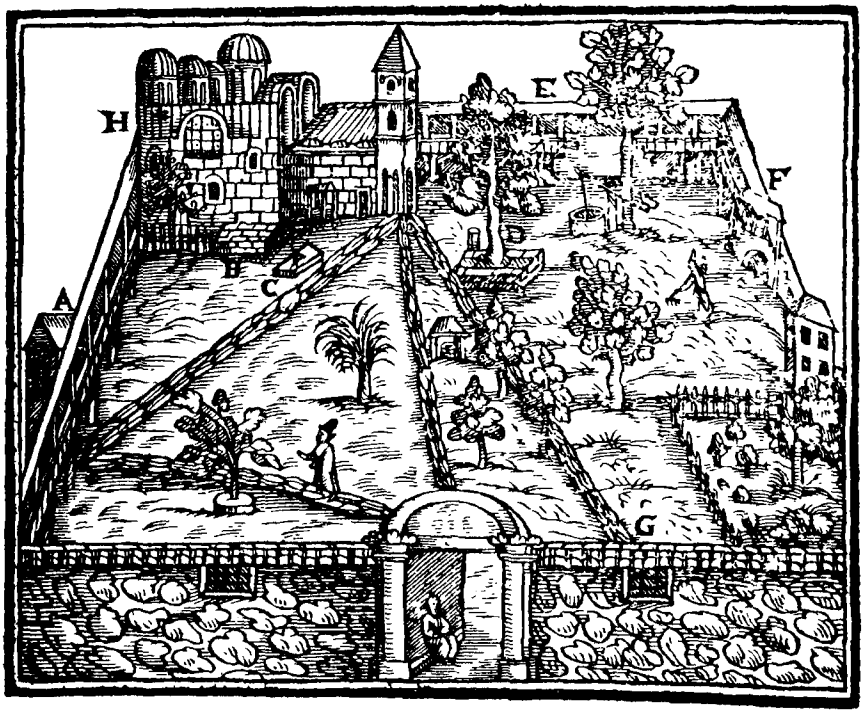

ABB. 5. — Ansicht des Pammakaristosklosters nach SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, Abb. auf S. 118 (Original seitenverkehrt).

Gründerpaares befanden, wovon eines durch die inkrustierte Marmorwand (Abb. 2, 4a) und ein weiteres durch Grab § 2 (Abb. 2, 2) ersetzt worden sein könnte.

§ 11 erwähnt fünf Darstellungen (Theotokos Pammakaristos mit dem Christuskind, Christus als Hoherpriester ; die Heiligen Nikolaos, Georgios und Prokopios), vermutlich Mosaiken. Weißbrod nimmt an, daß sie am Gewölbe des vorletzten Nordjochs des Esonarthex angebracht waren (Abb. 1) ([59]). Der Durchgang zwischen diesem und dem vorgeschobenen Nordjoch (Abb. 2 und 3) kann nur als Gurtbogen ausgebildet gewesen sein, hatte demzufolge keine Lünette. Wie sich dann fünf Dar-

(59) WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 192. Zur Entstehung des Bildtypus „Christus als Hoherpriester" siehe T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *Ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀρχιερέα*, in *ΔΧΑΕ*, 17 (1993-1994), S. 67-78.

stellungen an vier Gewölbekappen unterbringen lassen, wird nicht gesagt. Doch auch die übrigen Gräber (§ 12-14) lokalisiert Weißbrod im vorletzten Joch des Esonarthex, während die Gräber der § 15 und 16 dem vorgeschobenen Nordjoch zugewiesen werden, was auch hier zu einer willkürlichen Schließung des westlichen Durchgangs geführt hat (Abb. 1). Wenn wir annehmen, daß Johannes Malaxos auf seinem Weg von West nach Ost auch den nördlichen Apsisnebenraum des Kernbaus besuchte, dann boten die Apsis, die vier Gewölbezwickel und die seitlichen Wandflächen genügend Möglichkeiten, um die Darstellungen des § 11 hier unterzubringen.

Doch ist hier Vorsicht geboten, weil wir weder erfahren, ob Johannes Malaxos den Apsisnebenraum betreten, noch ob er die für die Frauen geöffnete Tür zum nördlichen Mantelraum durchschritten hat. Das ist eher auszuschließen, denn um zum Alexios-Sarkophag (§ 18) zu gelangen, mußte er von den vorerwähnten Gräbern und Darstellungen (§ 12-17) „weiter nach Osten" gehen, und im § 24 beschreibt er eindeutig einen Teil der Kapelle am Ostende des nördlichen Mantelraums (Abb. 2). Demnach hat er auch hier den Weg von West nach Ost genommen. Insofern hat Weißbrod nicht Unrecht, wenn sie die Gräber und Darstellungen der § 15-24 in dieser Halle von West nach Ost anordnet (Abb. 1), doch muß man schon die Darstellungen und Grabstätten der § 11-14 in die Erwägungen einbeziehen. Der nördliche Mantelraum weist, das vorgeschobene, kreuzgratgewölbte Nordjoch des Esonarthex mitgerechnet ([60]), fünf Kompartimente auf, davon die drei östlich anschließenden Joche mit Kuppelgewölben, das östlichste mit einer Tambourkuppel und einer Apsis sowie alle vier mit in der nördlichen Außenwand liegenden Arkosolnischen ([61]). An der Nordwand des vorgeschobenen Jochs des Esonarthex hatte Hallensleben einen Durchgang vermutet, der den ursprünglichen Narthex „mit den angrenzenden Klosterbauten verband ([62])". Trifft diese

(60) Das nordwestliche und das anschließende Joch des Exonarthex scheiden ohnedies aus, da sich hierunter der von HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 177-181, Abb. 10, entdeckte Grabraum befindet.

(61) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 24 : „Each bay was provided with an arcosolium in its north wall, but these are not filled", was angesichts der türkischen Fenstereinbrüche verständlich ist.

(62) HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche*, S. 176. Allerdings glaube ich nicht, daß das Klostergebäude direkt gegen die etwas ausscherende Nordwand im Bereich der beiden westlichen Joche errichtet worden war. R. H. W. STICHEL, *„Vergessene Portraits" spätbyzantinischer Zeit. Zwei frühpalaiologische kaiser-*

Annahme noch für die Zeit des Johannes Malaxos zu, woran die Darstellung der Klosteranlage bei Schweigger (Abb. 5 und 6) kaum Zweifel läßt (63), so stand diese Wand für ein Arkosolgrab nicht zur Verfügung. Ohnehin ist bislang schon deutlich geworden, daß sich im Esonarthex überhaupt keine Gräber befanden.

In der Beschreibung lassen sich deutlich vier Abschnitte unterscheiden, das kapellenartige Joch am östlichen Ende (§ 24) mitgerechnet: [I] Die fünf Darstellungen des § 11 und die im Boden eingelassene Grabplatte eines Abtes (§ 12), [II] ein altes Arkosolgrab (§ 13) mit dem davor angelegten neuen Grab des walachischen Prinzen (§ 14), [III] ein weiteres Arkosolgrab (§ 15) mit dem davor errichteten neuen Grab des Prinzen von Moldawien (§ 16) sowie Heiligendarstellungen (§ 17), schließlich [IV] das weiter im Osten befindliche große Grab des Alexios mitsamt seinem Mosaikbild und den übrigen von Johannes Malaxos vermerkten Inschriften und Darstellungen (§ 18-22) sowie mit dem neuen Grabmal des Prinzen von „Moldowalachia" (§ 23).

Es wäre also zu prüfen, wo diese vier Komplexe in den vier dafür in Betracht kommenden Kompartimenten der Nordhalle untergebracht werden können, da Johannes Malaxos offenbar Joch für Joch beschrieben hat. Um ganz sicher zu gehen, daß das nach Norden vorgeschobene kreuzgratgewölbte Joch des Esonarthex (Abb. 2) unberücksichtigt bleiben muß, soll hier zunächst das letzte Joch, die Kapelle am Ostende des Mantelraums (§ 24) in Augenschein genommen werden (Abb. 2, 24). Johannes Malaxos bezeichnet sie als παρεκκλησίδι bzw. als ἐκκλησίτζα, konnte sie jedoch nicht besichtigen, da sie auf Befehl Sultan Süleymans mit einem Schloß gesichert und das Betreten bei Todesstrafe verboten war (64). An der rechten Seite war ein Holzkasten mit dem Leib der heiligen Theophano aufgestellt (65), an einer Seite befand sich ein Kasten mit

liche Familienbildnisse im Peribleptos- und Pammakaristoskloster zu Konstantinopel, in *Mitteilungen zur spätantiken Archäologie und byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* 1 (1998), S. 95, Anm. 125, im Folgenden als STICHEL, *Familienbildnisse,* zitiert, plädierte für ein im Hof freistehendes Katholikon.

(63) Salomon SCHWEIGGER, *Ein Newe Reyssbeschreibung auß Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jesusalem,* Nürnberg, 1608 (Nachdruck : Graz, 1964), Abb. (seitenverkehrt) auf S. 118 ; im folgenden als SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung,* zitiert ; gekontert bei HALLENSLEBEN, *Pammakaristoskirche,* Abb. 3 und MANGO, *Monument,* Abb. 114b.

(64) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 240 zu § 24.

(65) Zu sämtlichen für das Pammakaristoskloster bezeugten Reliquien siehe MANGO, *Monument,* S. 34.

den Reliquien des heiligen Merkurios, und vor dem Altar stand ein weiterer Holzkasten, in dessen Inneren die Gebeine der heiligen Paraskeve, die Süleyman 1526 in Belgrad erbeutet hatte, in einem Silberschrein eingeschlossen waren.

Für die Kapelle besitzen wir noch zwei weitere zeitgenössische Berichte, nämlich von Hans Jacob Breuning und Martin Gruneweg. Breuning, der 1579 das Patriarchat besuchte, faßte sich ziemlich kurz (66) : „Hiebey ist auch eine Capelle, so vom Türckischen Keyser (wie die *Caloieri* oder Münch uns sagten) Versiegelt, und darff niemand hienein kommen, darinnen soll begraben ligen *Sancta Veneranda* unnd *Leonora,* deß Keysers *Leonis* Gemahl". Gruneweg, der 1584 in Istanbul weilte, schrieb (67) : „Von beyden seitten des kuers sein kapellen : ... die ander von mitternacht ist mitt einer eisern gegitterten thuere vom Keyzer mitt tzwe grossen angehengten schlössern verschlossen und verpetziert und ist das gegietter mitt pluendlein so verknuepfet, das mans kaume durchsehen mag. In der kapelle stehen tzwoe kasten oder greber mit Heiligen die sein bis auf die erde herlichen bedeckett doch untter drey finger dieckem stoebe. In dem einen sey S. Eufemie leichnam (68)". Anscheinend hat Gruneweg nur zwei Kästen sehen können und dementsprechend in seiner beigegebenen Skizze eingetragen. Die Beschreibungen der beiden Reisenden ergänzen zwar einander, machen aber deutlich, daß Johannes Malaxos der genauere Berichterstatter ist. Der Altar befand sich selbstredend in der Apsis, doch war davor noch Platz für den Schrein mit den Gebeinen der heiligen Paraskeve. Aus der Disposition geht deutlich hervor, wo die beiden Kästen mit den Reliquien der Theophano und des Merkurios aufgestellt waren. Das Eisengitter, mit dem der Verschlag nach Gruneweg versperrt war, müßte demnach direkt vor dem Bemabogen und nahe genug zur Apsis hin angebracht gewesen sein, so daß Johannes Malaxos anscheinend durch einen Spalt den Altar und alle drei Schreine sehen konnte. Damit ist klar, daß das eigentliche Ostjoch unter der Tambour-

(66) Hans Jacob BREUNING VON BOUCHENBACH, *Orientalische Reyß,* Straßburg, 1612, S. 68 (Nachdruck : Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 2004) ; im Folgenden als BREUNING, *Reyß,* zitiert.

(67) BERGER, *Besucher,* S. 474-475. In der Bibliographie S. 477 fehlen zwei der wichtigsten Arbeiten, nämlich MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work* und MANGO, *Monument* ; letzterer hat S. 31, Abb. 115a, bereits Grunewegs Bericht und Skizze herangezogen.

(68) Euphemia ist falsch, ihr Schrein ist im § 14 erwähnt, siehe unten.

kuppel mit Ausnahme der Apsis noch zugänglich war, somit nur dieser Raumteil und die drei westlich anschließenden kuppelgewölbten Joche für eine Lokalisierung der Gräber und Bilder der § 11-24 herangezogen werden können ([69]).

[I] Das erste westliche Joch bietet mit seiner Flachkuppel und dem Schildbogen der Südwand ausreichend Platz für fünf Darstellungen (§ 11). Dabei wird man sich die Theotokos Pammakaristos und Christus als Hoherpriester in der Lünette an der Südwand vorzustellen haben, wohingegen Johannes Malaxos am Gewölbe offenbar nur noch drei Heiligenfiguren gesehen zu haben scheint. Es ist aber auch denkbar, daß entweder Christus oder Maria allein auf dem südlichen Schildbogen dargestellt war (Abb. 2, 11) ([70]). An einer nicht genau bezeichneten Stelle befand sich das Grab eines Abtes (§ 12). Von der Inschriftplatte wurden acht Fragmente in sekundärer Verwendung im Fußboden des Naos und im nördlichen Mantelraum gefunden ([71]). Johannes Malaxos vermerkt ausdrücklich, daß die Platte in den Fußboden eingelassen war und überliefert die vierzeilige Inschrift. Aus dem Text geht lediglich hervor, daß hier ein namentlich nicht genannter Abt des Manuelklosters begraben war ([72]). Ob es sich dabei wirklich „eindeutig" um ein Bodengrab gehandelt haben muß ([73]), sei dahingestellt, zumal sich in der Nordwand ein Arkosolium befindet, das der Autor jedoch – entgegen seiner sonstigen Gewohnheit – nicht eigens erwähnt (Abb. 2, 12).

[II] Das alte Arkosolgrab (μνημεῖον παλαιὸν καμαρωτόν) mit der Reliefikone der Gottesmutter und dem Kind zwischen dem Erzengel Michael zur ihrer Rechten und Johannes dem Täufer zur ihrer Linken (§ 13) ([74]) sowie das davor angelegte Grab des walachischen Prinzen

(69) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 32, zog nur „bays 2-4" in Erwägung, da er annahm, daß das gesamte Ostjoch verschlossen gewesen sei.

(70) Auf Abb. 2 (MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, Plan A) ist an dieser Stelle ein Fenster eingezeichnet, analog zu dem halbrunden Fenster in der Südwand (ebd, Schnitt D). Dessen Sohlbank lag jedoch hoch genug, um die Anlage eines Wandgrabes darunter zu ermöglichen. Außerdem wird auch dieses Fenster bei Anlage des nördlichen Mantelraums vermauert worden sein.

(71) MANGO und HAWKINS, *Field Work*, S. 333, Abb. 38 ; MANGO, *Monument*, S. 33.

(72) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 236 zu § 12.

(73) So WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 192.

(74) In den § 15, 21, 22 und 27 kann es sich nur um Reliefikonen handeln, vgl. SCHREINER, Beschreibung, S. 237 zu § 13 zum Begriff (o)ἰνοκοπητός

(§ 14) werden im zweiten mit einer Flachkuppel eingewölbten Joch zu lokalisieren sein. Grab § 13, dessen einstiger Inhaber Johannes Malaxos bereits unbekannt war, gehört der Zeit nach der Errichtung des nördlichen Mantelraums an und befand sich zweifellos in der Arkosolnische der Nordwand (Abb. 2, 13), wodurch auch die Reliefikone in die palaiologische Zeit datiert wird. Auf dem Grab des walachischen Prinzen (Abb. 2, 14) – nach Mango ein vielleicht freistehender Sarkophag ([75]) – befand sich ein hölzerner Kasten mit den Gebeinen verschiedener Heiligen (Euphemia, Anna, Kosmas und Damian). Den walachischen Prinzen identifizierte Schreiner mit Theodosios I., der unter der Obhut des Patriarchen seit September 1521 im Pammakaristoskloster lebte und dort im Dezember desselben Jahres verstarb ([76]).

[III] Im folgenden – vorletzten – Joch war ein weiteres Arkosolgrab mit der Reliefikone der Heiligen Manuel, Sabel und Ismael (§ 15) angebracht (Abb. 2, 15), denen in Konstantinopel ein Kloster geweiht war ([77]). Auch hier war der Grabinhaber bereits vergessen, wird aber wie im vorigen Falle der Tarchaneiotes-Familie angehört haben. Das davor angelegte Grab des namentlich unbekannten Angehörigen der Bogdan-Familie (§ 16) war entweder ein Bodengrab oder wieder ein Sarkophag (Abb. 2, 16) ([78]). Die an der gegenüberliegenden Seite an einem „sphärischen Gewölbe" zahlreich dargestellten Heiligen (§ 17), die teilweise schon zerstört waren, werden jedoch kaum an der Flachkuppel, sondern eher unterhalb am Schildbogen der Südwand des Mantelraums und östlich der wieder geöffneten Tür (Abb. 2, 10a) angebracht gewesen sein (Abb. 2, 17) ([79]).

(„bemalte Flachreliefdarstellungen") ; MANGO, *Monument,* S. 40, Anm. 196 : „in this context it can refer only to relief carving". Zwar behauptet SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung,* S. 119, „kein geschnitzt Bild findet man in dieser oder andern iren Kirchen" (so auch für 1579 BREUNING, *Reyß,* S. 67 : „und nit von erhabenes bildwerck"), doch ist der Bericht des Johannes Malaxos auch hier vorzuziehen.

(75) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 32, vermutet, daß die drei walachischen Sarkophage vor der Südwand standen.

(76) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 237 zu § 14.

(77) R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères* (*La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin,* I, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique.* III), Paris, 1969², S. 322 ; im Folgenden als JANIN, *Églises,* zitiert.

(78) MANGO, *Monument,* S. 32 : „Probably free-standing".

(79) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung,* S. 237 zu § 17 : Unklar ob im Kuppelraum „oder in der der Kuppel zugewandten (südlichen) Mauer des nördlichen Um-

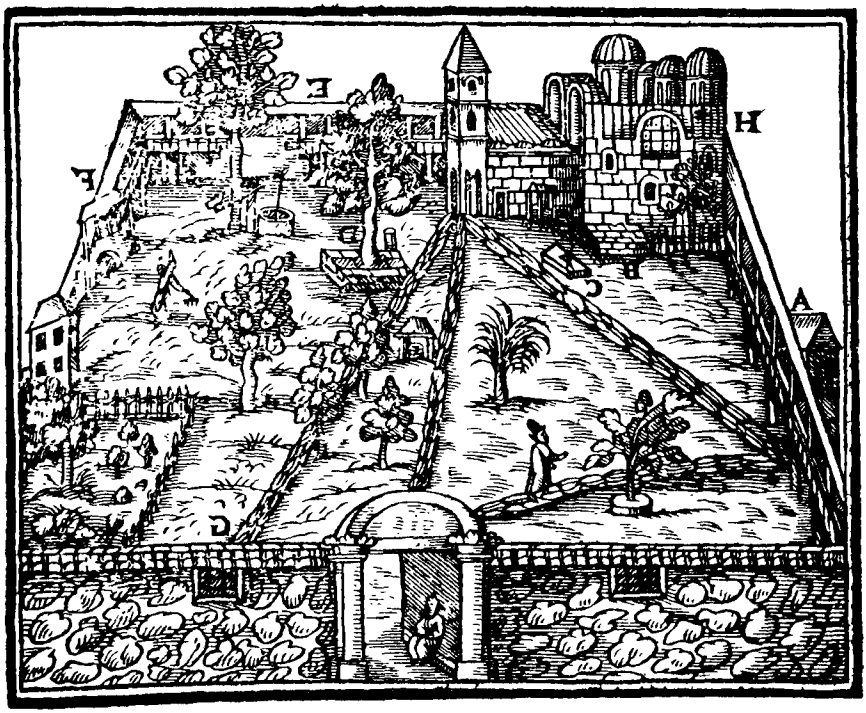

ABB. 6. — Ansicht des Pammakaristosklosters nach SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, Abb. auf S. 118 (gekontert).

[IV] Im östlichen Kapellenjoch, dessen Apsis durch den erwähnten Verschlag abgetrennt war (Abb. 2, 24), befand sich das große Grab des Kaisers Alexios Komnenos (Abb. 4) und an der Wand darüber sein Mosaikbild, das ihn im vollen Kaiserornat mit dem Szepter in der rechten Hand zeigte, durch eine Inschrift mit Namen und Titel bezeichnet (§ 18) ([80]). Auf der rechten Seite des Sarkophags war ein Kreuz eingemeißelt, auf der linken – gen Westen – befand sich ein Doppeladler mit

gangs". WEISSBROD, *Knecht Gottes*, S. 193, begründet ihre Lokalisierung der Darstellungen mit dem besonders auffälligen Wechsel vom kreuzgratgewölbten nördlichen Esonarthexjoch zum ersten überkuppelten Joch des nördlichen Mantelraums, doch hatte schon MANGO, *Monument*, S. 32, den richtigen Ort bestimmt.

(80) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 237-238 zu § 18.

Krone und Palaiologenmonogramm darüber (§ 20) ([81]). Mango schloß aus der Beschreibung, daß der Sarkophag mit seiner Front nach Süden gerichtet und in einem der Arkosolien der Nordwand aufgestellt war ([82]), wobei sich die betreffende Grabnische jetzt genau bestimmen läßt (Abb. 2, 18). Oberhalb des Sarkophags, d. h. an derselben Wand wie das Alexios-Mosaik, war demnach auch die Reliefikone mit den Darstellungen der Heiligen Arsenios, Theodosios Koinobarches und Paulos von Theben angebracht (§ 21). Wie im Text ausdrücklich vermerkt wird (§ 22), befanden sich dem Sarkophag gegenüber und nach Norden gerichtet an einer Lünette (καμαροπούλα ([83])) eine Reliefikone mit den drei hebräischen Jünglingen Ananias, Azarias und Misael (Abb. 2, 22). Davor stand auf dem Boden das neue Grab des „Sohnes des Wojwoden von Moldowalachia" (§ 23), in dem Schreiner den Sohn des Alexander Lăpuşneanu, Peter, vermutete (Abb. 2, 23) ([84]). Angeblich zu einer späteren Zeit – so Johannes Malaxos – wurde im Alexios-Sarkophag die Kaiserin Theodora Komnene von Trapezunt beigesetzt ([85]) ; am Sarkophag war eine Reliefinschrift angebracht, die ihren Namen und Titel sowie das Todesdatum enthielt (§ 19) ([86]).

Doch gerade das Alexios-Grab ist mit einer Reihe von Problemen behaftet. Zum Teil werden die Angaben des Johannes Malaxos von den beiden häufigsten Besuchern des Patriarchats – Stephan Gerlach (1573/1578) und Samuel Schweigger (1578/1581) – bestätigt, zum Teil sind ihre Mitteilungen jedoch widersprüchlich ([87]). Gerlach bezeugt ([88]), daß

(81) Wiedergegeben bei SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 224, und MANGO, *Monument*, S. 40, § 18.

(82) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 32, Anm. 156.

(83) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 41, übersetzte „a kind of small arch". Die Schildbogenwand (ca. 2, 12 m) ist hier erheblich schmaler als in den drei anderen Jochen (ca. 2, 90 m).

(84) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 239 zu § 23.

(85) Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene († 1390/1400), Tochter des Sebastokrators Nikephoros Kantakouzenos und Frau Alexios' III. Komnenos von Trapezunt : *PLP*, Nr. 12068.

(86) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 224 zu § 19 ; MANGO, *Monument*, S. 41. § 19. Das Todesdatum ist unvollständig überliefert.

(87) Siehe dazu SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 237-239 zu den § 18 und 20. Heinrich Lubenau kann hier außer Betracht bleiben, da seine Angaben wohl überwiegend auf SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, beruhen, vgl. STICHEL, *Familienbildnisse*, S. 79-80.

(88) GERLACH, *Tage-Buch*, S. 462B (3. März 1578).

das Alexios-Grab „hoch" war, „darauff ein gedopleter Adler mit einer Griechischen Uberschrifft : in dem Umbkreiß ein Creutz und die Aufschrifft IC.XC." – vermutlich ein Medaillon mit einem griechische Kreuz und den vier Buchstaben in den Winkeln. Der Wortlaut der griechischen Inschrift wird nicht mitgeteilt. Gerlach bestätigt zudem, daß das Bild des stehenden Kaisers an der Wand „auf viereckicht-gläsern Blättlein gemahlet oder eingegraben" war, doch verschweigt er auch hier die Beischrift ([89]). Schweigger beschreibt zwar den Sarkophag, erwähnt jedoch nicht das Kreuz ([90]) : „Man zeigt auch das Begrebnus Alexij Comneni deß Keysers, das hat aber kein ansehen, es ist nichts dann ein steineriner Kast, von einem groben grauen Sandstein, an einer seiten der Wand stehend, mit einer alten undeutlichen Griechischen Grabschrifft, und neben der Schrifft ein Adler gar dölpisch gehauen". In Schweiggers Holzschnitt (Abb. 4) begegnet nur ein einköpfiger Adler ([91]), der sich zudem nicht an der linken, sondern an der rechten Seite der Sarkophagfront befindet. Bei der Übertragung der Zeichnung auf den Holzstock wurde nur die Alexios-Inschrift seitenverkehrt eingeschnitten und erscheint daher im Druck richtig, der Adler hingegen wurde an seiner Stelle belassen und gelangte demzufolge auf die falsche Seite. Der Sarkophag steht in einer tiefen Nische, womit unzweifelhaft das Arkosolium des östlichsten Jochs gemeint ist (Abb. 2, 18). Während also Johannes Malaxos den vollen Wortlaut der Mosaikinschrift an der Wand und der Theodora-Inschrift auf dem Sarkophag mitteilt, überliefert allein Schweiggers Holzschnitt eine Alexios-Inschrift am Sarkophag. Offensichtlich hat Schweigger die Mosaikinschrift zwar gelesen, stattdessen aber verkürzt und zudem an der Stelle der Theodora-Inschrift auf der Sarkophagfront angebracht. Auch in diesem Falle wird die größere Genauigkeit des Johannes Malaxos deutlich. Zwar behauptet er, daß Theodora von Hause eine Palaiologina gewesen sei, doch wird er dies wohl aus dem Palaiologenmonogramm geschlossen haben. Aus der Beschreibung des letzten Arkosoliums ergibt sich allerdings ein merkwürdiges Arrangement, denn über dem Sarkophag des Alexios befand sich das Mosaikbild des Kaisers und darüber

(89) GERLACH, *Tage-Buch*, S. 462B.

(90) SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, S. 119-120.

(91) SCHWEIGGER, *Reyssbeschreibung*, Abb. auf S. 120 ; abgebildet auch bei MANGO, *Monument*, Abb. 115d. STICHEL, *Familienbildnisse*, S. 88, beurteilt Schweiggers Zeichenkünste allerdings skeptisch und führt seine Abbildungen größtenteils auf eine Vorlage ähnlich David Ungnads „Türkenbuch" zurück.

müßte noch das Relief mit den drei Heiligen (§ 21) angebracht gewesen sein.

Unklar blieb bis heute, welcher Kaiser mit Alexios Komnenos gemeint ist. Schreiner dachte an Alexios I. Komnenos und hielt es für möglich, daß sein Leichnam nach der Umwandlung der Pantokratorkirche in eine Moschee (Zeyrek Camii) hierher verlegt worden sein könnte, bezweifelte aber letztendlich die Authentizität der Gebeine ([92]). Mango nahm an, daß der Sarkophag überhaupt nicht für Alexios, sondern einzig für Theodora Komnene von Trapezunt bestimmt gewesen sei und sah in dem Alexios-Mosaik „simply a commemorative portrait representing the progenitur of Grand Komnenoi ([93])". Doch wer sollte in palaiologischer Zeit – also frühestens nach Errichtung des nördlichen Mantelraums durch Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes – einen Grund gehabt haben, ein solches Memorialbildnis an dem Ort anbringen zu lassen, wo der Sarkophag der Theodora Komnene Kantakouzene aufgestellt wurde? Theodora war nach dem Tod ihres Mannes Alexios' III. Angelos Dukas Komnenos († 20. März 1390 ([94])) von Trapezunt nach Konstantinopel zurückgekehrt, wo sie als Nonne Theodosia lebte und vor 1406 verstarb. Wir wissen zwar nicht, ob sie ihre Grabstätte im Pammakaristoskloster – einem Männerkloster – selbst noch ausgesucht hatte, doch ist das recht wahrscheinlich. Denn ihr kann nicht verborgen geblieben sein, daß in der Kirche zahlreiche Komnenen bestattet waren, wenngleich sie kaum wußte, daß diese dem Kaiserhaus nur nahe gestanden haben. Insofern ist es denkbar, daß Theodora das Alexios-Mosaik anbringen ließ. Daß sie damit ihrem Gatten ein Denkmal setzten wollte, wird durch die Inschrift widerlegt, die Johannes Malaxos in vollem Wortlaut ([95]) und Schweigger in verkürzter Form, beide jedoch mit der Formel αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων überliefert haben. Schließlich wußte Johannes Malaxos aus der Theodora-Inschrift auf dem Sarkophag, daß sie die Frau τοῦ ἀοιδίμου

(92) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 237-238. Nach Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (J. A. VAN DIETEN, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, I [*CFHB*, 11/1], Berlin - New York, 1975, S. 8, 85-86) war Alexios I. Komnenos jedoch in dem von ihm gegründeten Kloster des Christos Philanthropos Soter (dem neben dem Kecharitomenekloster zwischen Deuteron und Edirnekapı gelegenen) beigesetzt, vgl. JANIN, *Églises*, S. 525, Nr. 26.

(93) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 33.

(94) *PLP*, Nr. 12083.

(95) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 224, Z. 99-100.

βασιλέως Τραπεζοῦντος Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Μεγάλου Κομνηνοῦ war (96), womit eine Verlesung der Mosaikinschrift auszuschließen ist (97). Die Namensgleichheit zwischen dem Gründer der Komnenendynastie und ihrem Gatten mag für Theodora jedoch Grund genug gewesen sein, das Memorialbildnis zu stiften und damit ihrer Grabstätte eine besondere Würde zu verleihen. Es wäre dies das letzte bezeugte monumentale Mosaik, das in Konstantinopel vor der osmanischen Eroberung geschaffen wurde.

Es folgt im Cantabrigiensis ohne Zusammenhang mit den Gräberbeschreibungen das Edikt Kaiser Manuels I. Komnenos von 1166 (§ 25), offenbar eine Abschrift der im Patriarchat vorhandenen Kopie dieser Inschrift, die einstmals in der Hagia Sophia und seit 1566 an der Türbe Süleymans angebracht war (98). Der Nachtrag (§ 26) enthält zwei Stifterepigramme (99), ohne daß der Name des Stifters und der Ort mitgeteilt werden, doch zweifle ich nicht daran, daß Johannes Malaxos sie bei seinen Rundgängen durch die Pammakaristoskirche kopiert hat (100) ; ferner im § 27 die Beschreibung einer Reliefikone der thronenden Gottesmutter mit dem Kind auf ihrem Schoß, umgeben von 16 Propheten und zu ihrer Seite der (namenlose) Stifter im Mönchsgewand, der in den Händen das Modell der Kirche hielt. Darunter befand sich ein Epigramm aus elf Versen in Fünfzehnsilbern, jedoch wieder ohne einen Namen (101). Wo dieses Relief abgebracht war, wird ebenfalls nicht mitgeteilt. Mango hielt es wegen der vulgärliterarischen Form für ausgeschlossen, daß der hochgebildete Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes der Stifter dieses Reliefs gewesen sein könnte (102). Doch wenn im Megas Papias Nikolaos Komne-

(96) SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 224, Z. 107-108.

(97) Vgl. die volle Titulatur auf dem Chrysobull von 1374, Athos, Dionysiou : I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (*Byzantina Neerlandica*, 6), Leiden, 1976, S. 187, Abb. 136.

(98) C. MANGO, *The Conciliar Edict of 1166*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), S. 317-330 (wieder abgedruckt in : C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople* (*Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies*, 394), Aldershot, 1993, Study XVIII) ; DE GREGORIO, *Studi*, S. 222-223, mit Anm. 85.

(99) Fol. 160^{v} : SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 225.

(100) Ich bin inzwischen zu der Überzeugung gelangt, daß die beiden Epigramme am Stiftermosaik im Parekklesion (Abb. 2, 4d) angebracht waren, vgl. meinen oben Anm. 29 angekündigten Aufsatz.

(101) Fol. 161^{r} : Übersetzung bei SCHREINER, *Beschreibung*, S. 241 unter § 27.

(102) MANGO, *Monument*, S. 42, Anm. 200.

nos Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes ein jüngerer Patron des Pammakaristosklosters erkannt werden darf ([103]), dann ist es durchaus möglich, daß das Relief ursprünglich zu Grab § 2 gehörte, sich zum Zeitpunkt der Gräberbeschreibung aber nicht mehr dort befand.

Für die Verteilung der Gräber in den einzelnen Bauteilen der Pammakaristoskirche ergibt sich nach den oben angestellten Überlegungen also ein durchaus klares Bild (Abb. 2, 1-24), weshalb die meisten Lagevorschläge von Weißbrod (Abb. 1) hinfällig sein dürften.

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ADDENDUM

Korrekturnachsatz zu Anm. 12.

Erst jetzt stieß ich auf die Arbeit von J.-F. VANNIER, *Les premiers Paléologues. Étude généalogique et prosopographique*, in : J. CHEYNET - J.-F. VANNIER, *Études prosopographiques* (*Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 5), Paris, 1986, S. 149-151, der Johannes Komnenos (Mönch) mit Adrianos Komnenos, Bruder des Kaisers Alexios I. Komnenos, und Anna Dukaina (Nonne) mit Zoë Dukaina, Tochter des Kaiser Konstantin X. Dukas, identifizierte. Siehe auch M. KOUROUPOU - J.-F. VANNIER, *Commémorations des Comnènes dans le typikon liturgique du Christ Philanthrope (Ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29)*, in *REB*, 63 (2005), S. 61-62, Nr. 24 ; S. 68-69, Nr. 35 und Stemma S. 44. Die Sebaste Eudokia, die Gattin des Alexios Tarchaneiotes (§ 1), war die Tochter des Adrianos Komnenos.

SUMMARY

The author examines the location of the tombs in the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople. Beside the structural situation in the church itself, an analysis of the "description of the tombs", which was written by Ioannes Malaxos between 1572 and 1587/1588 and of traveller reports give some valuable informations about the exact location of the tombs in the naos and the northern annex room of the church.

(103) Vgl. oben Anm. 25.

POMPÉÏOPOLIS DE MYSIE, LOCUS DESPERATUS ?

Dans les premières pages du Livre XVIII de sa *Chronique*, consacré au règne de Justinien, Jean Malalas rapporte le fait suivant : «En cette année, Pompéïopolis en Mysie souffrit de la colère divine. Quand l'ébranlement se produisit, soudainement la terre fut déchirée, et la moitié de la ville fut engloutie avec ses habitants. Ils se trouvaient sous la terre, et leurs appels parvenaient aux survivants. L'empereur contribua fort généreusement au déblaiement pour sauver ceux qui étaient sous la terre, et fit preuve de la même générosité à l'égard de ceux restés en vie, et envers la ville pour sa reconstruction» (1).

Dans le Livre XVIII Malalas rapporte des événements contemporains, et les deux premières années du règne de Justinien sont particulièrement détaillées. Cependant, bien qu'il soit possible d'apercevoir un ordre chronologique, il n'y a pas d'homogénéisation du récit. Il s'agit plutôt d'une suite de vignettes distinctes qui pour la plupart sont introduites avec chacune un élément de datation, soit une formule telle que ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ou comme ici ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ; ces formules sont répétitives et si vagues qu'elles ne procurent aucun véritable repère chronologique pour les événements ainsi énumérés. Dans le texte de Malalas, le séisme de Pompéïopolis de Mysie se

(1) Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηιούπολις· τῆς γὰρ κινήσεως γενομένης ἐξαίφνης ἐσχίσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐχαώθη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῶν οἰκούντων, καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸ ἦχος αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τοῖς περισωθεῖσι. Καὶ πολλὰ ἐφιλοτιμήσατο ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκχόϊσιν τοῦ περισωθῆναι τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ζήσασι καὶ τῇ πόλει εἰς ἀνανέωσιν (éd. L. Dindorf, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [*CSHB*], Bonn, 1831, p. 436, 17 - p. 437, 2). Le terme Πομπηιούπολις est une correction de Dindorf pour Πομπειούπολις (ou Πομπιούπολις d'après l'édition J. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [*CFHB*, 35], Berlin - New York, 2000, p. 365, apparat), leçon qui se lit dans l'*Oxoniensis, Baroccianus gr.* 182.

situe entre le mois d'avril 528, dernière date mentionnée (2), et la fin de la sixième indiction qui s'achève fin août 528 avec le voyage de l'impératrice Théodora à Pythion sur la rive asiatique du Bosphore (3). C'est le seul séisme reporté durant la sixième indiction. Par contre, l'année suivante 528/529, la septième indiction connaît plusieurs séismes, à Antioche en novembre 528, à Laodicée immédiatement après, et enfin, à une date postérieure à juillet 529, à Amasée du Pont. Il n'existe pas d'autre source indépendante du VIe siècle qui reporte un séisme dans une ville appelée Pompéïopolis en Mysie.

L'Antiquité a connu trois villes portant le nom de Pompéïopolis. Celle d'Espagne, appelée aussi Πομπέλων, n'intervient pas ici (4). Au VIe siècle, les deux seules villes connues portant ce nom se situent l'une en Paphlagonie, l'autre, qui succéda à l'ancienne Soles, en Cilicie Première : toutes deux sont des évêchés (5). Aucune de ces deux villes n'est située dans une province portant le nom de Μυσία.

Pour essayer de résoudre la difficulté, E. Honigmann a proposé d'identifier Pompéïopolis en Mysie avec *praesidium Pompei* ou encore *mansio Ipompeis* qui figure dans les *Itinéraires romains* et l'*Itinéraire de Bordeaux à Jérusalem,* une place située un peu au nord de Naïssus dans le diocèse d'Illyricum. Cette identification a été acceptée par E. Stein et, plus récemment, par E. Guidoboni et par les traducteurs du texte de Théophane le Confesseur, C. Mango et R. Scott (6).

(2) Voir l'édition de Dindorf, p. 435.

(3) Voir l'édition de Dindorf, p. 541.

(4) Strabon III, 162, et cité par Athénée XIV, 657.

(5) Les sources anciennes distinguent toujours soigneusement les deux Pompéïopolis asiatiques. Par exemple, Sozomène, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 22, 7 et IV, 24, 12 (texte grec établi par J. Bidez, *Sozomène, Histoire Ecclésiastique. Livres III-IV* [*SC* 418], Paris, 1996, p. 302 et pp. 328-330), mentionne Sôphronios, évêque de Pompéiopolis des Paphlagoniens ; au début du VIe siècle, Basile, évêque de Pompéïopolis en Cilicie Première (entre 512 et 518), est mentionné par Sévère d'Antioche dans sa correspondance, V, 4 (lettre au médecin Théotekenos, cf. l'édition de E. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Selected Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis,* I, II. Londres - Oxford, 1904, p. 324). Sur les deux villes et leurs évêques, consulter G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis. Series Episcoporum Ecclesiarum Christianarum Orientalium,* Padoue, 1988, pp. 88-89 (11.5.3 : en Paphlagonie) et 759 (70.7.3 : en Cilicie).

(6) E. Honigmann, *A propos de Pompéiopolis de «Mysie»*, in *Byz.*, 22 (1952), pp. 301-304 ; E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, *De la disparition de l'Empire*

Elle se heurte pourtant à de très grosses difficultés. Au VIe siècle il existe deux provinces de Moesia ou Mysia situées toutes deux le long du Danube ; la Mésie Première appartient au diocèse d'Illyricum tandis que la Mésie Seconde relève du diocèse de Thrace. Or la *mansio Ipompeis* située un peu au nord de Naïssus relève au VIe siècle de la province de Dacie Intérieure et ne peut donc pas être identifiée par le nom «Mysia». Par ailleurs cette *mansio* n'est jamais devenue une πόλις ; pourtant la description du séisme fournie par Malalas montre bien que Pompéïopolis était un grand centre urbain avec une population importante (7). De plus il n'apparaît pas que le site de la *mansio Ipompeis* ait été développé ou restauré au VIe siècle : Procope n'en fait pas mention parmi les places fortifiées situées sur le territoire de Naïssus, bien qu'il ait transmis une liste détaillée (8). Enfin il est hautement improbable que Malalas ait recensé dans son énumération des sites touchés par des séismes un lieu aussi insignifiant que la *mansio Ipompeis* dont la restauration n'aurait guère contribué à la renommée de Justinien. De façon générale, Malalas ne donne que les noms de sites importants, sans localisation quand ils sont très connus, ou avec le nom de la province administrative quand ils le sont moins. Cela est dû à la nature de sa documentation, les rapports des gouverneurs de province ou des évêques, recensés dans les archives impériales, qui constituent aussi des demandes d'aide financière pour la reconstruction des centres dévastés. Malalas abrège les rapports administratifs qu'il consulte, et il est évident qu'il ne s'intéresse qu'aux sites les plus importants des

d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476-565), Paris - Bruxelles - Amsterdam, 1949, p. 420, n. 1 ; Emanuela GUIDOBONI, A. COMASTRI, et G. TRAINA, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, Rome, 1994, p. 323 ; C. MANGO - R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford, 1997, p. 314, n. 2. Cependant les commentateurs modernes sont toujours partagés, cf. W. WITAKOWSKI, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle*, part III (*Translated texts for historians*, 22), Liverpool, 1996, p. 66, n. 313, suppose qu'il s'agit d'une ville d'Asie Mineure distincte de celle de Paphlagonie, soit dans l'ancienne région géographique de Mysie.

(7) Τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῶν οἰκούντων ... καὶ τῇ πόλει.

(8) La *mansio Ipompeis* est encore mentionnée dans la *Cosmographie* de l'Anonyme de Ravenne, IV, 8, 1, sous la forme *Pompegis*, avec les variantes *Pompgeis, Ponpegis*, edd. M. PINDER et G. PARTHEY, *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia et Guidonis geographica*, Berlin, 1860. Les déformations qui affectent le nom montrent bien qu'il ne s'agissait pas d'un lieu particulièrement connu ou reconnaissable.

provinces : en matière de séisme il ne mentionne que des πόλεις. Enfin l'intervention de Justinien contribuant généreusement à la restauration des sites endommagés ne se justifie que pour de grandes villes requérant de grosses sommes. Pour toutes ces raisons, l'identification de Pompéïopolis en Mysie avec la *mansio Ipompeis* n'est absolument pas convaincante.

Comment faut-il dès lors interpréter ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηιούπολις ? La formulation est inhabituelle. En général, chez Malalas, le nom de la province, qu'il soit donné au génitif, le cas le plus fréquent, ou à l'ablatif, suit le nom de la ville et ne le précède pas (9). Le seul cas où le nom de la province précède le nom de la ville se présente quand il y a déjà un substantif exprimé, tel que πόλις ou μητρόπολις (10). Il est fort possible que la formulation ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηιούπολις ait gêné Théophane : il est remarquable qu'il a modifié le texte de Malalas et rétabli l'ordre «normal» des mots, soit le nom de la ville en premier, suivi du nom de la province au génitif, Πομπηιούπολις τῆς Μυσίας (11). Certainement le terme «Mysia» faisait difficulté, et Jean d'Éphèse s'en est débarrassé pour se concentrer sur l'horreur toute biblique de la catastrophe, la terre s'ouvrant pour engloutir la moitié de la ville (12). Le Grand Chroniqueur et Zonaras ont fait de même (13). Il est probable que les lecteurs de

(9) Par exemple ἡ λεγομένη Τρίπολις τῆς Φοινίκης παράλου (séisme du règne de Marcien, 450-457), ou encore Ἀμάσεια ἐν τῇ Ποντικῇ (séisme de 529).

(10) Ainsi le séisme de Gabala en 475 : πόλις τῆς Πρώτης Συρίας ὀνόματι Γάβαλα.

(11) Théophane, *Chronographia*, éd. C. DE BOOR, New York, 1980 (Leipzig, 1883), vol. 1, p. 216. De façon générale, Théophane n'hésite pas à modifier le texte de Malalas lorsqu'il perçoit une difficulté ; ce désir de rationalisation des sources contribue évidemment à leur distorsion.

(12) Joannis episcopi Ephesi *Fragmenta*, traduction latine de W. J. VAN DOUWEN et J. P. N. LAND, Amsterdam, 1889, p. 225. La *Chronique* du Pseudo-Denys de Tel-Mahré (voir ci-dessus, n. 6) a renforcé cet aspect en citant à cette occasion l'Ancient Testament, *Nombres* XVI, 30-33, faisant ainsi disparaître la question épineuse de la localisation.

(13) Cf. pour le Grand Chroniqueur, Michael WHITBY et Mary WHITBY, *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 A.D. (Translated texts for historians, 7)*, Liverpool, 1989, p. 195, n. 6 : les traducteurs optent pour la Pompéïopolis «du Pont». Il est remarquable que le texte du Grand Chroniqueur demeure très proche de celui de Malalas ; seule l'indication «Mysie» a disparu, tous les autres éléments sont présents. Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, XIV, 5, 31, éd. L. DINDORF, Leipzig, 1868-1875, tome III, p. 269.

Malalas, à commencer par Jean d'Éphèse au VIe siècle, n'avaient aucune idée de l'endroit où se trouvait Pompéïopolis en Mysie. La formulation ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηιούπολις, même amendée en Πομπηιούπολις τῆς Μυσίας, constituait d'emblée une absurdité incompréhensible, et il faut sans doute admettre que le texte qui nous est parvenu est profondément corrompu et ne peut être sauvé tel qu'il est.

Toute restauration possible doit tenir compte de l'ordre des mots proposé par le texte de Malalas. Peut-être derrière la formulation inhabituelle ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηιούπολις faut-il reconnaître Ἀμάσεια Ποντικὴ πόλις. On aurait alors affaire à un doublet du séisme mentionné à Amasée ἐν τῇ Ποντικῇ durant les derniers mois de la septième indiction en 529, sans doute une mauvaise lecture d'un scribe peinant à lire et à identifier correctement le rapport originel relatant l'événement. Il faut noter que les deux séismes ainsi dédoublés ont eu lieu durant la même période de l'année, soit durant les derniers mois de l'indiction, mai-août pour 528 et juillet-août pour 529, pour autant qu'il soit possible de discerner la date dans le récit détaillé mais chronologiquement obscur de Malalas. Une telle restauration permet de se débarrasser d'un séisme dans une Pompéïopolis qui n'est pas localisable, et d'un événement inconnu par ailleurs.

Par contre, le séisme d'Amasée a été inséré correctement dans les archives impériales après avoir été débarrassé de son contexte anecdotique et émotionnel, et c'est là que Procope en a pris connaissance. Il est remarquable que dans un passage où Procope s'acharne à énumérer des séismes survenus durant le règne de Justin et le début du règne de Justinien (en tout cas avant 541, date de la peste qui vient mettre le comble à ces catastrophes), il est amené à mentionner des villes d'importance secondaire, comme Polybotos de Phrygie, Philomèdè de Pisidie, ou Lychnidos d'Épire, mais il ne connaît aucunement une «Pompéïopolis» ([14]).

Pour quelque raison que ce soit, le nom de Πόντος et celui de ses dérivés tels que Ποντικός, semblent s'être prêtés aisément à la corruption de texte. En 343 ou 344, il se produisit un séisme à Néocésarée du Pont, séisme pour lequel les sources les plus anciennes sont Grégoire de Nysse dans sa *Vie de Grégoire le Thaumaturge*, et St. Jérôme qui traduit probablement l'information trouvée dans la *Continuation* de la *Chronique*

(14) Procope, *Histoire Secrète*, XVIII, 42.

d'Eusèbe. Parmi les sources tardives, Théophane écrit correctement Νεοκαισάρεια Πόντου κατεπτώθη. De façon tout à fait surprenante, ce texte est devenu chez Cédrénus Νεοκαισάρεια ποντισθεῖσα κατεπτώθη, une autre absurdité qui a rendu perplexes les chercheurs modernes ([15]).

Enfin, l'identification de «Pompéïopolis en Mysie» avec Amasée ville du Pont se justifie particulièrement bien quand on met la notice de Malalas en relation avec les informations géologiques transmises par les sources anciennes. Strabon a donné sur le site d'Amasée des renseignements éloquents. C'est une ville située au fond d'un ravin, accrochée à flanc de montagne et couronnée par deux sommets rocheux eux-mêmes dominés par une chaîne montagneuse, une ville toute en hauteur dans un paysage grandiose et violent qui vient se casser (κατερρωγυῖα) au-dessus du fleuve, mais aussi un site dangereux lors de séismes.

Or, située le long de la grande faille nord-anatolienne, Amasée n'est pas épargnée par les tremblements de terre. Firmilien, le correspondant de St. Cyprien, décrit ainsi celui qui se produisit en 235/236 : *Ut et per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerunt, quaedam etiam civitates in profundum receptae dirupti soli hiatu devorarentur* ([16]). Lui aussi

(15) Cf. R. Van Dam, *Hagiography and History : the Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, in *Classical Antiquity*, 1 (1982) (= *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 13 [1982]), pp. 272-308. Sur la tradition textuelle relative à ce séisme, consulter R. W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (*Historia. Einzelschriften*, 135), Stuttgart, 1999, p. 121, pp. 214-215 (κατεπτώθη) et 269-270. Discussion du texte chez D. Woods, *Gregory Thaumaturgus and the earthquake of 344*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. 53 (2002), pp. 547-553. Cédrénus, *Historiarum Compendium*, *PG* 121, 700, a trouvé son information chez Théophane, mais il a peut-être été influencé par la tradition syriaque pour qui Néocésarée a été submergée (cf. les textes syriaques chez Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 159). On ne peut non plus exclure la possibilité que les textes syriaques reflètent une mauvaise compréhension des textes grecs originels. Guidoboni, *op. cit.*, p. 250 : «Cedrenus also records a seismic sea-wave at Neocaesarea, but that is very unlikely, since the city was more than 60 km from the coast».

(16) Description du site d'Amasée, Strabon, XII, 3, 39 et, à l'époque moderne, W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, II, Londres, 1842, p. 365, ainsi que son croquis des «tombeaux des rois à Amasée». Sur le séisme du IIIe siècle, St. Cyprien, *Correspondance* Lettre 75, 10, et L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, V, *Stèle funéraire de Nicomédie et séismes dans les inscriptions*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 102 (1978), p. 398 (séisme qui éprouva Amasée). Les séismes dans la province du Pont sont constants

connaît des villes engouffrées dans une terre béante. Dans le texte de Malalas, la description de la ville dont une partie est engloutie sous terre fait écho aux observations de Firmilien et suggère très fortement une localisation pontique.

Encore faut-il faire la part des classifications traditionnelles qui gouvernent ces descriptions sismiques. Il s'agirait ici d'un séisme du type *chasmatia*, la terre se déchirant en un gouffre béant qui engloutit villes et régions ; c'est du moins ce qu'affirme Ammien Marcellin quand il se réfère à la classification aristotélicienne, mais les exemples qu'il cite ne sont guère probants ([17]). En fait, il n'existe pas d'exemple historique où la terre s'ouvre pour engloutir une ville, même partiellement. Néanmoins ce type de description sismique s'est maintenu très longtemps, sans doute renforcé par des citations bibliques. Assurément, dans le cas d'Amasée, il vaut mieux se référer à «la tyrannie de la pente» ([18]), qui permet à une ville de basculer dans le vide et de disparaître, un bouleversement géologique qui se comprend bien dans le cadre d'un relief montagneux et tourmenté.

Dans le texte de Malalas, les deux notices concernant Pompéïopolis et Amasée sont le produit de deux moments de lecture de sources différentes concernant le même événement ([19]). La seconde notice relative à un séisme survenu à Amasée du Pont est la seule correcte, reproduisant une information rationalisée par les archives impériales. Mais c'était aussi une source banalisée, et les chroniqueurs tardifs ne l'ont pas retenue, pré-

dans l'Antiquité tardive, cf. Ammien Marcellin, XVII, 7, 1 en 358, et Marcellinus Comes en 499 : *Hoc anno ingens terrae motus Ponticam concussit provinciam.*

(17) Ammien Marcellin, XVII, 7, 13, avec réference au Pseudo-Aristote, *De mundo* IV, 30-32. Sur le sort de Boura, qu'il donne en exemple, cf. R. BALADIÉ, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon. Étude de géographie historique* (*Collection d'Études Anciennes*), Paris, 1980, pp. 149-150.

(18) Sur ce concept typique du paysage méditerranéen, P. HORDEN et N. PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 308-309. Ammien Marcellin avait déjà noté le caractère déterminant de la morphologie du terrain (*adclivitate collium*, XVII, 7, 4), lors du séisme de Nicomédie en 358.

(19) On ne peut exclure l'utilisation, entre autres, d'une source orale. Sur les méthodes de travail de Malalas et l'origine de ses informations, cf. Elizabeth JEFFREYS, *Malalas, Procopius and Justinian's Buildings*, in *Antiquité Tardive*, 8 (2000), pp. 78-79.

férant de beaucoup mentionner «Pompéïopolis», une notice chargée d'un contenu dramatique très puissant qui s'est transmis intact au cours des âges, même après avoir perdu sa localisation.

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SUMMARY

The case of Pompeïopolis in Mysia referred to in Malalas' Chronicle, Book XVIII, has never been satisfactorily explained. The ancient authors repeating Malalas' text were at a loss too. The study of the text suggests that the name of Pompeïopolis should be abandoned and replaced by Amaseia, whose geological and historical context fits perfectly the description of the earthquake.

THE FOUNDER AS A SAINT : THE IMAGE OF JUSTINIAN I IN THE GREAT CHURCH OF ST SOPHIA (*)

The tenth-century mosaic in the narthex of St Sophia, discovered in 1849 by the brothers Fossati under a layer of plaster and made known to a wider public only in 1933, represents two Byzantine emperors in the position of offering their *grandes œuvres* – the City and the Church – to the Mother of God and to the Child (1). This is a symbolic representation of the way the two emperors were remembered and venerated in the middle Byzantine period : Constantine as the first Christian emperor and the founder of the city of Constantinople, Justinian as the founder of the city's Great Church.

Both of the emperors are depicted beardless, according to the fashion of their age, although at the time the mosaic was created a beard was the current vogue. Their robes, however, are represented somewhat anachronistically – the emperors are dressed in festive attire of the tenth century. As to their faces, Justinian appears older and more mundane, as compared to the ethereal and radiant look of Constantine – yet, this subtle difference is rather felt than seen. Thus, besides a set of parallel features that

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(1) T. WHITTEMORE, *The Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul, Second Preliminary Report, The Mosaics of the Southern Vestibule*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 16-39 ; a chapter on the mosaics of St Sophia by C. MANGO in H. KAHLER, *Hagia Sophia*, (trans. E. CHILDS), London, 1967, pp. 54-56 ; V. LAZAREV, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, pp. 147-149. The dating of the mosaic is a debatable issue. In my paper I accept the opinion of Lazarev who narrows the time of production to the mid-tenth century rejecting the suggestions of dating it to the reign of Basil I or the middle of the eleventh century. Cf. LAZAREV, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 78.

can be easily observed at the artistic representation of the mosaic, some minute points of contrast have been also detected.

In addition to the pictorial means of portrayal, the vertical inscriptions next to the imperial figures give the beholder a clearer idea of how Constantine and Justinian were perceived in the mid-tenth century. Despite certain obvious similarities between the depictions of the two rulers, the inscriptions clearly distinguish between the statuses of the two, in this way enhancing the latent differences in their appearance. The inscriptions indicate the higher rank of the founder of the City as compared to that, more modest, of the founder of the Church.

The wording beside Constantine extols him in his sainthood – ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ Ο ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ (*Constantine, the great Emperor amongst the Saints*) ; Justinian, however, is merely a famous emperor – ΙΟΥΣΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ Ο ΑΟΙΔΙΜΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΕ (sic), meaning *Justinian, the Emperor of illustrious memory* (2). Nevertheless, the lower designation of Justinian did not inhibit the artist from situating him on the right hand of the Theotokos enthroned with a Child, giving him, and not Constantine the Great, the place of honour (3). Indeed, in the mosaic crowning the vestibule lunette it is he who is given credit for the establishment of the church (4).

The equally haloed figures of the two rulers and the designating inscriptions of their pictorial representations suggest the corresponding

(2) WHITTEMORE, p. 25.

(3) It is possible to assume the reverse position of the emperors, that is Constantine occupying the right-hand place of the Theotokos, if considered from the perspective of a beholder. This is, for example, the opinion of A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin. Recherches sur l'art officiel de l'Empire d'Orient* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg*, 75), Paris, 1936, p. 109. However, it is a generally accepted view that Justinian is given the honorary place. Cf. Doctoral Dissertation of E. LIPSMEYER, *The Donor and His Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period*, New Brunswick and New Jersey, 1981, p. 56 ; WHITTEMORE, pp. 28-29. Whittemore also acknowledged that there was a considerable confusion concerning the order of precedence in the Byzantine art, especially during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

(4) This particular representation of Justinian offering his great foundation to the Theotokos inspired later images on the seals of the clergy of St Sophia, which follow the mosaic representation in main lines. Cf. J. COTSONIS, *The Virgin and Justinian on Seals of the* Ekklesiekdikoi *of Hagia Sophia*, in *DOP*, 56 (2002), p. 50.

dignity of the emperors as established and upheld in the church. Constantine, it is well known, was a saint ; his cult was maintained by a number of hagiographical texts, and he, along with his beatified mother Helena, was commemorated in the official feast on May 21. What is more, Constantine became the thirteenth apostle, and in the hymns he is invoked as Κωνσταντῖνε ἰσαπόστολε and ἀποστόλων ἰσότιμε (5). The first Christian emperor was raised to the status of a legendary hero in popular oral epic and officially recognised by the church (6). The rank of Justinian, who is merely designated as the emperor of illustrious memory, appears to be fairly vague when compared to Constantine's definite sainthood. One of numerous modern dictionary entries devoted to Justinian elevates him to the status of *Isapostolos*, yet no accurate historical evidence of this title or any data supporting this high rank has been provided (7).

(5) *Μηναῖον τοῦ Μαΐου*, Athens, 1977, pp. 78-79. Although the epithet *isapostolos* is commonly regarded as an ancient attribute of Constantine the Great, A. Luzzi stressed its comparatively recent association with the name of the emperor. See A. Luzzi, *Il Dies Festus di Costantino il Grande e di sua madre Elena nei libri liturgici della Chiesa greca*, in *Costantino il Grande dall' Antichità all'Umanesimo*, ed. G. Bonamente and F. Fusco, vol. 2, Macerata, 1992, p. 631, n. 143.

(6) A. Kazhdan, *'Constantin imaginaire' : Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century About Constantine the Great*, in *Byz.* 57 (1987), pp. 196-250 ; Idem, *History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)* (*Institute for Byzantine Research. Research Series*, 2), Athens, 1999, pp. 127-136. For the source material of hagiographical image of Constantine one may consult the references in the *BHG* and in M. Kirpichnikov, *Prodromus sylloges vitarum laudationumque sanctorum Constantini M. et Helenae matris eius* (*Revue Byzantine, Supplément du tome I*), Yurjev, 1915. Extensive bibliographies of relevant scholarly works can be found in the following volumes on Constantine : S. N. C. Lieu and D. Montserrat, *Constantine : History, Historiography and Legend*, London and New York, 1998 ; P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines : The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries. Papers from the Twenty-sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St. Andrews, March 1992*, Aldershot, 1994. On commemoration of Constantine in the Byzantine and Oriental churches see A. Luzzi, *Dies Festus*, pp. 585-643 ; U. Zanetti, *Costantino nei calendari e sinassari orientali*, in *Costantino il Grande dall'Antichità all'Umanesimo*, ed. G. Bonamente and F. Fusco, vol. 2, Macerata, 1992, pp. 893-914. See also a chapter *Constantine the Great : Imperial Sainthood* in G. Dagron, *Emperor and Priest : The Imperial Office in Byzantium* (trans. J. Birrel), Cambridge, 2003, pp. 127-157.

(7) H. Leclercq, *Justinien*, in *DACL* VIII, 1 (1928), col. 537. An interesting attestation, however, is found in the much controversial *Parastaseis*, 81, where

Certainly, Justinian occupied a prominent position as a conqueror and legislator. His extensive building activities caused him to stand out against a background of all the other Byzantine emperors. In this respect, he merits comparison only with the first Christian ruler, Constantine the Great, whose building projects earned him wide renown. Justinian also was recognised as a great head of the Christian religion, akin to Constantine, and had among his numerous credits the convention of the Fifth Ecumenical Council and the composition of several theological treatises. However, in contrast to Constantine, whose religious status and hagiographic image are well demonstrated by a considerable number of texts and extensively studied by modern scholars, Justinian, if viewed in a similar perspective, remains a rather obscure figure. The written sources offer very little for the reconstruction of Justinian's image in religious memory of the Byzantines. Thus, the religious or, rather, hagiographic perception of Justinian's personality and reign can hardly be extracted from comparatively scanty and often ambiguous records. The analysis of the available data is even more deficient and at times non-existent (8).

both Constantine and Justinian are acclaimed the new apostles : "When it [the statue] was erected, Justinian was showered with praise, the Greens chanting : 'Justinian and Constantine the new apostles.'" A. CAMERON and J. HERRIN. *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition,* 10), Leiden, 1984, p. 159.

(8) In general, there is almost no substantial treatment that would address the issue of Justinian's image and status in the Byzantine church. One of extremely few references to the medieval image of Justinian as reflected in the hagiographic literature is found in A. KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 145-146. GEROSTERGIOS' work *Justinian the Great : The Emperor and the Saint*, Belmont, Mass., 1982, though rather unpretentious and extremely biased, is a rare specimen of an attempt at reconstructing Justinian's image as that of a model Byzantine emperor deserving to be elevated to the saintly status. Even so, it is hardly an original study since Gerostergios largely reproduces the material earlier exposed and analyzed by a Russian scholar T. POPOV, *Императоръ Юстиніанъ I и его заслуги в отношеніи церкви Христовой*, Kiev, 1856. A seminal article presenting a broader perspective on the medieval image of Justinian, based on a variety of Byzantine sources, is produced by G. PRINZING. *Das Bild Justinians I. in der Überlieferung der Byzantiner vom 7. bis 15. Jahrhundert,* in *Fontes Minores* 7 (1986), pp. 1-98. See also J. IRMSCHER, *Justinianbild und Justiniankritik im frühen Byzanz*, in *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz. Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus,* Berlin, 1976, pp. 131-142. There is an interesting overview of sources that gives a glimpse into a

This lack of any definitive attestation of the spiritual status of Justinian combined with the intriguing representation as Constantine's near equal in the lunette mosaic of St Sophia prompt questions that will be addressed in this article : how indeed was Justinian perceived in the church and what was his image and rank in the religious memory of Byzantium ? These questions, however, lead to a more specific problem of the iconographic representation of Justinian. If the imperial iconography of the lunette mosaic indeed accurately reflected the hagiographical images of Constantine and Justinian, as is commonly believed, was there any hagiographic text that would serve as a narrative background for Justinian's representation ? We certainly have such probable hagiographical sources for Constantine's portrayal. In case of Justinian, however, the only hagiographical narrative known thus far, the *Vita Justiniani,* has been proven to be a late and spurious composition, dated to the seventeenth century (9). It has, therefore, no value as a potential source for the tenth-century depiction.

In the present paper I intend to show that the image of Justinian in the Great Church could be preceded and, to a large degree, shaped by another hagiographic text. I will suggest that the role of the hagiographic source was carried out by an account of the building of St Sophia (10) which con-

legendary image of Justinian in Ravenna by M. Mazzotti, *Giustiniano nella leggenda, nella storia, nei monumenti ravennati*, in *L'imperatore Giustiniano : storia e mito*, ed. G. G. Archi, Milan, 1978, pp. 307-313. It is evident from this article that a number of medieval and post-medieval legends, connected mainly with Justinian's building activities in Ravenna, remains without proper scholarly attention. The reason of the dearth of a relevant study may lay in the fact that some of the texts are still unpublished and the rest exists in the early editions that are often extremely difficult to access.

(9) This *Vita Iustiniani* is a later South Slavonic composition. It has been assumed that the personality of Justinian gained wide popularity among the Slavs, who are credited with the development of the whole cycle of Justinianic legends. The surviving *Vita Iustiniani*, supposedly, forms just an element of this cycle. For the discussion and the text see J. Bryce, *Life of Justinian by Theophilus*, in *English Historical Review* 2 (1887), pp. 657-684.

(10) The text, *Διήγησις περὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐπονομαζομένης Ἁγίας Σοφίας*, will be referred henceforward in a shortened form as the *Diegesis*. There is an older edition which is still in wide circulation : Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1901-1907, vol. 1, pp. 74-108 and vol. 2, pp. 284-289. A new critical edition that

vincingly constructed and established the reputation of the emperor Justinian as a prominent builder of the Great Church and model Christian emperor. It was this text, I am going to argue, that functioned as a narrative background for the pictorial representation of Justinian in such a unique way ([11]).

It is widely recognised that the status of the emperor in Byzantium was regarded as sacred and divinely established ([12]). This concept was vividly expressed by a customary element in imperial iconography : as a rule, the

is used in the present article was made by E. VITTI, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel. Kritische Edition mehrerer Versionen* (*Bochumer Studien zur neugriechischen und byzantinischen Philologie*, 8). Amsterdam, 1986.

(11) The literary genre of the *Diegesis* has been a point of confusion. The account demonstrates only marginal similarily and dubious affinities with some pieces of Byzantine literature. Thus far, Gilbert Dagron's attribution of the *Diegesis* to the "patriographic" genre, along with other parts of the *Patria* collection, has been generally accepted – see G. DAGRON, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des Patria* (*Bibliothèque Byzantine. Etudes*, 8), Paris, 1984. A. Berger, on the other hand, believes that the *Diegesis* does not really belong to the *Patria* collection since it emerged independently and was incorporated into the collection only at some later stage, which leads him, consequently, to omit the account from his study. Cf. A. BERGER, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (*ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ BYZANTINA*, 8), Bonn, 1988, p. 84. My opinion, which I shall substantiate in the Ph. D. thesis that is being prepared, is that the *Diegesis* belongs to the lore of hagiographic production since it contains a number of features characteristic of a hagiographical discource and displays a few clear-cut parallels with some hagiographic texts.

(12) The literature on the subject of the Byzantine concept of kingship and the theory of "caesaropapism" is too extensive to be given justice here. See, for instance, the seminal study by G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest*, and a comprehensive overview of source material and scholarship with an excellent discussion by F. DVORNIK, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols. Washington, DC., 1966, especially vol. 2, pp. 724-850. Still relevant is the monography of A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*. Concerning the period under discussion in the present paper (the ninth-tenth centuries), there is a relevant discussion by P. J. ALEXANDER, *Secular Biography at Byzantium*, in *Speculum*, 15/2 (1940), p. 208. According to his views expressed in the article, the ancient concept of the sacred status of kingship was undergoing a sort of revival in the ninth century and reappeared in Leo the Wise' funeral oration, where he claims rewards for his father : "Εἰ δὲ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ χάρισμα οὐ πολὺ διέστηκεν ἱερωσύνης, πῶς οὐ καὶ τούτων οὐ μεῖον ἔξουσι;" A. VOGT and I. HAUSHERR, ed., *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage*

members of the imperial family were depicted with haloes ([13]). Some members of the imperial family could be distinguished even further, according to their personal virtues, and thus accorded a special rank. The Byzantine church granted a prominent standing to a number of emperors and empresses by introducing them for commemoration into the Byzantine liturgical collections of *Synaxaria* and *Typica*. The reasons for such liturgical commemorations in which imperial personae were set above the others are often less than clear from the brief notes in the collections used for the church service. Further difficulty lies in the fact that even the names of some commemorated emperors/empresses have been distorted and obliterated through the centuries ([14]). Therefore, liturgical memories of numerous emperors and empresses introduced into the Byzantine col-

(*OCA*, 77), Rome, 1932, p. 74. P. Alexander further sets out that at the age of Constantine VII the same gift, or *charisma*, descended on all court members making them potential heroes of biography, which he characterizes as a "secular" or "semi-secular" hagiography.

(13) Representation of emperors with haloes – a symbol of sainthood in Christian art – rendered the idea of imperial dignity in the Byzantine iconography without any implication of the individual sainthood. See K. G. Pitsakis, *Sainteté et empire. À propos de la sainteté impériale : formes de sainteté "d'office" et de sainteté collective dans l'Empire d'Orient ?*, in *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi* s. 2, 3 (2001), p. 213. The fact that a halo did not render any idea of personal sainthood of rulers but conveyed a rather general concept of their special status is particularly confirmed by several curious depicitons : a halo is an attribute of Herod and Herodias at the banquet when John the Baptist was beheaded as well as of the emperor Diocletian. D. Mouriki, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Σωτῆρα κοντὰ στὸ Ἀλεποχώρι τῆς Μεγαρίδος*, Athens, 1978, pp. 34-38.

(14) On sainted emperors and empresses introduced for yearly commemoration in Byzantine liturgical collections see M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον*, Constantinople, 1896-1898, pp. 16-20, *passim*. A. Luzzi, *Per l'identificazione degli imperatori bizantini commemorati nel Sinassario di Costantinopoli*, in *RSBN* n.s. 33 (1996), pp. 45-66 ; Idem, *Gli imperatori bizantini commemorati nel Sinassario di Costantinopoli*, in *Résumés des communications du XVIIIe Congrès International des études Byzantines*, Moscow, 1991, pp. 684 ff. E. Patlagean, *Il basileus assassinato e la santità imperiale*, in her *Santità e potere a Bisanzio* (trans. G. Gatto), Milano, 1992, pp. 113-133. V. Grumel, *La mémoire de Tibère II et de Maurice dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople*, in *AB* 84 (1966), pp. 249-253 ; Id., *Quel est l'empereur Constantin le nouveau commémoré dans le Synaxaire au 3 septembre ?* in *AB*, 84 (1966), pp. 254-260. P. Karlin-Hayter, *Quel est l'empereur Constantin le nouveau commémoré dans le Synaxaire au 3 septembre ?*, in *Byz.*, 36 (1966), pp. 624-626.

lections, which could imply their inclusion into the range of Byzantine saints, has evoked a considerable amount of puzzle among the scholars who have speculated about the motives and criteria for such "sanctification" ([15]). It has been argued that the inclusion of Byzantine emperors and empresses for commemoration in the yearly liturgy of the Byzantine church did not automatically imply their individual sainthood, except in rare cases when a real cult was established. The emperors and empresses introduced into the *Synaxarion* were recognized as pious and faithful rulers ; however, this in itself did not suffice to claim for them the status of saints ([16]). Since the reasons and criteria for liturgical commemorations of emperors and empresses substantially differed, for the purposes of the present study the individual case of Justinian will be considered at length.

The evidence culled from some historians and chronographers suggests that Justinian was not an emperor easily "canonized" ([17]) in Byzantium. Historical records reveal that there was some distrust and ambiguity as to the orthodoxy of Justinian because of his alleged beliefs in incorruptibility of Christ's body from the moment of his conception and denial, therefore, of the fullness of Christ's humanity ([18]). Yet the issue of

(15) See the studies in the note above. In addition, one may consult some older but still relevant works by A. FORTESCUE, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*. London, 1929, pp. 103-104, and E. GOLUBINSKIJ, *История канонизации святых в русской церкви*, Moscow, 1903, pp. 18, 379-381.

(16) PITSAKIS, *Sainteté et empire*, pp. 218-225. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest*, p. 153.

(17) Indeed, there was no official practice of canonization in Early Church. An act of official recognition and declaration of sainthood was introduced only in a later period – the earliest record of such declarations come from the times of Photius' Patriarchate. It is the record of canonization of Constantine, the son of the emperor Basil I. *Vita S. Ignatii*, *PG* 105, 573B. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, fasc. 2 and 3, 2nd edition revised and corrected by J. DARROUZÈS, Paris, 1989, p. 149 (N. 557 [526]). There is also a decree of Leo the Wise ordering the celebration of the most venerated saints. This decree, however, does not introduce any saint for veneration but rather regulates the already existing traditions. Cf. *Novella Leonis* 88 in C. E. Z. VON LINGENTHAL, ed., *Jus Graecoromanum*. Vol. 1, *Novellae et aureae bullae imperatorum post Justinianum*, Athens, 1931, p. 155.

(18) The aphthartodocetism of Justinian has been the major point of contention regarding his religious uprightness. However, there is no uniformity of opinion among modern scholars concerning the alleged heresy of the aged emperor. First, it is not certain that Justinian indeed was converted to "aphthartodocetist teaching" of Julian of Halicarnassus – if anything, the emperor re-

orthodoxy was of major significance for recognition within the Byzantine church. Church historian Evagrius, in book IV, chapter 39 of his *Ecclesiastical History,* speaks of Justinian espousing the aphthartodocetist doctrine in the following way.

> At that time [564], Justinian, after deviating from the correct highway of doctrine and travelling a path untrodden by the Apostles and Fathers, fell among thistles and thorns ... Justinian issued what is called by the Romans an edict, in which he defined the body of Christ as incorruptible and not susceptible to the natural and blameless passions, thus stating that the Lord ate before the Passion just as He ate after the resurrection, and that from the time of its formation in the womb His all-holy body did not experience any change or alteration not even in respect to the voluntary and natural passions, neither after its resurrection ; he compelled the bishops in all places to assent to this ([19]).

Evagrius went further to stigmatise Justinian, consigning him to a grim fate : "Thus indeed Justinian, after filling absolutely everywhere with

mained "Chalcedonian" and denied the *mia-physis* formula of the "Julianism." Second, it has been argued that the official edict containing the "heretical" dogma was never promulgated. Among the recent studies on these issues, see the key articles by F. CARCIONE, *L'"aftartodocetismo" di Giustiniano : una mistificazione strumentale del dissenso politico-religioso*, in *Studi e Ricerche sull' Oriente Cristiano* 7/1 (1984), pp. 71-78 (with references to the earlier studies) and P. VAN DEN VEN, *L'accession de Jean le Scholastique au siège patriarcal de Constantinople en 565*, in *Byz.* 35 (1965), pp. 320-352 ; also, M. VAN ESBROECK, *The Aphthartodocetic Edict of Justinian and its Armenian Background*, in *Studia Patristica* 33 (1997), pp. 578-585. The present state of scholarship on Justinian's "heresy" is well delineated and summarized by A. GRILLMEIER in collaboration with T. HAINTHALER, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 2, part 2 (trans. J. CAWTE and P. ALLEN), London, 1995, pp. 467-475.

(19) Τηνικαῦτα ὁ Ἰουστινιανός, τῆς ὀρθῆς λεωφόρου τῶν δογμάτων ἐκτραπεὶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀτριβῆ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πατράσιν ἀτραπὸν βαδίσας, ἀκάνθαις καὶ τριβόλοις περιπέπτωκεν ... τὸ καλούμενον πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἴδικτον γράφει, ἐν ᾧ ἄφθαρτον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου κέκληκε καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ ἀδιαβλήτων παθῶν ἀνεπίδεκτον, οὕτω λέγων τὸν Κύριον πρὸ τοῦ πάθους φαγεῖν ὥσπερ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἔφαγε, μηδεμίαν τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐν μήτρᾳ διαπλάσεως μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑκουσίοις καὶ φυσικοῖς πάθεσι, μηδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ παναγίου σώματος αὐτοῦ δεξαμένου· οἷς συναινεῖν τοὺς ἑκασταχῆ ἱερέας κατηνάγκαζε. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia,* ed. J. BIDEZ and L. PARMENTIER, London, 1898, p. 190. Translation (with my corrections) is by M. WHITBY, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*, Liverpool, 2000, p. 250. For a commentary on this passage see P. ALLEN, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian*, Leuven, 1981, pp. 204-205.

confusion and turmoil and collecting the wages for this at the conclusion to his life, passed over to the lowest places of punishment" ([20]). Certainly, Evagrius was often an authoritative source and point of departure for later Byzantine chronographers, who retrieved his testimony. Theophanes the Confessor writes that Justinian espoused the heretical doctrine of corruptibility and incorruptibility, and died having deviated from God ([21]). Later on, Symeon Logothetes, George Cedrenus, Zonaras, Michael Glycas and Constantine Manasses transmitted Theophanes' record retaining it nearly word for word ([22]).

The *Life of Eutychius* by Eustratius ([23]), being almost contemporaneous with Evagrius's history composed in the 590's and therefore closest to the actual events ([24]), is one of the main sources relating the aphthartodocetic lapse of Justinian. The *Life* is commonly regarded as disapproving of Justinian because of his move towards the heretical dogma and deposition of the patriarch Eutychius, who is certainly the main hero of this hagiographic composition. However, while condemning the ideas adopted by Justinian, on several occasions Eustratius refers to the emperor in a respectful and honouring tone, without underestimating his numerous merits. Eustratius calls Justinian of "godly" and "pious" decease, posi-

(20) Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἁπαξάπαντα ταράχου καὶ θορύβων πληρώσας καὶ τἀπίχειρα τούτων πρὸς τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου κομισάμενος, ἐς τὰ κατώτατα μετεχώρησε δικαιωτήρια. *The Ecclesiastical History*, p. 195 Translation by WHITBY, p. 254.

(21) Τῷ δ'αὐτῷ ἔτει Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ περὶ φθαρτοῦ καὶ ἀφθάρτου κινήσας δόγμα καὶ ἴδικτον πανταχοῦ καταπέμψας ἀλλότριον τῆς εὐσεβείας, θεοῦ προφθάσαντος, ἐτελεύτησε μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ ιδ' τῆς ἐχομένης ιδ' ἰνδικτιῶνος, βασιλεύσας ἔτη λη' μῆνας ζ' ἡμέρας ιγ'. Καὶ γίνεται τούτου διάδοχος ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ κουροπαλάτης. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 240-241.

(22) *Leonis Grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1842, p. 130 ; George Cedrenus, *Compendium Historiarum*, ed. I. BEKKER, vol. 1, Bonn, 1838. p. 680 ; Joannes Zonaras, *Epitome Historiarum*, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn. 1897, p. 173 ; Michael Glycas, *Annales*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1836, p. 505 ; *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum*, ed. O. LAMPSIDIS, Athens, 1996. p. 172.

(23) *Eustratii Presbyteri Vita Eutychii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani*, ed C. LAGA (*CCSG*, 25), Turnhout - Leuven, 1992.

(24) For the discussion of the date of the *Life of Eutychius* see A. CAMERON. *Eustratius'* Life *of the Patriarch Eutychius and the Fifth Ecumenical Council*, in *ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ. Essays Presented to J. Hussey*, Camberley, 1988, pp. 244-245.

tively recognizing his zeal for the Christian faith ([25]). Actually, the emperor is spared any accusation – the responsibility for the troublesome events of 565 is often shifted onto the devil and evil people so that Justinian is not blamed overtly ([26]).

Another early source explicitly hostile to Justinian and his reign is Procopius' *Secret History* ([27]). Although Procopius went, for example, as far in his unveiling history of Justinian as to depict him as a demon prince ([28]), such accusations expressed towards the emperor by his contemporary do not appear to be widespread and, indeed, barely known in later centuries ([29]).

Except for the alleged aphthartodocetism of Justinian, it seems later generations of writers lost interest in digging into the sinister side of Justinian's reign. Yet, these accusations were sufficient to stain Justinian's reputation as an emperor faithful to the Orthodox doctrine to a certain

(25) Ἴστε πάντες, οἱ σπουδαῖοι καὶ φιλομαθεῖς, τὴν συγκροτηθεῖσαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει πέμπτην ἁγίαν σύνοδον ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ, οὐ τὸν ζῆλον τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε ... and later Ἐπίστασθε πάντες οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ ζητητικὸν τῶν θείων δογμάτων τοῦ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ λήξει Ἰουστινιανοῦ, πῶς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄλλων ἁπάντων πραγμάτων φροντίδα ταύτην εἶχεν ἀεὶ ὡς μίαν μόνην, τοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν αἱρετικῶν συζητεῖν καὶ συναίρειν λόγον ... *Vita Eutychii*, l. 533-536 ; 930-935.

(26) *Vita Eutychii*, l. 912-920, 991-1000. Cf. A. Cameron, *Models of the Past in the Late Sixth Century : The Life of the Patriarch Eutychius*, in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke, Canberra, 1990, p. 215 ; Eadem, *Eustratius'* Life, pp. 233-235.

(27) Procopius, *Opera Omnia*. Vol. 3 : *Historia Arcana*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, Leipzig, 1963. For a brilliant attempt at the reconciliation of the *Secret History* with other compositions of Procopius – a problem that had generated a lot of confusion among scholars – see A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London, 1996. Among recent works on Procopius see also A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*, Philadelphia, 2004, and "chapter I" in D. Brodka, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der spätantiken Historiographie. Studien zu Prokopios von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes*, Frankfurt on Main, 2004, pp. 14-151.

(28) Procopius, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, XII, 20-30 and XIII, 28-30.

(29) V. M. Lourié, *Из Иерусалима в Аксум через храм Соломона : архаичные предания о Сионе и Ковчеге Завета в составе Кебра Негест и их трансляция через Константинополь*, in *Христианский Восток* n.s. 2 (VIII) (2001), p. 163.

degree, despite his numerous achievements in spheres of religious building and legislation. Nonetheless, the whole body of later sources – historiographic, canonical, liturgical and hagiographical texts – offers a substantially different view of the great emperor. These texts suggest that Justinian was remembered in a much more positive way ; often he was identified as a faithful ruler and, at times, even cast as a saint.

The ambiguity towards Justinian's orthodoxy within the Byzantine tradition is most vividly corroborated in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the fourteenth-century patriarch Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos ([30]). His work, or rather the part of it dealing with Justinian the Great, may be considered a Late Medieval attempt to restore Justinian within the ecclesiastical world. It is noteworthy that the author did not try to hide the wickedness and heretical beliefs of the emperor. Rather, having brought them to the attention of his readers, he subsequently attempted to suggest that Justinian's piety and "good deeds" outweighed his vices and flaws. Thus, following Evagrius, he testified that Justinian had not abandoned the doctrine of aphthartodocetism even at his deathbed. Yet, importantly, as if confronting a common attitude, he related the opinion that Justinian should not be put outside the Church just because he embraced this heretical dogma.

> Thus, having pronounced the banishment of him [Anastasius] and of the bishops who were around him, as well as of those who were of a similar fervour, Justinian ended his life being struck by an invisible scourge, having ruled altogether for thirty-eight years and eight months, and without rejecting the doctrine of the Aphthartodocetists, considering that this doctrine will be for a greater honour of the Lord's body. And because of this some people pardon him saying that he, who thus assumed [the heretical doctrine], should not be rejected outside [the Church] in the same way as it is the case with the other heresies ([31]).

(30) *PG* 147, 300D-301C.

(31) Ὁ γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐξορίαν καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἴσου ζήλου ὑπαγορεύων, ἀοράτῳ πληγεὶς μάστιγι, τὸν τῇδε βίον κατέστρεψεν· ἔτη τὰ πάντα διαγενόμενος τῇ ἀρχῇ ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα σὺν μησὶν ὀκτώ· τὴν τῶν Ἀφθαρτοδοκητῶν μὴ ἀποτριψάμενος δόξαν, ἡγούμενος πρὸς τιμὴν μᾶλλον εἶναι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος. Καί γε συγγνώμην τινὲς τούτῳ παρέχουσι, μὴ δεῖν εἶναι λέγοντες τὸν οὕτως ὑπειληφότα, ἐπίσης ταῖς ἄλλαις αἱρέσεσιν, ἔξω βάλλεσθαι. *PG* 147, 300D1-301A1. Cf. Evagrius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp. 191-192 (WHITBY, p. 252) : Ὁ γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν Ἀναστασίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἱερέων

Nikephoros Kallistos found support for this lenient attitude toward Justinian in the preface to the *Acts* of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, which referred to him as being "of blessed [post mortem] fate."

> And this is also clear from the fact that the Sixth Council in the Prologue to its Acts deems him worthy of blessed fate, saying literally what follows : "Given that the two holy and ecumenical councils that were convened in this imperial and God-protected City, one of them having taken place in the time of Justinian of the blessed fate, the other under our emperor Constantine, of pious memory, the father of Your Clemency" ([32]).

Besides, Nikephoros Kallistos continued, whenever a reference was made to Justinian in the very text of the *Acts*, he was mentioned as one among the saints : Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρακτικὰ τῆς αὐτῆς συνόδου, ἡνίκα μνείαν ἐκείνου δέοι ποιῆσαι, ἀεὶ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰουστινιανὸν λέγουσιν ([33]).

Subsequently, Nikephoros' apology for Justinian is reinforced by his discovery of a certain *scholion* in the *Acts*. It reads that during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, the patriarch John IX Agapetos (1111-1134) annually conducted a grandiose memorial service dedicated to Justinian in the church of St Sophia, and this service was a celebration attended by all the people. Nikephoros Kallistos' record reveals that there was also a celebration of Justinian's memory in Ephesus held in the church of John the Theologian. Since both of these churches were Justinian's foundations, he was apparently commemorated in their annual liturgical service for that reason.

> In the same [Acts of the Sixth Council] I also found a *scholion* saying that John surnamed the Chalcedonian, occupying the [patriarchal] see of the imperial City in the times of Alexios Komnenos, conducted his commemoration annually in the shrine of the Wisdom and Divine Word with great splendour, while all the people participated in the feast. He was deemed worthy of com-

ἐξορίαν ὑπαγορεύων, ἀοράτως τρωθεὶς τὸν τῆδε κατέστρεψε βίον, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη πρὸς μησὶν ὀκτώ.

(32) Καὶ δῆλον, ἐξ ὧν καὶ ἡ ἕκτη σύνοδος ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις, τῆς μακαρίας λήξεως τοῦτον καταξιοῖ, οὕτω κατὰ ῥῆμα διεξιοῦσα· Ἐπειδὴ αἱ ἅγιαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ δύο σύνοδοι αἱ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν βασιλίδα καὶ θεοφύλακτον πόλιν συναθροισθεῖσαι· ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ γενομένου βασιλέως ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου πατρὸς τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος. *PG* 147, 301A1-9.

(33) *Ibid.*, 301A9-11.

memoration also in the church of Ephesus, which he founded in the honour of the intimate friend and disciple [of the Lord] (34).

Having tackled the available data, Nikephoros articulated his own opinion in favour of Justinian's achievements, especially his *grande œuvre* the church of St Sophia, which he perceived to be an advocate on Justinian's behalf :

I suppose therefore, although I do not declare it, that first of all for his accomplishments, and mostly for his zeal for God and his God-lovingness in everything, with the marvellous work of the church of the Wisdom of the Divine Word pleading on his behalf – even if there was some blemish in him, it was covered over by the infinite man-lovingness of God (35).

It is evident from Nikephoros Kallistos' history that there was a tension within the church over the controversial issue of Justinian's orthodoxy. Nikephoros' discourse confirms the persistent uncertainty regarding the status of Justinian in the Byzantine church. Yet Nikephoros Kallistos strongly suggests the justification and acceptance of Justinian as an upright and faithful emperor. His research into the *Acts* of the Sixth Council shows that Justinian, at a certain stage (certainly in the seventh century), was ranked among the saints. Justinian's construction of St Sophia, standing out against a background of all his achievements, was a deed so great that it should have secured him a prominent position in the sight of God and in the Church.

The *Acts* of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, as referred to by Nikephoros Kallistos, must provide the most weighty and straightforward evidence that in the seventh century Justinian was certainly regarded as a pious orthodox emperor and a saint. Indeed, it is possible to identify the

(34) ἐν οἷς καὶ σχόλιον εὗρον, ὅτι περ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Χαλκηδόνος ἐπικληθεὶς τὸν τῆς βασιλίδος θρόνον διέπων, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τεμένει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Σοφίας κατέτος μεγαλοπρεπῆ ἐποίει τούτῳ μνημόσυνα, πανδήμου τελουμένης τούτῳ τῆς πανηγύρεως· μνήμης δ'ἠξιοῦτο, καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου τέμενος, τῷ ἐπιστηθίῳ καὶ μαθητῇ ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἱδρύσατο. *PG* 147, 301A11-B4.

(35) Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν, οὐκ ἀποφαίνομαι, διά τε τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ κατορθώματα, καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον ἐκείνου ζῆλον, καὶ τὸ ἐν πᾶσι θεοφιλές· μεσιτεύοντος καῖ τοῦ ὑπερφυοῦς ἔργου τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Σοφίας νεώ, εἴ τί περ τέως προσῆν ἐκείνῳ ἐλάττωμα ἐπικαλυφθήσεσθαι τῇ ἀπείρῳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ Θεοῦ. *PG* 147, 301B10-C1.

quote adduced by Nikephoros in the modern editions of the *Acts* ([36]). However, Nikephoros Kallistos' statement that the *Acts* of the Sixth Ecumenical Council repeatedly call Justinian one of the saints (ἀεὶ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰουστινιανὸν λέγουσιν) is less obvious – in fact, in the *Acts* we find frequent references to Justinian as the very pious emperor (Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως ; Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα ; Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ πανευσεβεῖ) ([37]) who is deemed to be of blessed orthodox fate (ἐν χρόνοις Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς λήξεως ; Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ λήξει ; Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν τῆς θείας λήξεως) ([38]) and of pious memory (τοῦ τῆς σεβασμίας μνήμης Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ; τοῦ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως) ([39]). As a rule, Justinian is acknowledged as an emperor who died in faith and continued to be commemorated as a pious ruler, while only once being named explicitly as one of the saints (τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰουστινιανοῦ) ([40]). Although these formulaic expressions give but a vague idea of the individual status of the emperor Justinian – for they were recurrently used in relation to a number of emperors and patriarchs – at the very least, they show that there remained no reminiscence of the compromising heretical beliefs of Justinian and that he was generally recognised as an orthodox emperor. In addition to this common reverence for Justinian as a faithful Christian emperor, the *Acts* do provide some indication that Justinian may, in fact, have been accorded some special status. Besides the one reference in the *Acts* to Justinian being ranked among the saints, the implication of Justinian's distinctive status can be also inferred from the letter of Pope Agatho to the Sixth Ecumenical Council. In this letter Pope Agatho honoured Justinian in the following way :

> ... emulator of the true and apostolic faith, the Emperor Justinian of pious memory, whose uprightness of faith exalted the Christian State as much as his sincere confession pleased God. And his pious memory is esteemed worthy of

(36) J. D. Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 11, [Reprint] Graz, 1960, col. 933B.

(37) R. Riedinger, ed. *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*. Series secunda, vol. II, pars 1-2 : *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium*, Berlin, 1990-1992, p. 350, 6 ; p. 370, 18 ; p. 812, 2-3.

(38) *Ibid.*, p. 396, 9 ; p. 638, 15-16 ; p. 644, 16.

(39) *Ibid.*, p. 80, 17 ; p. 102, 130.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 352, 12.

veneration by all nations up till now, whose uprightness of faith was disseminated with praise throughout the whole world by his most august edicts (41).

It is true that the report of Justinian's widespread fame and veneration may not indicate the existence of the cult or offer proof of his individual sainthood, yet it certainly shows that the emperor held an exceptionally honoured position far beyond an ordinary imperial status.

Hereafter, the discussion of the Byzantine liturgical and hagiographical collections shall bring further insights to the issue of Justinian's rank within the Byzantine church and, more specifically, of his place in the Constantinopolitan liturgy. The entry on Justinian in the *Novum Auctarium* of the *BHG* refers to one of the *Synaxaria* (42). The *Synaxarion* of the Constantinopolitan church edited by H. Delehaye (43) simply records a commemoration day of emperor Justinian and his spouse Theodora on 14 November, the day of Justinian's death (44), without any further note in the majority of manuscripts used for the edition.

The memory of the pious emperors Justinian and Theodora. It is celebrated in the Great Church on Sunday (45).

The later thirteenth-century Paris manuscript *BN* 1621 of the *Synaxarion* (Q), known for its long original notes that are substantially differ-

(41) ... καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ πάντας ζηλωτὴς τῆς ἀληθῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως ὁ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεύς, οὗτινος ἡ ὀρθότης τῆς πίστεως ὁπόσον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰλικρινοῦς ὁμολογίας τῷ Θεῷ ἤρεσε, τοσοῦτον τὴν χριστιανικωτάτην πολιτείαν ὕψωσε – καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡ αὐτοῦ θεοσεβὴς μνήμη προσκυνήσεως ἀξιοῦται –, οὗτινος ἡ ὀρθότης τῆς πίστεως διὰ τῶν σεβασμίων αὐτοῦ ἰδίκτων ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διαχεθεῖσα ἐπαινεῖται. *Ibid.*, p. 100, 9-14. English translation, with my corrections, is from H. PERCIVAL, ed., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. P. SCHAFF and H. WACE, vol. 14, Peabody, Mass., 1995. pp. 335-336.

(42) F. HALKIN, *Novum auctarium bibliothecae hagiographicae graecae* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 65), Brussels, 1984, p. 244.

(43) H. DELEHAYE, ed., *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Brussels, 1902.

(44) This date is recorded by Theophanes the Confessor, see n. 19. Cf. Ph. GRIERSON, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), pp. 18, 45-46 ; *PLRE*, vol. II, p. 650.

(45) Καὶ μνήμη Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων. Τελεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, col. 224, l.1-3.

ent from other *Synaxarion* manuscripts, is the only one to present an elaborate entry. In addition to a caption giving basic information of who is commemorated and when, the entry in this manuscript gives a short account of the achievements and deeds of Justinian elucidating why he is remembered and introduced for celebration into the liturgical calendar. First of all, the entry classifies him as an orthodox emperor. It also praises him as a military defender of the Empire, as an important legislator and also for being a fervent supporter of the Orthodox faith who fought the heretics and convened the Ecumenical Council. The entry further credits him with constructing numerous churches, endowing the monasteries with money, and introducing the feast of the *Hypapante* :

> Commemoration of the orthodox emperor Justinian : He, after proving most successful in war, being a zealot of the Orthodox faith, called a Council in Constantinople and entirely eliminated the heretics. He made the New Decrees (Novellae), and issued a decree pertaining to bishops, the directors of hospitals and orphanages, so that they could not give into inheritance anything besides what they already possessed prior to obtaining their positions. He built the Great Church expending large amounts of money, enriched it with much gold and silver, also offering in it many holy donations and gold embroidered veils. He also built innumerable churches in all Egypt, Palestine and the whole of Syria. There the praiseworthy emperor built the magnificent castle on the holy mountain of Sinai and having worthily built divine churches in it, he splendidly decorated them. Also he was the one who built the wonderful church of the Holy Summit on the same Holy Mountain ; he also gave with great generosity abundant regular income to the monasteries on Mount Sinai, as well as to all [male] monasteries and [female] cloisters in all Egypt and Palestine. He ordered that the feast of the Presentation of the Mother of God be celebrated by the Church. ... having also completed many other works worthy of commemoration and admiration, he ended his life ([46]).

(46) Μνήμη τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ. Οὗτος ἄριστος ἐν πολέμοις φανεὶς καὶ ζηλωτὴς ὢν τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, σύνοδον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πεποίηκεν καὶ τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς τελείως ἠφάνισεν. Οὗτος ἐποίησε τὰς νεαρὰς διατάξεις, ἐκφωνήσας καὶ τύπον περί τε ἐπισκόπων καὶ ξενοδόχων καὶ οἰκονόμων ὀρφανοτρόφων, ὥστε μὴ κληρονομεῖν πλὴν ἃ πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἐκέκτηντο. Οὗτος κτίζει τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν πολλοῖς ἀναλώμασι καὶ χρήμασιν ἐκκενώσας ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ πολὺν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἱεροῖς καὶ πέπλοις χρυσοϋφέσιν ἀναθεὶς ἐν αὐτῇ. Οὗτος ἐν πάσῃ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ Συρίᾳ πάσῃ ἐκκλησίας ἐδείματο ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαινούσας. Οὗτος ὁ ἀοίδιμος βασιλεὺς τὸ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει Σινᾷ φρούριον μεγαλοπρεπὲς ᾠκοδόμησεν καὶ τοὺς

The given entry is a very succinct yet detailed summary of Justinian's main achievements and seems to be the outcome of the "crystallisation process" that Justinian's image had been undergoing in the religious memory of the Byzantines. Here, Justinian enjoys the status of an orthodox ruler whose building accomplishments rank high among all his merits.

Another extant Constantinopolitan collection, the *Typicon*, furnishes us with more details concerning the liturgical celebration of the feast day of Justinian. The *Typicon* of the Great Church, edited by Juan Mateos ([47]), makes it possible to state with certainty that the official commemoration of Justinian on 14 November was already firmly established in the liturgy of the Constantinopolitan church in the tenth century – the dating suggested by Ms 40 of the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem (H) that was used as the main source of Mateos' edition and backed up by the Patmos codex 266 (P), another early manuscript dated to the ninth-tenth century. The *Typicon* transmitted in manuscript H includes the texts used for the church liturgy according to the Constantinopolitan rite. Hence the order recorded in this manuscript was intended for the usage in the churches of the capital and sheds light on the Byzantine practice of the liturgical commemoration of Justinian in Constantinople. The *troparion* used for the feast day of Justinian and Theodora hails the imperial couple as great heroes of Orthodoxy who by their deeds and piety won God's favour.

> On the same day the memory of our father among the saints, patriarch Thomas, and the memory of the pious emperors Justinian and Theodora. ... Another [*troparion*] of Justinian and Theodora, of the same tone : "You have shone with the deeds of orthodoxy, wiped away all heresy, and became tro-

ἐν αὐτῷ θείους ναοὺς ἐντίμως οἰκοδομήσας ἐδόξασε· καὶ τὴν πανθαύμαστον ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους τῆς ἁγίας κορυφῆς αὐτὸς ἐδείματο καὶ χρημάτων εἰσόδους δαψιλῶς τοῖς ἐν τῷ Σινᾷ μοναστηρίοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διακειμένοις σεμνείοις καὶ παρθενῶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐχορήγησε. Οὗτος καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς Ὑπαπαντῆς παρέδωκε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑορτάζειν ... καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πλεῖστα διαπραξάμενος ἔργα μνήμης καὶ θαύματος ἄξια, καταλύει τὸν βίον. DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, coll. 229-230, l. 25-43.

(47) *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, Xe siècle.* Introduction, critical text, translation and notes by J. MATEOS S. I. 2 vols., (*OCA*, 165-166), Rome, 1962. Earlier and fuller edition of the *Typicon* from the Patmos manuscript 266 was made by A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей. Том I, Τυπικά*, Kiev, 1895, pp. 1-152.

phy-bearing victors ; You have enriched the universe with your piety, greatly embellished the Church, so that, justly, you have found Christ God, who grants the great mercy to the world and to us."
Note that the memory of the emperors Justinian and Theodora is celebrated in the Great Church on Sunday ([48]).

This *troparion*, however, is not an original composition celebrating personal merits of the imperial couple, but rather a commonplace of hymnographic production that was used for commemoration of other saints as well. Luzzi associated the given *troparion* with a κάθισμα ἀποστολικόν, which he considered to be the original composition that was later remodelled. This "remodelled" *troparion* functioned also as ἀπολυτίκιον on the feast day of the patriarchs of Alexandria Athanasius and Cyril (18 January) ([49]). The common usage of the *troparion* can imply that there was no personal cult of Justinian and his spouse analogous to that of Constantine the Great and his mother Helen. According to Dagron, an embryonic liturgy that was often embodied in a *troparion* was intended to demonstrate a particular esteem for some emperors which, however, was not sufficient to signify their individual sainthood. This service that functioned more likely as the office of the dead, was a particularly common custom in certain monasteries in the celebration of their founders ([50]).

Additional manuscripts used by Mateos in his edition omit the note on the transfer of the commemoration of Justinian and Theodora for celebration on Sunday in the Great Church. Such an omission might be reasonably explained by Mateos' assumption that the other manuscripts were produced for usage outside the capital and, therefore, omit many topographical references and do not entirely follow the canon established by the Constantinopolitan tradition. Indeed, the instruction to celebrate

(48) Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θωμᾶ πατριάρχου, καὶ μνήμη Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων ... Καὶ ἕτερον, ἦχος ὁ αὐτός, Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας· Ἔργοις λάμψαντες ὀρθοδοξίας, πᾶσαν σβέσαντες κακοδοξίαν, νικηταὶ τροπαιοφόροι γεγόνατε. Τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ τὰ πάντα πλουτίσαντες, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μεγάλως κοσμήσαντες, ἀξίως εὕρατε Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν δωρούμενον τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος ... Δεῖ δὲ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἡ μνήμη τῶν βασιλέων Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ Θεοδώρας ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ τελεῖται. MATEOS, *Typicon*, vol. 1, pp. 100-102.

(49) LUZZI, *Per l'identificazione*, p. 49.

(50) DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest*, p. 153.

the commemoration in the Great Church was useful only in the capital, where it could be conducted in the designated place, and becomes devoid of its topicality outside Constantinople.

It is evident from the *Typicon* and *Synaxarion* of the Great Church that the celebration of Justinian and his wife Theodora was to be moved to Sunday, when 14 November fell on any other day of the week. Nonetheless, this holds true only as regards the local liturgical practice in Constantinople. Mateos believes that the transfer of certain feasts to Sunday was practised at St Sophia in the case of a very few important saints ([51]). Possibly, this transfer, enhancing the solemnity of the celebration of Justinian's memory, could be strictly connected to the Great Church itself, which commemorated its founder, while at other places they were satisfied with commemorating the actual day of the demise of the "most pious emperor" and his wife. Some of the divergences in the nature of the commemorative service as transmitted by manuscripts of the *Typicon* also point to this conclusion. For example, some of the manuscripts preserving the rite as it was practiced in the Great Church suggest that Justinian was venerated with a special festive *synaxis* on Sunday, while a number of other manuscripts, mostly of provincial origin, indicate the funerary nature of Justinian's commemoration ([52]). It becomes clear, therefore, that Justinian's commemoration had major significance in the Constantinopolitan liturgy, while its importance decreased outside the capital. This implies that the status of Justinian was not the same in

(51) MATEOS, *Typicon*, vol. 1, p. IX. Besides Mateos' explanation, the transfer of Justinian's commemoration to Sunday could be also caused by celebration of the memory of the Apostle Philip on 14 November, which might have ousted all other commemorative services.

(52) DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, col. lxxv, erouneously postulated the funerary nature of commemorative service of Justinian, making no distinction between the Constantinopolitan rite of the Great Church and monastic variations. He based his generalization that Justinian's memory had a funerary character on the basis of the manuscripts from the monasteries of Sinai and St. Panteleimon of Athos (*Sinait. gr.* 285 and *Athos, Panteleimon* 252, as published by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Описание*, I, p. 156). The character of Justinian's commemoration in the Great Church as different from common funerary services is confirmed not only by absence of prescription to celebrate the commemoration with a funerary office, but also by the fact that no funerary service could be held on Sundays – while in the manuscripts produced for usage in the Great Church there is a clear order to celebrate Justinian's commemoration on Sunday provided it fell on other day of the week.

the liturgy of Constantinople – in particular in the rite of the Great Church, where he was justly honoured as its founder – and in provincial variations of the Byzantine rite.

In addition to the commemoration of Justinian and his spouse Theodora on 14 November in the church of St Sophia, there is another commemoration of Justinian, both in the *Synaxarion* and the *Typicon,* which was celebrated in the church of SS Apostles on 2 August : Καὶ τοῦ ἐν εὐσεβεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ γενομένου βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἐν τοῖς Ἁγίοις Ἀποστόλοις ([53]). It is noteworthy that at this entry the manuscript P of the *Typicon* differs substantially from all other manuscripts of both *Synaxaria* and *Typica*. The note in the earliest codex mentions Justinian explicitly as a saint : "... καὶ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις βασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ" ([54]). If we consider this manuscript as a unique surviving witness of the phase of the Byzantine liturgical tradition of the capital prior to the formation of the *Synaxaria* ([55]), it is clear that at that early stage of Constantinopolitan liturgy Justinian was ranked among the saints.

This note, however, should be given further scrutiny. According to Luzzi, who treats extensively the problem of imperial commemorations in the *Synaxarion* of Constantinople, 2 August appears to be the commemoration day of Justin I, rather than that of Justinian I ([56]). He bases this correction of the manuscript reading on two main arguments. First, he illustrates by means of an exhaustive list of the *dies obitus* and *dies festus* of Byzantine emperors and empresses the almost unfailing correspondence of the days of death and subsequent establishment of the memorial day of the imperial personae ([57]). Therefore, the commemoration on 2 August seems to correspond with the *dies obitus* of Justin I, which was on 1 August, 527, similarly to the case of Justinian I, whose commemoration date coincides with his decease on 14 November. Second, argumenting the emendation Luzzi cites frequent confusion of the names Justinian and Justin, which happened also in the commemora-

(53) Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, col. 866, l. 14-15 ; Mateos, *Typicon,* vol. 1, p. 358.

(54) Dmitrievskij, *Onucanue*, I, p. 100.

(55) A. Luzzi, *Precisazioni sull'epoca de formazione del Patm. Gr. 266*, in *RSBN* n.s. 36 (1999), pp. 84-85.

(56) Luzzi, *Per l'identificazione*, pp. 60-62.

(57) Luzzi, *Per l'identificazione*, p. 50.

tion notes on 14 November. Although the emendation of Luzzi seems plausible, I am rather inclined to believe that it was indeed Justinian the Great who was commemorated on 2 August in the mid-Byzantine calendar, since all the manuscripts of *Synaxaria* and *Typica* are totally unanimous in recording the memory of Justinian and not Justin on this date. If a mistake was made, as Luzzi argues, it must have happened rather at an earlier stage, before the ninth century, when the oldest existing manuscript of the *Typicon* was produced. Hence, it is possible to consider this particular commemorative entry ranking Justinian among the saints as another rare piece of evidence that suggests his individual elevation to sainthood.

Thus, all the evidence reviewed above allows one to maintain that Justinian was granted a distinguished status among the Byzantine emperors. At the same time, it appears that his sainthood was not a universally accepted phenomenon, but was subjected to continuous doubts, disputes and modifications. As a result, his image in the Byzantine church was not static, but changing under the influence of various attitudes that dominated at different periods ([58]). Moreover, there was another undercurrent at work blurring the memory of Justinian. On one hand, he was recognised as worthy of memory and his commemoration was celebrated annually in the church. Yet on the other hand, his name was blemished by the lapse into heresy, and his reputation encountered even further danger of sinking into oblivion, as will be seen from the following discussion.

An unnoticed, or ignored, phrase from the famous legendary *Diegesis* – the account of how the Great Church of St Sophia in Constantinople was built – sheds light on the sad fate of the great builder of St Sophia. After recounting the story of the restoration of the dome of St Sophia

(58) At a similar conclusion, yet based on an analysis of a different set of sources, arrived A. CARILE, *Consenso e dissenso fra propaganda e fronda nelle fonti narrative dell'età Giustiniana*, in *L'imperatore Giustiniano : storia e mito*, ed. G. G. ARCHI, Milan, 1978, pp. 83-84. He also noted the ambiguity that characterizes the figure of Justinian in the Byzantine sources : "Già Agazia e Menandro si pongono all'inizio di un diverso ciclo, quello fortuna storica della figura dell'imperatore, che fu ambigua e contraddittoria come mostrano i poemi della saga di Belisario e la critica serrata di un Giovanni Zonara nel XII secolo. che poterono coesistere con la venerazione della memoria dell'imperatore nella chiesa greca e con la sua emblematica associazione a Costantino nel mosaico di S. Sophia. "

(which was misleadingly ascribed to Justin, the nephew of Justinian) the author states : Καὶ τούτου χάριν λέγουσι τινές, ὅτι καὶ Ἰουστῖνος ἔκτισεν· ἀλλὰ ψεύδονται οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες ([59]). This is an eloquent, though extremely short, allusion to the actual state of affairs at the time of the composition : Justinian was no longer remembered as the builder of St Sophia. According to the current *opinio communis*, as the quotation implies, it was Justin who was given credit for building the Great Church. With this brief statement, the author of the *Diegesis* brings to a logical end his entire discourse – the story appears to have been designed to refute the existing misconception by providing an exhaustive account of the building and to reinstate the due tribute to the real founder of the church of St Sophia, Justinian the Great. There must have been a felt need to establish the truth concerning this matter, and the author of the *Diegesis* makes an effort to restore Justinian to his rightful position. The author clearly emphasizes the merits of Justinian as the true and sole builder, underscoring the fact that no one else made any contribution to the construction of the church during the whole building process ; for, Justinian started and finished the church himself – Ὁ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς μόνος ἤρξατο καὶ μόνος ἐτελείωσε τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ ναοῦ, συνδρομὴν μηδενὸς ἑτέρου ποιήσαντος <ἢ> οἱανδήποτε οὖν οἰκοδομήν ([60]).

A rather exceptional piece of evidence that confirms the implication expressed in the *Diegesis* – that Justinian's fame as the builder of the Great Church was obscured or even intentionally blotted out by the mid-Byzantine period – comes from the chronicle of Pseudo-Symeon. The following anecdote, relating a dialogue between two ninth-century characters, the emperor Michael III and a certain scholar named Peter, draws a clear picture of the contemporary remembrance of the emperor Justinian, or rather its absence.

> In his sixth year he [Michael III] built a stable for his horses having embellished it in every way with marbles and streams of water. Having accomplished it he showed this silly house-construction, expecting some praise, to a certain Peter, a learned and jesting fellow, also called Ptochomaches, and said : "I should eternally be remembered because of the construction of this piece". However, Peter said to the emperor : "Justinian built the Great Church embellishing it with gold, silver, and precious pearls but now his memory does not exist any longer, and you, emperor, having built a place for the dung

(59) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, p. 467.
(60) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, p. 462.

and a repose of horses claim to be remembered for it ?" Enraged because of the failure to receive the praise, [Michael III] led him, smitten and dragged, away ([61]).

The passage from Pseudo-Symeon's chronicle seems to correspond entirely with the implication of the *Diegesis* that the memory of Justinian as builder of St Sophia had virtually disappeared. It is possible to consider the reference to Justinian, as someone no longer remembered, to imply that Justinian's liturgical commemoration was no longer celebrated ([62]). However, if this assumption were correct, it would mean that in spite of the specific commemorative notes in the manuscript of the *Typicon*, *Patmos* 266, which is contemporary with the given anecdote, there was no actual liturgical commemoration of Justinian in ninth-century Constantinople. Whether or not the liturgical commemoration is meant in the anecdote, Pseudo-Symeon's record is unambiguous in stating that Justinian was no longer remembered for building his great masterpiece, the church of St Sophia – the situation that is also evident from the *Diegesis*. This impression that Justinian's glorious accomplishments had sunk into oblivion is further enhanced by another almost contemporaneous source dated to the year around 800, the *Parastaseis syntomai chronikai* ([63]), the author(s) of which, as has been noted by Cameron and

(61) Τῷ ς΄ αὐτοῦ ἔτει κτίζει στάβλον τῶν ἵππων αὐτοῦ, κοσμήσας αὐτὸν μαρμάροις καὶ ὑδάτων ἐπιρροαῖς παντοιοτρόπως. Τελεσθέντος δὲ ὑποδεικνύει τὴν ἄλογον κατασκευὴν τοῦ οἴκου, βουλόμενος ἐπαινεθῆναι. Πέτρῳ τινὶ λογίῳ καὶ σκωπτικῷ ἀνδρί, ὃν καὶ Πτωχομάχην ἐκάλουν, καὶ φησὶν ὡς ἀεὶ μνημονεύσεσθαι ὀφείλω διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου κατασκευήν. Καὶ ὁ Πέτρος τῷ βασιλεῖ φησίν· "Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔκτισε τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν κοσμήσας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ μαρμάροις πολυτίμοις, καὶ ἡ μνήμη αὐτοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ, κοπρῶνα ποιήσας καὶ ἀλόγων ἀνάπαυσιν λέγεις μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο ;" ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὡς τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἀποτυχὼν τυπτόμενον καὶ συρόμενον αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγεν. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, pp. 666-667.

(62) Prinzing, p. 77.

(63) On the question of dating of the *Parastaseis* see I. Ševčenko, *The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800*, in *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 279, 289-291 ; Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*, pp. 17-29 ; Kazhdan, *History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 308-309. Although the majority of scholars agree that the work should be dated to the eighth century, Speck suggests that the *Parastaseis* is a ninth- or tenth-century copy of an earlier compilation. Cf. P. Speck, *War Bronze ein knappes Metall ? Die Legende von dem Stier auf dem Bus in den 'Parastaseis' 42* in *Ἑλληνικά*, 39 (1988), pp. 5ff.

Herrin, is surprisingly ignorant of Justinian (64). Although such ignorance may only reflect the individual state of knowledge or personal disposition of the author(s) of this compilation, it can also be representative of a more general situation in the mid-Byzantine Constantinople. If the latter is the case, it certainly tallies with and affirms the evidence of the *Diegesis* and Pseudo-Symeon.

The accusation of heresy and obscurity imperilling the name of Justinian were forces undermining the saintly image of the great emperor. The depiction of Justinian as an illustrious emperor and great founder on the lunette mosaic in St Sophia, therefore, must have had a unique history. For how, given all the obstacles, was the emperor's reputation restored, and how did Justinian once again become a celebrated and a great emperor, a model for later Byzantine emperors roughly on a par with Constantine the Great ? Had his reputation been ill-famed or his merit as builder of St Sophia uncertain, it is doubtful that he would have been depicted in such a glorious way in a prominent place at the Great Church. That is why, I am going to argue, there must have been some background development, which preceded and indeed inspired the renowned depiction in the lunette mosaic.

If we accept the dating of the mosaic to the tenth century (65), it is possible to assume that the establishment of Justinian's image as a great builder comparable only to Constantine the Great must have happened before this date. The record in Pseudo-Symeon that Justinian was forgotten as a founder of the Great Church by the time of the emperor Michael III (842-867) gives us another date, the *terminus post quem* the process of restoration of Justinian to his due position of the founder of St Sophia must have started. This rough chronological framework – between the mid-ninth and tenth centuries – would correspond to the dating suggested for the *Diegesis* (66). The relevance of the dating can be viewed merely as a supportive factor, though quite important, to an argument that this is precisely the text (and quite probably the only one) that played an exceptional role in the process that I would call the "restoration of Justinian's image." The first and foremost reason, however, for consider-

(64) CAMERON and HERRIN, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century*, p. 272.

(65) See n. 1.

(66) PREGER, *Scriptores*, vol. 1, XVIII ; ID., *Die Erzählung vom Bau der Hagia Sophia*, in *BZ*, 10 (1901), p. 458 ; DAGRON, *CI*, pp. 265-269.

ing the *Diegesis* a crucial tool for establishing and upholding the image of Justinian as a pious emperor and a builder of St Sophia, is the very nature of his depiction in the legendary narrative.

In his momentous work on the *Diegesis* as a part of the *Patria* collection, Dagron argued that this collection in general was intended to debase the emperor while glorifying the city (67). The *Diegesis* in particular, Dagron viewed as an implicit critique of Justinian and speculated whether its author intended to depict the emperor as an Antichrist (68). Allowing for the possibility of such interpretation, though not agreeing with it in its main contention that the text was meant to portray the emperor in a negative light, I would like to suggest a different reading of the text with regard to the image of Justinian.

Some of the weaknesses in Dagron's interpretation of Justinian as portrayed in the *Diegesis* have been already pointed out by Mango and Lourié. Mango addressed the argument of Dagron in the following way :

> If the author of the *Diegesis* had indeed this intention, we must also grant that his criticism was expressed with the utmost discretion and left between the lines, for the emperor is repeatedly praised for his justice and uprightness. Furthermore, we are left to wonder why an author writing in the ninth century should have wished to take Justinian to task (69).

Similarly to Mango, Lourié refuses to see any anti-Justinian elements in the *Diegesis,* but considers the overall tone of the narrative to be indeed exalting Justinian (70). What Dagron perceived in the text as an implicit criticism of Justinian, therefore, needs some re-examination. Here I will treat some of the elements which Dagron interpreted as disapproving and unfavourable to Justinian in order to show that the emperor's image in the given text could be seen in a more positive light.

The passage referring to the Nika Riot Dagron interpreted as an indication of accusation against Justinian, holding him responsible for the

(67) DAGRON, *CI, passim,* pp. 315 ff. ; also KAZHDAN, *HBL*, p. 312.

(68) DAGRON, *CI*, p. 306 : "On en vient à se demander si Justinien ne reconstruit pas le Temple au lieu d'édifier une église chrétienne qui le remplacerait, et si le pieux empereur, qui révèle par son cri de victoire sa pensée profonde, ne cache pas en réalité l'Antéchrist annoncé par Cyrille et les Apocalypses. C'était, rappelons-le, l'opinion de Procope et sans doute de bien des contemporains."

(69) C. MANGO, *Byzantine Writers on the Fabric of Hagia Sophia*. In *Hagia Sophia : From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, ed. R. MARK and A. Ş ÇAKMAK, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 48-49.

(70) LOURIÉ, *Из Иерусалима в Аксум*, p. 163.

massacre at the Hippodrome. When speaking of the revolt in the *Diegesis*, he sees it as a depiction of a "gripping contrast" between Justinian's sacrilegious killing of 35,000 Constantinopolitans and the subsequent building of a new church at the place of the Constantinian basilica ([71]). Placing this passage in his series of comparisons between the *Diegesis* and the Biblical narratives, Dagron draws a parallel with King David's census of the people and the divine retribution that followed. The decision to construct a church, thereafter, is compared to David's building of the altar that would avert the anger of God ([72]).

As a matter of fact, Justinian's involvement in the massacre is known from the chronicles and other early sources, but this is not information one can easily find in the legendary account. In his interpretation, Dagron departs from the actual text and introduces data known to modern scholars from other sources. What becomes clear upon a closer examination of the text of the *Diegesis* is the fact that the one blamed for the slaughter is not Justinian at all. The massacre, according to the *Diegesis*, is the consequence of two circus factions proclaiming Hypatius emperor. It is this rebellion, and not the actions of the emperor Justinian, that seems to be held accountable for the 35,000 deaths.

> ... in the fifth year of Justinian the Great, after the event of the massacre in the Hippodrome – 35,000 people were killed because Hypatius, the *patrikios* and leader of the Blue faction, was proclaimed emperor by two popular factions – in the fifth year of this Justinian, God inspired his mind to build such a church that had not been built from the times of Adam ([73]).

This passage of the *Diegesis* does not bear any trace of accusation against Justinian for the killing of a great number of people. It takes some imagination to infer from the context that Justinian's hands were soiled with the blood of the victims, as Dagron emphatically insists ([74]). On the

(71) Dagron, *CI*, pp. 271-272.

(72) Dagron, *CI*, pp. 293-294.

(73) ... εἰς τὸν πέμπτον χρόνον Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Μεγάλου, μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὴν σφαγὴν ἐν τῷ ἱππικῷ – τριάκοντα πέντε χιλιαδῶν ἐκεῖσε ἀναιρεθέντων διὰ τὸ ἀναγορευθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν δύο δημοτικῶν μερῶν Ὑπάτιον πατρίκιον καὶ δήμαρχον μέρους Βενέτων – ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐνέπνευσεν ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι ναόν, οἷος οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ. Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, p. 436.

(74) Dagron, *CI*, p. 272.

contrary, it can be noticed that the historical unfolding of the Nika Riot, where Justinian was the one responsible for the massacre indeed, is basically passed over in silence or intentionally obscured. The *Diegesis* account of the Nika revolt is very impersonal in its summary of the event ; it does not name Justinian as a participant of the event, let alone as an initiator of the massacre. Only for those who would be already aware that Justinian was involved in the bloody suppression of the insurrection, could this passage certainly serve as a reminder of the emperor's crimes. If, however, the audience was not acquainted with the real history of the event and did not have any preconceptions when reading or listening to the narration, they would hardly discern any hint in the given text that Justinian was responsible for the massacre. It looks likely that this event is not recounted in order to accuse or criticize Justinian – rather, it is used as a time marker for a significant occasion, the moment when God inspired the mind of Justinian to build the church. Mention of supernatural manifestation of God's direction urging Justinian to build the church – even though immediately following the massacre, yet without any sign of divine reproach – maintains an impression that the author aimed at drawing a favourable, rather than critical picture of Justinian. Indeed, I would suggest that on this particular occasion the author's intention was to conceal the real crimes of Justinian in order to produce a fine laudatory account of the emperor.

Another instance of alleged criticism of Justinian is found in the passage describing the collapse of the dome of St Sophia. The text erroneously places this event in the reign of Justinian's successor, Justin II. When the collapse occurred, the master-builder is summoned by the emperor to account for the incident :

> This emperor [Justin II] summoned the master-builder, who was living and working there, and questioned him about the reason for the collapse of the dome. They recount that he answered "because your uncle precipitated the removal of the wooden supports of the dome and quickly covered it with mosaics, and because he made it high to be seen from everywhere, and because the builders cut the scaffolding and threw it down, from that weight the foundations were shaken and the collapse of the dome occurred" (75).

(75) Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ζῶντα καὶ καμόντα ἐκεῖσε μηχανικὸν ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτοῦ, τί τὸ συμβᾶν εἰς τὸ χάλασμα τοῦ τρούλλου. Ὁ δέ, φησίν, εἶπεν ὅτι «ὁ θεῖος σου σπεύσας ἐπῆρεν τοὺς ἀντινύκτας, τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τῷ τρούλλῳ ξυλίνους καὶ ταχέως ἐμουσείωσεν

This passage, in Dagron's view, exhibits the flaws of Justinian's character. The emperor's vices of impatience and vanity are seen as the principal reasons that eventually led to the collapse of the dome ([76]). Nonetheless, it is not evident from the text that the master-builder, who was commenting on the potential causes of the collapse, had any intention to criticise Justinian for the incident. It is true, Justinian made the dome high because he wanted it to be seen from afar ; and in his haste to finish the building – his great desire to complete the church is attested elsewhere in the story ([77]) – he removed the supports from the dome and quickly embellished it with mosaics. Furnishing the background information of the final stages of the church building, the master-builder presented yet another, purely technical, explanation of the collapse : the weight of the scaffolding that was removed by the builders and thrown down shook the foundations and therefore caused the misfortune. Indeed, could any of the reasons listed by the master-builder be meant at tarnishing Justinian's character ? To my mind, the overall tone of the text and the master-builder's explanation of the collapse accentuate Justinian's zeal for God's church to be conspicuous and to finish it as soon as possible. It was, after all, the divine prompting to quickly complete the church. For elsewhere in the story, the angel disguised as a eunuch, famous for revealing the name of the church as that of the Holy Wisdom and his following promise to a young lad to guard the building, reproached the builders for abandoning the work of God and urged its fast completion : Τίνος χάριν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐκ ἐκπληροῦσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ταχέως, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες αὐτὸ ἀπῆλθον ἐσθίειν ; It was clearly the divine desire to see

αὐτόν· καὶ ὅτι ὑψηλὸν ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ πανταχοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι· καὶ ὅτι τὰς σκαλώσεις κόπτοντες οἱ τεχνίται ἔρριπτον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάρους ἐσπαράσσοντο τὰ θεμέλια καὶ ἔλαβε πέψιν ὁ τροῦλλος.» VITTI, *Die Erzählung*, pp. 465-466.

(76) "Et cette catastrophe n'est pas imputée ici à un tremblement de terre, mais à un ensemble de raisons qui touchent au caractère de l'empereur, à sa vanité qui lui a fait souhaiter une coupole trop haute et visible de partout, à son impatience qui l'a empêché d'attendre que le ciment ait bien pris, à on ne sait quel faux-pas, peut-être, hors de la légitimité ou de l'orthodoxie, de même que la destruction de l'église constantinienne en 532 n'était pas attribuée à un incendie, mais à la volonté du prince." DAGRON, *CI*, p. 275.

(77) Οὕτως ἐτελείωσε τὸ ἐφετὸν ἔργον αὐτοῦ. VITTI, *Die Erzählung*, p. 464.

the work on the church promptly done, σπεύδω γὰρ τοῦ ταχέως τελειωθῆναι τὸ ἔργον ([78]).

In the episode recounting the rebuilding of the dome ([79]), the efforts of Justin are shown as inferior in comparison to the grand scale of the work accomplished by Justinian. The new dome is reported to have been rebuilt five fathoms lower, which is a statement that runs contrary to other historical sources stating that the restored dome was higher than the original one ([80]). When rebuilding the damaged parts – the ambo and the solea – the emperor Justin did not have the means to restore them in the previous glory and had to use ordinary materials. For the floor, again, the emperor could not find such great and multicoloured slabs as those used by Justinian and was restricted to two colours of marble that created the resemblance of the earth and rivers.

All of these details were meant to highlight the superiority of Justinian's building. As the narrative presents it, the great achievements of Justinian could not be either superseded or even closely imitated. The passage relating Justin's reconstruction in somewhat belittling terms, therefore, is an instance of the author's technique of exalting Justinian and showing that his glory as a builder could not be outshone.

It seems that the entire account of the collapse and restoration of the dome, spuriously ascribed to Justin II, is introduced (reproducing popular rumours, as a tiny indicator "they say" would lead us to believe) to explain the confusion concerning the true builder of St Sophia that was apparently current in Constantinople. As it has been noted above, the author of the *Diegesis* at this point obviously intends to refute the prevailing opinion that Justin was the one who built the church ; rather he intends to restore the honour of the true builder, the emperor Justinian.

Finally, I would like to address one more instance that Dagron includes among those that supposedly demonstrate Justinian's flaws and failures : that is the example of the emperor's extreme envy ([81]). This is a short story of the master-builder Ignatius, inserted as a concluding episode in some of the versions of the *Diegesis*. Justinian was aware of Ignatius' growing popularity and became afraid of the possibility that the two

(78) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, p. 446.

(79) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, pp. 466-467.

(80) For the comparison of the historical records of the collapse and restoration of the dome, see Mango, *On the Fabric of Hagia Sophia*, pp. 51-53.

(81) Dagron, *CI*, pp. 293, 313.

popular circus factions might declare him emperor. Though not conceding to the advice of many to kill the architect, Justinian decided to let him die of hunger on the famous column in the Augusteion on which Ignatius was at that moment working ([82]). However true it may be that this particular incident does discredit Justinian for his wicked actions, the passage itself should be eliminated from a general reconstruction of the image of Justinian in the *Diegesis*. The reason for this is the fact, unanimously recognized by scholars ([83]), that the Ignatius-legend is only a later interpolation into the narrative. This interpolation first appeared in the fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Patria* collection, which contained a considerably modified version of the *Diegesis*. Thus, this passage with the "Ignatius-legend" cannot be regarded as a part of the original literary representation of the emperor.

Apart from these fragments that, as I have tried to show, yield themselves to a constructive interpretation, the portrayal of Justinian in the *Diegesis* is explicitly propitious and laudatory. The author of the *Diegesis* coherently presents the emperor as an upright, just, and pious ruler. Justinian sacrifices his afternoon rest to watch over the process of construction ; he makes efforts to pay duly for all the work of the masons and builders to avoid complaints and grumbling ; he is generous to all and especially charitable to the destitute groups of the Constantinopolitan society. On several occasions Justinian is shown to be the recipient of God's favour – the story continually refers to instances of divine manifestation, such as the inspiration to build the church, examples of miraculous provision and the apparitions of angels.

Consequently, I assume that the *Diegesis* was an appropriate text to serve as a hagiographical background for the depiction of Justinian in the lunette of St Sophia discussed in the beginning. The artistic and literary portrayals of Justinian seem to correspond closely : one cannot but notice the pronounced parallels between the haloed emperor and illustrious founder of the Great Church on the mosaic representation and the literary portrait of the famous ruler to whom every credit is given for starting and finishing the building of St Sophia. Indeed, it is the merit of the foundation of St Sophia that has been equally highlighted in the mosaic and the *Diegesis*.

(82) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, pp. 488-490.
(83) Vitti, *Die Erzählung*, pp. 265-266 ; Dagron, *CI*, pp. 193, 293.

Both in the Eastern and Western traditions there existed a type of achievement leading to sainthood – among other numerous religious deeds which were deemed worthy for elevating a person, especially a ruler, to a sainted status – that pertained specifically to the sphere of religious building, which usually meant the foundation of a church or a monastery ([84]). Building a church in Byzantium was both a religious and political act that established a pious and faithful reputation of a builder in the public's eye. That is why building emperors and empresses secured a prominent standing for themselves, enhancing their prestige with the virtue of piety and an aura of holiness. Often, a relevant hagiographical piece was composed that recorded the religious achievements in the sphere of building that could further promote a founder to sainthood ([85]).

Therefore, I would suggest, it was his building activities that paved Justinian's road to sainthood. More precisely, it was the foundation of St Sophia that played the decisive role in the earning of a special sainted status, just as Nikephoros Xanthopoulos argued in his "*apologia Justinia-*

(84) GEDEON, *Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον*, Constantinople, 1896-1898, pp. 16-20, discusses different reasons for which members of imperial family could be introduced among the saints of the Byzantine Church, the foremost being foundations of churches and monasteries and defense of Orthodoxy. He also treats numerous instances of special commemoration of builders, in whose honour particular churches and monasteries established yearly feasts : *ibid.*, pp. 20-23. In the introduction to a study of Slavic hagiography, Marvin Kantor summarizes the trends that were common to all Christendom : "As the persecution of Christians abated, the new saintly heroes appeared : ascetics, *church-builders*, monks, orators, and so on." (Italics mine). M. KANTOR, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, Michigan, 1983. A. G. Remensnyder explores the material pertaining to Western Medieval tradition and demonstrates that the founders of churches and monasteries were often invested with a saintly status. A. G. REMENSNYDER, *Remembering Kings Past : Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France*, Ithaca and London, 1995.

(85) On a special status of Byzantine empresses that were involved into patronage of religious building see, for instance, recent articles by L. JAMES, *The Empress and the Virgin in the Early Byzantium : Piety, Authority and Devotion*, in *Images of the Mother of God : Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. VASSILAKI, Aldershot, 2005, pp. 145-152, and EADEM, *Building and Rebuilding : Imperial Women and Religious Foundations in Constantinople in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*, in *Basilissa : Belfast, Byzantium and Beyond* 1 (2004), pp. 50-64 ; also, C. ANGELIDI, *Un texte patriographique et édifiant : le "discours narratif" sur les Hodégoi*, in *REB*, 52 (1994), pp. 113-149.

ni" ([86]). Some other features of Justinian's reign, such as his charity, piety, victories in wars, as well as his whitewashed crimes and heretical beliefs, played a considerable, but still a secondary role in his being granted a special place among the saints and heroes of the Byzantine church.

It appears that the mosaic depiction of Justinian is a rather faithful illustration of the emperor of the legendary *Diegesis*. I believe that Justinian's prominent status as a builder of St Sophia, before being so vividly expressed in the tenth-century mosaic, had been firmly established by means of the account of the building of St Sophia. Both the *Diegesis* and the mosaic eloquently express what the Constantinopolitan church regarded as the most meritorious deed of Justinian – the foundation of St Sophia. One is left to speculate, therefore, whether the *Diegesis* was not a specific text composed for commemoration of Justinian in the Byzantine liturgy, particularly in the rite of the Great Church. Indeed, is it a sheer coincidence that a few elements of the *Diegesis* crept into the commemorative note on 14 November in a later Slavonic *Prolog*, (i.e. *Synaxarium*) ?

> The great emperor Justinian and his spouse Theodora lived pious a life with every justice. He built the church of St Sophia, that is Wisdom of God, which was initially founded by the great emperor Constantine. Justinian bought many houses [for its sake] and gave out an enormous amount of gold. He built this great church so that every beholder would wonder at its magnificence and beauty ([87]).

Nowhere else but in the *Diegesis* do we encounter the reference to Justinian buying houses around the spot of his eminent creation ([88]). Perhaps, this is the only faint trace of what once was a Byzantine hagiographical narrative for the commemoration of St Justinian who was celebrated, first and foremost, as the illustrious founder of the Great Church of Holy Wisdom.

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(86) Cf. the passage from *PG* 147, 301B discussed above.

(87) Commemoration article for Justinian and Theodora on 14 November in *Prolog*, printed in 1661 (The Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Department of Manuscripts, Incunabula and Rare Books, Kiev).

(88) Cf. VITTI, *Die Erzählung*, pp. 438-442.

SUMMARY

The article analyses the image of Justinian as reflected in the religious memory of the Byzantines. It also suggests the literary background for the hagiographical depiction of Justinian the Great on the tenth-century mosaic at the narthex of St Sophia in Constantinople.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION FOR LAYPEOPLE IN BYZANTIUM : STEPHEN OF NICOMEDIA, NICEPHORUS OURANOS, AND THE PSEUDO-ATHANASIAN *SYNTAGMA AD QUENDAM POLITICUM*

Byzantine religious literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is characterised by a strong didactic impetus : for the first time since Late Antiquity authors such as Philip Monotropos looked beyond the small group that strove for spiritual perfection and concerned themselves with the needs of the average Christian. An early product of this new current is the Pseudo-Athanasian treatise *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*. Previous scholarship has shown that it was written around the year 1000 by the metropolitan of Nicomedia and patriarchal *synkellos* Stephen. In this article I identify the addressee as Stephen's friend, the general Nicephorus Ouranos, and I attempt to situate the treatise in its contemporary context.

The so-called *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*, edited in Migne's *Patrologia graeca* and preserved in at least two manuscripts, the *Codices Vaticani graeci* 375 and 573 (1), is a brief introduction into the basic tenets of Christian ethics and psychology and into the fundamental articles of faith (2). It consists of a proem and of nine sections with the headings 'distinction of the tripartite structure of the soul' (3), 'detailed divi-

(1) Athanasius of Alexandria, *Σύνταγμα πρός τινα πολιτικόν* (*CPG* 2286). For the *Codices Vaticani graeci* 375, s. XIV, f. 170-176 and 573, s. XIV-XV, f. 73-78, see R. DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II, *Codices 330-603* (*Bibliothecae Apostolicae codices manu scripti recensiti*), Vatican City, 1937, p. 67 and 472. The text is edited in *PG* 28, 1396-1408.

(2) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1396C3-4 : καὶ ὅλως ἐπίτομός τίς ἐστι γνῶσις ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φύσεώς τε καὶ πίστεως.

(3) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1397A1 : διάγνωσις τοῦ τριμεροῦς τῆς ψυχῆς.

sion and subdivision of the soul' (4), 'distinction of the sinful thoughts through which all sins are carried out' (5), 'disposition of passions' (6), 'about the providence of God' (7), 'about our free will' (8), 'clear and concise overview and distinction of our faith in the holy Trinity' (9), 'what one must believe about the incarnation of the Lord' (10), 'about the difference of the virtues' (11), and 'distinction of the nature of things' (12). Analysis of the text shows that each of these sections is composed of paraphrases or outright borrowings from earlier writings, in particular the works of Maximus the Confessor (13).

In the edition and in the manuscripts the *Syntagma* is presented as a work of Athanasius of Alexandria but this attribution is evidently wrong. Thanks to the efforts of the French scholars Hausherr and Darrouzès we know that the real author was Stephen of Nicomedia. In the introduction to his edition of the *Life* of Symeon the New Theologian Hausherr gave a précis of Stephen's life, which includes a section about his literary lega-

(4) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1397B14-15 : διαίρεσις καὶ ἀποδιαίρεσις (Vat. gr. 573, f. 74 : ὑποδιαίρεσις) λεπτομερὴς τῆς ψυχῆς.

(5) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1397D8-9 : διάγνωσις τῶν λογισμῶν δι' ὧν πᾶσα ἁμαρτία τελεῖται.

(6) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1400C7 : διάθεσις τῶν παθῶν.

(7) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1400D4 : περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας.

(8) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1401B5 : περὶ τῆς αὐτεξουσιότητος ἡμῶν.

(9) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1401D9-10 : συνήθεια (Cod. Vat. gr. 573, f. 78 σύνοψις) σαφὴς καὶ σύντομος καὶ διάγνωσις τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ τριάδι ἁγίᾳ.

(10) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1403D4 : ὅπως δεῖ πιστεύειν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως.

(11) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1403C11 : περὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρετῶν.

(12) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1408A14 : διάκρισις τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως.

(13) Compare, for example, *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1401D1-4 : Διὸ οὐ τὰ βρώματα κακόν, ἀλλ' ἡ γαστριμαργία, οὐδὲ παιδοποιΐα, ἀλλ' ἡ πορνεία, οὐδὲ μετάληψις τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἡ μέθη, οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ φιλαργυρία, οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα, ἀλλὰ ἡ κενοδοξία, and Maximus the Confessor, *Capita de caritate* (*CPG* 7693), III, 4, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Massimo Confessore, Capitoli sulla carità* (*Verba Seniorum. Collana di testi e studi patristici*, N.S. 3), Roma, 1963, p. 144 : Οὐ τὰ βρώματα κακά, ἀλλ' ἡ γαστριμαργία, οὐδὲ ἡ παιδοποιΐα, ἀλλ' ἡ πορνεία, οὐδὲ τὰ χρήματα, ἀλλ' ἡ φιλαργυρία, οὐδὲ ἡ δόξα, ἀλλ' ἡ κενοδοξία. Other passages go back to Evagrius Ponticus : the section about the 'distinction of sinful thoughts' is a paraphrase of chapter six of the *Praktikos* (*CPG* 2430). Cf. Antoine and Claire Guillaumont, *Évagre le Pontique. Traité pratique ou Le Moine*, I (*SC*, 170), Paris, 1971, p. 311.

cy (14). There Hausherr discussed two manuscripts, the *Codices Parisini graeci* 1162 and 1504, which contain a passage with the title 'By our pious father (or : From the writings of) Stephen the *synkellos* and metropolitan of Nicomedia : concise description and distinction of the tripartite structure of the soul' (15). The last part of this title, διάγνωσις τοῦ τριμεροῦς τῆς ψυχῆς, corresponds exactly to the first chapter heading in the *Syntagma*. In the *Codex Parisinus graecus* 1162 this passage is then followed by several short passages dealing with other topics. Even from Hausherr's French summary it is evident that these passages are identical with those treated in the *Syntagma* and in the two cases where he quotes from the Greek the match is complete (16). This permits the conclusion that the two texts are virtually identical : the main difference is that the pseudo-Athanasian *Syntagma* begins with a proem whereas the excerpts attributed to Stephen immediately start with the first section. Darrouzès noticed these parallels but did not study the *Syntagma* in greater detail. As a consequence he was in doubt whether all passages in the manuscripts from Paris were part of the same treatise (17). The proem to the *Syntagma* permits to solve this problem because it lists all the topics that are then discussed in the text (18). The original treatise was thus a unified text. However, the individual sections are self-contained and the links between them are often loose. Therefore it is not surprising that in a later

(14) I. HAUSHERR, *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicétas Stéthatos*. Texte grec inédit (*Orientalia Christiana*, 12), Rome, 1928, pp. LI-LX.

(15) HAUSHERR, *Un grand mystique byzantin*, p. LIV, gives the title of the excerpts in the *Parisinus graecus* 1162 : τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν (*Parisinus graecus* 1504 : ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλιῶν) Στεφάνου συγκέλλου καὶ μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας σύντομος ἐξήγησις καὶ διάγνωσις τοῦ τριμεροῦς τῆς ψυχῆς.

(16) HAUSHERR, *Un grand mystique byzantin*, p. LIV, lists the headings 'sur la Trinité, sur la différence des vertus, sur le mépris de Dieu et de son royaume, sur l'Incarnation, sur les vérités à croire, sur les commandements du Sauveur'. He then quotes f. 96 : σύνοψις σαφὴς καὶ σύντομος διάγνωσις τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τριάδι, and f. 99^{v} : διάκρισις τῆς φύσεως τῶν πραγμάτων. Both titles have parallels in the *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1401D9-10 : συνήθεια (*Cod. Vat. gr.* 573, f. 78 σύνοψις) σαφὴς καὶ σύντομος καὶ διάγνωσις τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν τῇ τριάδι ἁγίᾳ, and 1408A14 : διάκρισις τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως.

(17) See J. DARROUZÈS, *Étienne de Nicomédie*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 4, Paris, 1960, coll. 1514-1515.

(18) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1396B4-C2.

reworking of the text the sequence of the sections was changed and new passages were added ([19]).

The identification of the author is of great significance for our understanding of the religious currents in late tenth- and early eleventh-century Byzantium because as patriarchal *synkellos* and metropolitan of the important see Nicomedia Stephen was a powerful and influential figure ([20]). He belonged to a circle of high civil and ecclesiastical functionaries such as Nicephorus Ouranos and Leo of Synada with whom he exchanged letters ([21]). Moreover, he was close to the imperial court. Skylitzes records that Emperor Basil II (976-1025) sent him as an envoy to the rebel Bardas Skleros ([22]). Further evidence regarding Stephen's familiarity with the rulers of the time comes from his sole surviving let-

(19) This reorganised and extended version of the text is attributed either to John of Damascus or to Ephraem the Syrian. See John of Damascus, *De virtutibus et vitiis* (*CPG* 8111), *PG* 95, 85-97 ; and Ephraem Graecus, *De virtutibus et passionibus* (*CPG* 4055), ed. J.S. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera omnia quae exstant Graece, Syriace, Latine*, III, *Graece*, Rome, 1746, p. 425a-p. 435f. See also D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, *Éphrem 2 (les versions)*, I. *Éphrem grec*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 4, Paris, 1960, col. 810, § 8, 16 : 'Plusieurs tranches de ces textes se lisent également sous le nom d'Athanase', they belong to Stephen of Nicomedia.

(20) These functions are evidence of Stephen's importance : Nicomedia had the seventh-highest rank in the church hierarchy, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, 2, 1), Munich, 1959 (= 1977), pp. 164-165, and the rank of *synkellos* or adviser to the patriarch was an imperial appointment from the 10th C., see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* II, 5, ed. J. J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo* (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1829, p. 530, 9-19.

(21) The collection of Nicephorus Ouranos contains three letters written to Stephen the first of which seems to date to the time before the abdication of the latter, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 6), Paris, 1960, V, no. 5, pp. 219-220, no. 9, pp. 221-222, no. 47, pp. 244-247. The letter collection of Leo of Synada contains a letter from a metropolitan of Nicomedia and Leo's reply to it, which are of uncertain date, ed. M. P. Vinson, *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, Greek text, Translation, and Commentary (*CFHB*, 23), Washington DC, 1985, no. 34, pp. 56-57, and no. 35, pp. 58-59. For a brief overview of Stephen's biography see Vinson, p. 119.

(22) John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum* (CFHB, 5), Berlin-New York, 1973, p. 317, 43-56.

ter in which he refers to a conversation with the co-Emperor Constantine ([23]). Given his functions it comes as no surprise that he was also involved in religious affairs. At the beginning of the eleventh century he clashed with the mystic Symeon the New Theologian who had instigated a public cult of his deceased spiritual father ([24]). In his *Life* of Symeon, Nicetas Stethatos states that Stephen lived in Constantinople where he enjoyed unrestricted access to Patriarch Sergius II (1001-1019) and that he used his influence to bring about Symeon's exile ([25]). Data about Stephen's status at this stage of his life are unclear. Nicetas states that he had abdicated and had become a monk ([26]). However, this information is contradicted by Demetrius of Cyzicus who avers that Stephen took the monastic habit only at the time of his death, which occurred after 1010 or 1011 ([27]).

What manner of man was Stephen ? Skylitzes characterises him not only as a good diplomat and a scholar but also as a man who was 'famous for his virtue' ([28]). Leo of Synada also testifies to his wisdom and virtue and further calls him 'good, gentle and kind' ([29]). By comparison, Nicetas presents Stephen as being excessively proud on account of his knowledge and as envious of Symeon's fame as a charismatic ([30]). However, it is evident that his version of the events is highly tendentious and he has even

(23) Leo of Synada, *Letter* 34, ed. VINSON, p. 56, 22-24.

(24) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 73-92, ed. HAUSHERR, pp. 100-126.

(25) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 74, 10-11, ed. HAUSHERR, p. 100.

(26) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 74, 9-10, ed. HAUSHERR, p. 100 : τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς παραιτησάμενος θρόνον λόγοις οἷς ἐκεῖνος καὶ θεὸς οἶδεν ἀδήλοις. He was still metropolitan in february 997 when he signed a document in this function, see *Tomus of Patriarch Sisinnius*, *PG* 119, 740D ; for this document, see *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, *Les Actes des Patriarches*, II-III, *Les Regestes de 715 à 1206*, Paris, 1989², no. 804.

(27) See V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire Byzantin*, V, 1 (*Publications de l'Institut français d'Études Byzantines*), Paris, 1963, p. 272, who cites Demetrius from the *Codex Ambrosianus graecus* 682, f. 369ᵛ as part of his discussion of Stephen's seal.

(28) Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. THURN, p. 317, 44-45 : ἀνὴρ ἑλλόγιμος καὶ ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ διαβόητος.

(29) Leo of Synada, *Letter* 35, ed. VINSON, p. 58, 12-13 : καλὸς γὰρ εἶ καὶ σεμνός ... καὶ σοφὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρᾶος καὶ ἥμερος.

(30) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 74, 18-19 and 27, ed. HAUSHERR, p. 102 : μεγάλα περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φρονῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὑπερφρονῶν ... βασκανίας κέντροις ἐβάλλετο ... ὁ σύγκελλος.

to admit that Stephen was 'outstanding in word and knowledge' ([31]). Nicetas further says that Stephen was capable of 'giving solutions to everybody who asked about new questions through the easy flow of his words and the suppleness of his tongue' and that he was proud of his 'technical' expertise that marked him out as a sage ([32]). This suggests that Stephen participated in a new discourse that is characteristic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries : during that time members of the patriarchal bureaucracy attained a position as specialists who could give authoritative guidance in the often highly complex matters of canon law, Christian cult and religious practice in general ([33]).

The *Syntagma* is of a different character : it provides an introduction into basic tenets of Christian belief. The author promises to be clear and concise and this claim is borne out by the text, which has a distinctly scholastic flavour : all technical terms that appear in it are defined and distinguished from each other. This raises the question : to whom was the treatise addressed ? The first part of the proem gives an answer. It reads as follows ([34]).

> ἐπειδή σοι τῷ περιδεξίῳ καὶ μεγαλεπηβόλῳ ([35]) τῆς φύσεως μετὰ τῆς τῶν τακτικῶν ἐμπειρίας ([36]) τε καὶ μαθήσεως, ἔτι δὲ ([37]) καὶ τῆς τῶν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβοῦς ([38]) μεταλήψεως, οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν ἱερέων λόγια ἀμελέτητα ([39]) παρεώραται ([40]), ἀλλ' ἔτι τοσοῦτόν σοι καὶ ταῦτα περι-

(31) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 74, 6-7, ed. HAUSHERR, p. 100 : ἀνὴρ λόγῳ καὶ γνώσει τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρων.

(32) Nicetas, *Life of Symeon* 74, 8-9, ed. HAUSHERR, p. 100 : δοῦναι λύσεις παντὶ τῷ πυνθανομένῳ περὶ καινῶν ζητημάτων εὐροίᾳ λόγου καὶ γλώττης εὐστροφίᾳ.

(33) See D. KRAUSMULLER, *The Athonite Monastic Tradition During the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*, in A. BRYER and Mary CUNNINGHAM (ed.), *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism. Papers from the Twenty-eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994* (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications*, 4), Aldershot-Brookfield-Singapore-Sydney, 1996, pp. 57-65.

(34) Since the text in *PG* 28, 1396AB, is riddled with mistakes I have collated it with *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 573, f. 73r-v, on which the edition is based, and with *Codex Vaticanus graecus* 375, f. 170r-v.

(35) *Vat. gr.* 375, *Vat. gr.* 573 : μεγαλεπιβόλῳ.

(36) *Vat. gr.* 375 : ἐπηρείας.

(37) *Om. Vat. gr.* 375.

(38) *Vat. gr.* 375 : ἀκριβείας.

(39) *PG* : ἀμελετήτως.

(40) *Vat. gr.* 375 : παρεώρατο ; *PG* : παρεώρασαι.

λοπόνηται, ὥστε τὸ σῶμα πολλάκις σιτίοις τρέφων, οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποστερεῖς τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων σιτίσεως, ἀλλ' ὡσανεί [41] τινι θείῳ ἅλατι τοῖς τῶν πατέρων ἀποφθέγμασι καὶ τὰς ἐπιτραπεζίους παραρτύεις ὁμιλίας [42], ἰδοὺ καὶ αὐτὸς μικρά τινα συνοψίσας τῶν χρησίμων καὶ λυσιτελῶν καὶ ἃ γινώσκειν [43] ἀνάγκη [44] πάντα μὲν χριστιανόν, πλέον δὲ τοὺς ὅσοι καὶ βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ εὐγενείᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματος [45] ὑπερανεστήκασιν ὕψει, οἷόν τι δῶρον αὐτοσχεδιάσας ἀνδρὶ φιλολόγῳ καὶ φιλοθέῳ μάλιστα πρέπον ὦ φίλων ἄριστε τὸ παρόν σοι προσενήνοχα σύνταγμα, ἐκ διαφόρων μὲν πατέρων καὶ ἀκροαματικῶν [46] λόγων ἀπανθισθέν, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον [47] δὲ τὴν γνῶσιν τοῖς μετιοῦσιν ἐμποιοῦν.

Through the ambidextrous and valorous character of your nature you have not only gained experience and knowledge of military strategy and painstakingly taken up the affairs of the state but have also not left unpractised the oracles of the priests. On the contrary, in this field, too, you are so industrious that often while feeding the body with nourishment you do not deprive the soul of the nourishment from speeches but you season the conversations at the table with the sayings of the Fathers as if with some divine salt. Therefore then I, too, have made a synopsis of some few useful and profitable points that must be known by every Christian and in particular by those who stand out through their life and speech and nobility and high rank, and I have jotted it down like a present that is particularly fitting for a man who loves letters and who loves God. And now, best of friends, I offer you this present treatise, which is culled from various fathers and from spoken words and which gives those who turn to it a knowledge that is not to be despised.

In this passage Stephen praises his addressee for his involvement in civil administration (πολιτικὰ πράγματα), and for his practical and theoretical knowledge of military strategy (τακτικά). This characterisation leaves no doubt that Stephen wrote for his friend and correspondent Nicephorus Ouranos. Nicephorus was a native of Constantinople who held important functions during the reign of Basil II. First mentioned in 979 as a civil functionary he later became a general with the high rank of

(41) *PG* : ὡς ἀνά.
(42) *PG* : ταῖς ἐπιτραπεζίοις παραρτύεις ὁμιλίαις.
(43) *PG* : ἀναγινώσκων in stead of ἃ γινώσκειν.
(44) *Om. PG* and *Vat. gr.* 573.
(45) *PG* and *Vat. gr.* 573 : ἀξιώματι.
(46) *PG* : ἀκροατικῶν.
(47) *PG* : ἀκαταφρόνητον.

magistros. In 999 he was appointed governor of Antioch where he appears to have died some time between 1007 and 1011 ([48]). Nicephorus was not only a capable soldier but also the author of a handbook on *Taktika* to which Stephen clearly refers in his proem ([49]). In a recent article E. McGeer has argued that Nicephorus wrote his *Taktika* while he was in Antioch ([50]). If this hypothesis is correct, the *Syntagma* can be dated to the first decade of the eleventh century, the very time when Stephen fell out so spectacularly with Symeon the New Theologian.

The third point that Stephen makes in his proem is Nicephorus' familiarity with religious texts. This, too, squares with the evidence. Nicephorus' literary production apart from his *Taktika* and his *Letters* seems to have been exclusively of a religious nature. He reworked two hagiographical texts, the seventh-century *Life of Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain* (*BHG* 1690) and the *Passio of Theodore Tiro of Euchaïta* (*BHG* 1762 m) ([51]), and he composed an alphabetic poem in which he described his sinfulness in lurid colours ([52]). From these writings it is obvious that Nicephorus was a deeply pious man ([53]). In his youth he belonged to the circle of Symeon Metaphrastes whom he eulogised in a short poem ([54]).

(48) E. McGeer, *Ouranos, Nikephoros*, in *ODB*, pp. 1544-1545, with literature.

(49) See A. Dain, *La "Tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos (Collection d'études anciennes)*, Paris, 1937 ; A. Dain - J.-A. de Foucault, *Les stratégistes byzantins*, in *TM*, 2 (1967), pp. 317-392.

(50) E. McGeer, *Tradition and Reality in the* Taktika *of Nicephorus Ouranos*, in *DOP*, 45 (1991), p. 139.

(51) *Vita Symeonis Stylitae iunioris in monte Mirabili*, ed. in *AASS, Maii* V, Antwerp, 1685, pp. 307-401 (3rd edition, Paris-Rome, 1868, pp. 310-397), and *PG* 86, 2987-3216. The original *Life* of Symeon (*BHG* 1689) has been edited by P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, I. *Introduction et texte grec* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 32), Brussels, 1962, pp. 1-224. The *Encomium* of Theodore was edited by F. Halkin, *Un opuscule inconnu du magistre Nicéphore Ouranos (La Vie de S. Théodore le Conscrit)*, in *AB*, 80 (1962), pp. 308-324, text on pp. 313-324 (reprint in F. Halkin, *Martyrs Grecs II - VIIIe s.* [*Variorum Reprint, Collected Series*, 30], London, 1974, no IX).

(52) A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, I, *Ἀλφάβητος Οὐρανοῦ μαγίστρου*, in *BZ*, 8 (1899), pp. 66-70.

(53) Leo of Synada, *Letter* 13, ed. Vinson, p. 23, 12-13 : τὸν ἀκμαιότατον χρόνον ἐγκρατῶς ἐδαπάνησας.

(54) S. G. Mercati, *Versi di Niceforo Uranos in morte di Simeone Metafraste*, in *AB*, 68 (1950), pp. 126-134.

In this poem he stresses Symeon's service to the state, his care for the poor and his ascetic and virginal life-style and he attributes to him a 'monastic manner in the chaos of worldly affairs' ([55]). There can be little doubt that this was how Nicephorus saw himself : we know that he remained celibate throughout his life and that he had close links to monastic communities ([56]). The proem to the *Syntagma* adds a further detail to this image when it states that Nicephorus quoted from religious texts during meals.

Nicephorus' three surviving letters to Stephen afford a glimpse at the relation between the two men. Particularly informative is the third and longest letter, which he wrote while on campaign with Emperor Basil II. In this letter Nicephorus expresses his desire to be in Constantinople with his friends and in particular to see 'my golden flow, and my mouth, I mean your mouth, and your florid complexion and your good character and the floods of your charm and the waters of your teaching' ([57]). This passage shows clearly the high esteem in which Nicephorus held Stephen : 'golden flow' is usually the epithet of John of Damascus and through the additional address as 'mouth' Stephen is further compared with John Chrysostom. Of particular significance is the reference to 'teachings'. In his commentary Darrouzès suggests that this is an allusion to writings because the extracts described by Hausherr are introduced as 'from the teachings of Stephen' ([58]). While this must remain hypothetical we can nevertheless be certain that Stephen acted as a spiritual advisor to Nicephorus.

The *Syntagma* appears to fit in with this context : the proem states clearly that it was written for the instruction of Nicephorus. However, it is not clear whether we can take this statement at face value. Nicephorus was a learned man and it is hard to believe that he needed to be informed about such basic matters as Stephen set out. This suggests that it was intended for circulation among other members of the elite, in particular

(55) MERCATI, *Versi di Niceforo Uranos*, p. 131, v. 27 : τρόπος μονήρης ἐν σάλῳ τῶν πραγμάτων.

(56) He was linked with the monastery of τὰ Κύρου, see Nicephorus, *Letter* 38, ed. DARROUZÈS, p. 238, 2 : ἡμῶν τῶν Κυριωτῶν, and note 14.

(57) Nicephorus, *Letter* 47, ed. DARROUZÈS, p. 246, 46-48 : ὁ ἐμὸς χρυσορρόας καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν στόμα τὸ σὸν λέγω στόμα καὶ τὰ ἄνθη καὶ τὰ ἤθη καὶ τὰ ῥεύματα τῶν χαρίτων καὶ τὰ νάματα τῆς διδασκαλίας.

(58) DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers*, p. 246, n. 22.

since Stephen himself presents his teachings as especially relevant for this group. The focus on laypeople is evident in the chapter about the virtues where a distinction is made between the virtues that effect divinisation such as repentance, humility, pure prayer and meditation of death, and virtues that merely confer the forgiveness of sins, namely 'to confess and disclose one's own sins, to desist from making judgements and from meddling in the affairs of others, to give alms from one's belongings, to bear valiantly and with thanksgiving distressing incidents' ([59]). With this distinction Stephen acknowledges the existence of a group of Christians that do not aspire to spiritual perfection and offers them a conceptual framework within which they can find their place. The passages about free will and about the 'distinction of the nature of things' reflect Stephen's concern for his addressees even more clearly. Here he makes a distinction between things that are intrinsically good or bad and a 'middle' category of things that are by themselves indifferent but can become good or bad depending on the way in which they are used ([60]). He then lists food, status, education and possessions as belonging to this category and concludes with the statement that 'he who uses them well will in no way be harmed by them as is evident from the blessed Job' ([61]).

A reflection of this passage may be found in Leo of Synada's letter to Stephen where Leo praises his addressee not only for his inherent qualities but also mentions his attitude to the things that are external to his being, such as his see and his wealth, prestige, honour and eminence, and adds : 'which you use well and which therefore lead you to the pinnacle of goodness' ([62]). Such a statement is without parallel in the corpus of

(59) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1408A1-4 : τὸ ὁμολογεῖν καὶ ἐξαγορεύειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἁμαρτήματα, τὸ μὴ κρίνειν, τὸ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰ ἀλλότρια, τὸ ἐλεεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, τὸ φέρειν γενναίως καὶ μετ' εὐχαριστίας τὰ ἐπερχόμενα λυπηρά. Significantly no reference is made to ascetic practices such as fasting, keeping vigils or sleeping on the ground.

(60) Here the influence of Maximus the Confessor is particularly strong. Compare *Capita de caritate* (*CPG* 7693), IV, 91 and II, 76, ed. Ceresa-Gastaldo, pp. 234 and 130.

(61) *Syntagma*, *PG* 28, 1408D1-4 : ταῦτα πάντα ὡς εἴρηται τῶν μέσων εἰσί· καὶ ὁ καλῶς τούτοις χρώμενος οὐδὲν παρὰ τούτων βλαβήσεται ὡς ὁ μακάριος Ἰώβ.

(62) Leo of Synada, *Letter* 35, ed. Vinson, p. 58, 8-11 : τὰ γὰρ ἔξω καὶ μὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐάσθω, ὁ θρόνος, ὁ πλοῦτος, ἡ δόξα, ἡ τιμή, τὸ ὕψος, τὸ ἀξίωμα, ἃ καὶ αὐτά σοι καλῶς χρωμένῳ τιμιώτερόν σε ποιεῖ καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἄγει τὴν κορυφὴν τῶν καλῶν.

Leo's letters and may well have been intended as an allusion to Stephen's teachings. If this interpretation were correct, Stephen would have lived by the same standards as he set out in the *Syntagma* (63). It is evident that such an ethical framework is a world apart from the monastic ideal of renunciation that had until then ruled supreme (64).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Stephen was not the only author to propound such teachings. A hundred years later the monk Philip Monotropos composed a didactic poem called *Dioptra* for laypeople and for monks, which is similarly geared towards the needs of the 'average' Christian (65). In his poem Philip insisted that only charitable works are necessary for salvation whereas extraordinary deeds such as chastity, prolonged fasting and keeping vigils are not asked of every Christian and are moreover useless if they are not accompanied by love of one's neighbour (66). Given the similarity of their agendas it is not surprising that Philip lifted from the *Syntagma* the particularly relevant chapters on free will, the different types of virtues and the nature of things (67). Philip wrote at a time when improvement of the religious knowledge of laypeople was high on the agenda of patriarch and emperor (68). The *Syn-*

(63) Leo would hardly have made this statement if it had not been flattering to his addressee.

(64) Stephen appears to be the first Middle Byzantine author to set out such a framework. However, with his interest for the spiritual well-being of laypeople Stephen is not without precedents. At the beginning of the tenth century the patriarchal *synkellos* Michael composed a *Life* of Callistus, one of the forty-two martyrs of Amorium, in which he presented this saint as a model for the proper conduct of aristocrats. Unlike Stephen, however, Michael assimilated Callistus' lifestyle to that of a monk, see D. KRAUSMULLER, *With or Without Sex? Models of Sanctity for Laymen in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Byzantium*, to be published in the conference volume *Byzantine Masculinities*, ed. D. SMYTHE. Compare also the *Encomium* of Theodore the General by the *protasekretis* Euthymius, which concludes with a passage in which the author presents the saint as a model for Byzantine state officials, see D. KRAUSMULLER, *The* Encomium *of Mary of Egypt by Euthymius the Protasekretis*, to be published in *Basilissa* 2 (2005-2006).

(65) Philip Monotropos, *Ἡ Διόπτρα*, ed. SPYRIDON LAURIOTES, in *Ὁ Ἄθως*, 1 (1919).

(66) Philip, *Dioptra* I, ed. SPYRIDON LAURIOTES, pp. 15-16.

(67) Philip, *Dioptra* IV, ed. SPYRIDON LAURIOTES, p. 229-236 ; see also J. DARROUZÈS, *Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* (*SC*, 81), Paris, 1961, p. 47 and p. 48, n. 1.

(68) See especially P. GAUTIER, *L'édit d'Alexis I Comnène sur la réforme du clergé*, in *REB* 31 (1973), pp. 165-202, esp. pp. 181 and 183.

tagma suggests that this development already started during the reign of Basil II. This hypothesis gains likelihood when we consider that another correspondent of Nicephorus Ouranos, the metropolitan Symeon of Euchaita, had a similar role in the monastic discourse : with his warnings against extreme asceticism he is a forerunner of the coenobitic revival that took place in the following two centuries (69). The poorly documented decades before and after the year 1000 thus appear to have been a crucial time when new ideas and concepts were first formulated. A closer study of the writings and authors of this period is necessary if we want to arrive at a proper understanding of later developments.

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SUMMARY

Around the year 1000 Stephen of Nicomedia, the principal adversary of Symeon the New Theologian, composed a short treatise called *Syntagma ad quendam politicum*. This article identifies the addressee as Stephen's friend, the general Nicephorus Ouranos, and argues that the text is an early example of a new trend in Byzantine religious literature, which addressed the needs of the average Christian rather than focusing on spiritual perfection.

(69) K. MITSAKIS, *Symeon Metropolitan of Euchaita and the Byzantine Ascetic Ideals in the Eleventh Century*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 2 (1970), pp. 301-334 ; text, pp. 319-332, edition based on eleven manuscripts. Mitsakis erroneously dates Symeon to the late eleventh century. See also J. GOUILLARD, *Syméon d'Euchaïtes*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, 14, Paris, 1941, coll. 2939-2940 Interestingly the text also starts in a scholastic manner with a distinction of the parts of the soul and vices related to them, see chapter 2, ed. MITSAKIS, pp. 318-319.

A COURTIER IN THE WOMEN'S QUARTERS : THE RISE AND FALL OF PSELLOS

The philosopher and historian Michael Psellos (1018-after 1078) (1) offers the most important insider's view of the intrigue of the imperial court of Constantinople in eleventh century (2). A striking aspect of his career is that he retained a position of influence or at least prominence from the year 1041 to 1078 through the successive reigns of many emperors who had been bitter antagonists and had fought often violently to take over the throne from their predecessors (3). Psellos glided from one reign to another nearly undisturbed and thus witnessed directly the passage of power ten different times (4). His success was due to the fact that he was not connected to the men of the court who replaced one another in rapid

(1) I would like to thank Professor Elizabeth Jeffreys for kindly giving me the opportunity to give this paper at the Byzantine Studies Seminar at St. John's College in Oxford on the 20th May 2005 where the lively atmosphere and discussion inspired me to pursue this topic in writing. Furthermore I would like to thank Professor Yannopoulos and Professor Van Deun as well as the anonymous readers and Professor Reinsch for their help and constructive suggestions.

(2) For a general discussion on Psellos see J. N. Ljubarskij, *Mihail Psell, Ličnost' i tvorčestvo,* Moscow, 1978. For all bibliography up to 2000 one should consult P. Moore, *Iter Psellianum. A Detailed Listing of Manuscript Sources for All Works Attributed to Michael Psellos, Including a Comprehensive Bibliography* (*Subsidia Mediaevalia*, 26), Toronto, 2005. All references to the *Chronographia* are from the edition of S. Impellizzeri, *Michele Psello. Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)* (*Scrittori Greci e Latini*), 2 vol., Milan, 1984.

(3) For an overview of the period covered by the *Chronographia,* see G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* New Brunswick, 1969, pp. 316-350 and M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204. A political History*, London - New York, 19972, pp. 13-114.

(4) Psellos was politically aware of the following transitions of power : Michael V (1042), Zoe and Theodora (1042), Constantine IX Monomachos (1042), Theodora (1055), Michael VI (1056), Isaak I (1057), Constantine X (1059), Romanos IV (1067), Michael VII (1071), Nikephoros Botaniates (1078).

succession, but to the rather stable network of the women's quarters (5). During the ten different reigns mentioned there were five prominent women who held power : the sisters Zoe and Theodora daughters of Basil II, Catherine, Eudocia Makrembolitissa and Maria of Alania.

In the *Chronographia*, Psellos describes his personal impressions of situations and events, revealing the connections between him and the women of the court. He remarks on the growing importance of women at court in the following passage :

> Περιΐσταται οὖν ἡ βασιλεία ταῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφαῖς, καὶ τότε πρῶτον ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος τεθέαται γυναικωνῖτιν μετασχηματισθεῖσαν εἰς βασιλικὸν βουλευτήριον, καὶ τό τε πολιτικὸν πλῆθος τό τε στρατιωτικὸν συμφωνοῦντας ὑπὸ δεσπότισι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐταῖς πειθομένους, ἢ εἴ τις βλοσυρὸς αὐτοῖς προεκάθητο καὶ ἐπέταττε σοβαρώτερον (6, 1, 1-6).
>
> The empire passes to the two sisters and then, for the first time in our generation, one saw the women's quarters transformed into an imperial council chamber. One saw both the civilian and the military factions agree under the supervision of the empresses and obeying them more than if a strong man were seated before them and had given strict orders.

Psellos' concern for the power of women at court was not only part of a general analysis, it was an important part of Psellos' career. He often illustrates details of historical events which demonstrate his close connection to the women's quarters. When Michael IV Paphlagon retired to a monastery after his abdication in 1041, Psellos points out that Zoe went to the monastery to bid farewell to her dying husband.

> Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἡ βασιλὶς κρείττων ἐγεγόνει τοῦ πάθους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδή περ τοῦτο παρά του μεμαθήκει, κατατολμᾷ μὲν πάσης ἄρρενος ὄψεως, τὴν δὲ φύσιν παραβιάζεται καὶ πεζῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἄπεισιν· ὁ δὲ εἴτ' αἰσχυνόμενος οἵων αὐτῇ κακῶν αἴτιος ἐγεγόνει, ἢ λήθην καὶ ταύτης διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν μνήμην λαβόμενος, οὐ συγχωρεῖ ταύτῃ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴσοδον (4, 53, 6-12).
>
> However, the empress could not restrain her grief. But when she found this out from someone, she dared to appear before all male glances, and she challenged nature and went to him on foot. Michael, however, did not allow her to enter, either because he was ashamed of all the ills he had caused her or because he had forgotten her as well, after he turned his attention to God.

(5) On the women's quarters see e.g. the remarks by C. L. Connor, *Women of Byzantium*, New Haven, 2004, pp. 208-209.

The detail is revealing since it is the last one in the book dedicated to this emperor. Thus Psellos is careful to introduce the role of women in the wider picture. Subsequently the empress Zoe allowed her adopted nephew Michael V Kalaphates to succeed the throne (6). Before long the new emperor decided to exclude her from imperial power and to exile her to the Prince's isles (7). Psellos records what he had found out from those present at the moment when she was stepping onto the boat which was going to take to her new place of residence and he recorded her last words in Constantinople before leaving.

Ὡς δ' ἐγώ τισιν ὕστερον τῶν ἀπαγαγόντων αὐτὴν συνωμίλησα, φασίν, ὡς ἤδη πρὸς τὸν ἀπόπλουν τῆς νεὼς ἀναχθείσης, ἡ βασιλὶς πρὸς τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς ἀναβλέψασα ὥσπερ τινὰ προσλαλιὰν θρηνώδη πρὸς τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τοῦ γε πατρὸς μνησθεῖσα καὶ τῶν ἄνω τοῦ γένους, ἐκ γὰρ πενταγονίας ὁ βασίλειος αὐτῇ κλῆρος κατήγετο, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ θείου ἐπεμνήσθη καὶ βασιλέως, λέγω δὲ Βασίλειον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντας αὐτοκράτορας λάμψαντα, τὸ πολυτελὲς ἀγαθὸν χρῆμα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἀθρόον δάκρυσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπιτέγξασα (5, 22, 1-10).

As I later spoke with some of those who took her away, they said that she had been already lead to sail away and that the empress looked back to the imperial palace and spoke towards the palace as if it were a funerary oration. She remembered her father and her ancestors, for she had received the imperial succession from five generations of emperors. When she remembered her uncle, the emperor, I mean Basil who was magnificent above all emperors, and who was most valuable to the Roman empire, she soaked her eyes completely with tears.

Psellos does not only focus only on the empress Zoe, he is also concerned by other members of this secluded part of the palace. Psellos explains how he had discussions about culture with Constantine IX Monomachos's mistress Skleraina as well.

Ἐμὲ γοῦν ἤρει ἐπανερωτῶσα πολλάκις μύθους ἑλληνικούς, καὶ αὐτὴ προστιθεῖσα εἴ τινος τῶν ἀκριβούντων περὶ ταῦτα ἀκήκοεν (6, 60, 9-11).

(6) Succession of Michael V Kalaphates to the throne see Psellos, *Chronographia* 5, 1. See OSTROGORSKY, p. 326 and ANGOLD, pp. 56-58.

(7) The emperor's decision to exile her to the Prince's isles : Psellos, *Chronographia* 5,21-22. See also G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Les îles des Princes, le palais et l'église des Blachernes, la grande muraille de Byzance*, Paris, 1925², p. 179, and the article *Princes' Islands* in *ODB* (p. 1720).

She sought me often to ask about the pagan myths, and she herself added something if she heard someone discussing the subject.

Psellos was favorable to this student of his and trusted her knowledge of classics (8). Psellos implies his teaching of ancient culture to the imperial mistress had been successful. However it also further illustrates how his connection at court was with the women's quarters.

A few years after the death of Skleraina, Psellos retired briefly to a monastery in Bithynia, possibly because both to a change in political fortune as well as to the death of his mother and daughter shortly before (9). In 1056 the empress Theodora recalled him to court :

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Θεοδώρα τοῦ κράτους ἐπείληπτο, εὐθύς με μετακαλεσαμένη ἐκτραγῳδεῖ μὲν καὶ ἃ παρὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ πεπόνθει, κοινωνεῖ δέ μοι καὶ βουλευμάτων τινῶν ἀπορρήτων, καὶ ἐγκελεύεταί μοι συνεχῶς τε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ εἴ τί γε τῶν πάντων εἰδείην μηδὲν ἐπικαλύπτειν αὐτῇ· οὐ πρώτως δὲ τότε τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν κεκοινώνηκα μεταθέσεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιζῶντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἴ τι γράψειν ἀπόρρητον βούλοιτο ἢ ἄλλο τι ποιήσειν τῶν κεκρυμμένων, ἐμοὶ ἐκοινώνει τοῦ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύματος (6a, 13, 3-12).

When Theodora seized power, she called me back immediately and decried what she had suffered from her nephew. She made me participate in some of the secret councils and ordered me to go to her regularly, and to hide nothing from her, if I knew something. At first, I was not part of the change of government in her favour at that time, but while the emperor was still alive, if she

(8) Skleraina's knowledge of the Iliad is revealed in the following passage : Ἀμέλει τοι συνειλεγμένων ποτὲ τῶν ὑπογραμματευομένων ἡμῶν, πομπὴν αἱ περὶ τὴν βασιλίδα ἐποιοῦντο· προῆεσαν δὲ αὐτή τε καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ Θεοδώρα, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην ἡ σεβαστή (τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ καινῷ ἀξιώματι αἱ βασιλίδες, δόξαν οὕτω τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, τετιμήκεσαν)· ὡς δ' οὖν προῆεσαν, ἦγε δὲ αὐτὰς ἡ πομπὴ ἐπὶ θέατρον, καὶ τότε ταύτην οἱ πολλοὶ πρώτως ἐθεάσαντο συμπαριοῦσαν ταῖς βασιλίσι, τῶν τις περὶ τὴν κολακείαν πολὺς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἠρέμα πως ἀπεφθέγξατο, τό· "Οὐ νέμεσις". περαιτέρω μὴ συντείνας τὸ ἔπος· ἡ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐπεσημήνατο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πομπὴ ἐτελέσθη, διέκρινέ τε τὸν εἰρηκότα, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀνέκρινε, μηδὲν ὑποσολοικίσασα τὴν φωνήν, ἀλλ' ὀρθοεπήσασα τὸ ὄνομα ἀκριβῶς (Psellos, *Chronographia* 6, 61, 1-13).

(9) On the change of political favour see Psellos' own account at Psellos. *Chronographia* 6, 194-199. For the death of the mother see U. Criscuolo. *Michele Psello. Autobiografia, Encomio per la madre* (*Speculum. Contributi di filologia classica*), Napoli, 1989, and of the daughter see A. Leroy-Molinghen. *Styliané*, in *Byz.* 39 (1969), pp. 155-163.

wanted to write something secret or if she wanted to do something secret she made me participate both to the motive and the plan.

Psellos is not only an active part of the women's quarters but is also a sort of *confidant*. This can be seen even ten years later in 1067 when the empress Eudocia decides to break her oath of never remarrying in order to make Romanos IV Diogenes emperor.

Ἑσπέρας δέ με προσκαλεσαμένη ἡ βασιλίς, καὶ μόνον ἀπολαβοῦσα, εἶτα δὴ καὶ δακρύουσα· "Οὐκ οἶσθα", ἔφησεν, "ὡς ἀπανθεῖ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῖν πράγματα καὶ εἰς τοὐπίσω χωρεῖ, πολέμων μὲν ἀναρριπιζομένων συχνῶν, βαρβαρικοῦ δὲ πλήθους πᾶσαν τὴν ἕω λῃϊζομένων· πῶς οὖν τὰ δεινὰ σταίη τοῖς πράγμασιν ;" Ἐγὼ δὲ μηδὲν τῶν γεγονότων εἰδώς, μηδ' ὅτι ἐπὶ θύραις τῶν ἀνακτόρων ὁ βασιλεύσων εἱστήκει· "Οὐ τῶν προχείρων τὸ πρᾶγμα", ἔφησα, "ἀλλὰ τῶν βουλῆς δεομένων καὶ σκέψεως· τήμερον οὖν προβαλοῦ, καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ ῥήματος". Ἡ δὲ βραχύ τι ἐπιγελάσασα· "Ἄλλου δή τινος", ἔφησε, "φρόντισον· τῷ δὲ καὶ πεφρόντισται καὶ διώρισται· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Διογένους υἱὸς Ῥωμανὸς τὸ βασιλεύειν ἠξίωται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προκέκριται". Ἐπάγην ἀκούσας εὐθὺς καὶ ὅ τι γενοίμην οὐκ ἔχων· "Ἀλλ' αὔριον", ἔφησα, "κοινωνὸς τοῦ πράγματος καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσομαι"· ἡ δέ· "Μή μοι τὴν αὔριον", πρὸς με εἰρήκει, "ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μοι κοινώνει τῆς πράξεως". Τοσοῦτον δὲ αὖθις αὐτὴν ἠρωτήκειν· "Ὁ δέ γε υἱός σου καὶ βασιλεύς, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν μοναρχεῖν, συνίστωρ τοῦ γενομένου καθέστηκεν ;" Ἡ δέ· "Παντάπασι μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ", ἔφησε, "τὸ δρώμενον, τὸ δὲ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ οἶδε τοῦ πράγματος· ἀλλ' εἰς καλὸν τοῦ υἱέος μοι μέμνησαι· ἀναβησόμεθα κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα διηγησώμεθα· καθεύδει δὲ ἄνωθί που ἔν τινι τῶν βασιλικῶν κοιτωνίσκων" (7b, 6, 5 - 7b, 7, 11).

In the evening the empress called me, took me aside and cried as she said : "you do not know how our empire is declining and how it will go in the future. Frequent wars are stirred up and there are barbarian hoards which are plundering the east. How can one stabilize the terrible situation in deed ?" I did not know anything of the events, nor that the future emperor was standing at the doors of the palace and so I said : "It is not a matter at hand, but one of those which needs deliberation and speculation. 'Today propose, and listen tomorrow [to my answer]', as in the proverb". She laughed for a while and said : "Think about something else, it has been considered and decided : Romanos the son of Diogenes is deemed worthy to reign and has been chosen over the others." I froze immediately on hearing that and not knowing what was happening to me, I said : "But tomorrow I will also be part of the event" ; but she told me : "Not tomorrow, but take part of the event right now". I asked her another question in the following terms : "Your son and emperor, who was also worthy to rule alone, has he been informed of what has come to pass ?"

And she replied : "He is not completely unaware of what has been done, but he does not know the precise event. However, you rightly remind me of my son, we will go upstairs together and we will explain the event to him, he is resting somewhere upstairs in one of the imperial chambers".

In this passage Psellos was closer to Eudocia than to her son, the future Michael VII Doukas, who was also a student of Psellos and the dedicatee of some of his works.

However the clearest indication that Psellos was more attuned to the dynamics of the women's quarters is a letter which he wrote to the empress Catherine, wife of Isaac I Komnenos, asking for the emperor and empress to return to the capital :

Μηκέτι οὖν δυνάμενος ἄλλως πως συνεῖναι τῷ κράτει ὑμῶν, ἐμαυτὸν παραμυθοῦμαι τοῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς γράμμασι· δοκῶ γὰρ ὁμιλεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν καὶ τὸν συνήθη πρὸς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ἐξαπέστειλα μοναχόν, καὶ τολμῶν ἐρωτῶ, πῶς ἔχει ὁ μέγας φωστήρ, ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμός ; ([10]).

Since I am not able to participate in your power in another way, I console myself with the letters I send you. I seem to be conversing through letters. For this reason I have sent out the usual monk to your Highness and I dare to ask how is the great beacon, the emperor of the world or rather my own [emperor] ?

It is intriguing that Psellos wrote to Catherine, the wife of the emperor, in order to find out how the emperor was. In this letter he shows to have greater familiarity with her than with her husband.

These few passages illustrate how Psellos considered himself to have been an active teacher, counselor and confidant to successive women of the imperial court. Given the longevity of the women's power at this time, this alone would explain how Psellos managed to retain such a stable position of power through such politically hazardous times.

However, the connection is not merely incidental, the role of women of the court in his life also explain changes in his career. Psellos vanishes from public eye on two occasions. The first coincided with the arrival of a new mistress at the side of Constantine IX Monomachos. The emperor had decided to replace the late mistress Skleraina with an Alan Princess.

(10) *Epistula* 112 edited by C. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, Venice - Paris, 1876, p. 357, 7-12.

Ἐπαλλακεύετό τις μεῖραξ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, ἐξ ἔθνους μεγίστου ὁμηρεύουσα παρ' ἡμῖν, γενναῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχουσα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ βασιλικοῦ αἵματος παρ' αὐτῷ σεβομένη καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς τιμῆς ἔχουσα (6, 145, 5-8).

A young girl was the mistress to the emperor. She was a prisoner and originated from the largest nation which lives in our region. She had nothing noble, but was revered by her people as if she were of royal blood and as if she held the highest level of honour.

She was of regal background and when envoys from her kingdom would come the Constantine IX Monomachos would make believe that she was his wife :

Τοῦ γὰρ ἔτους δίς που καὶ τρὶς ἐξ Ἀλανίας πρὸς τὴν σεβαστὴν ταυτηνὶ μείρακα πατρῷοι ἐφοίτων θεράποντες, οἷς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ταύτην ἐπὶ θεάτρου δεικνὺς ὁμευνέτιν τε καὶ βασιλίδα ἐκήρυττε καὶ ὠνόμαζε· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐδίδου, τὰ δὲ τῇ καλῇ γαμετῇ διδόναι παρεκελεύετο (6, 154, 4-9).

Twice or three times each year the father's servants visited this revered girl from Alania. The emperor shows her to them at the hippodrome and announces her and calls her a wife and an empress. He offered some things to them and ordered that other things be given to the beautiful bride.

However she was not simply a mistress, she was important enough at court that she was visited three times a year by emissaries sent by her royal relatives in the Caucasus. This was happening the same time that king Bagrat IV of Georgia visited Constantinople around the year 1054 ([11]). The ascendancy of the Alan princess coincided with Psellos' decline at court which ended with his retirement to a monastery.

The second important eastern princess was Maria of Alania daughter of Bagrat IV and wife of Michael VII Doukas ([12]). Psellos was closely attached to this emperor and probably to his wife since her flight from Constantinople in 1078 coincides with the public end for Psellos.

(11) For the arrival of Bagrat IV see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Konstantinos Monomachos 11, p. 448, 38-40 of the edition of I. THURN, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* (*CFHB*, 5), Berlin - New York, 1973 : ὡς ἔφεσιν ἔχει εἰσελθεῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ αὐτῷ ἐντυχεῖν. Προσταχθεὶς οὖν εἴσεισι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐντυχὼν πρῶτον μὲν ὀνειδίζει πολλά.

(12) On Maria of Alania in general see e.g. I. M. NODIJA, *Gruzinskie materialy o vizantijskoj imperatrice Marfe-Marii*, in *Vizantinovedceskie etjudy*, Tbilisi, 1978, and M. MULLETT, *The Disgrace of the ex-Basilissa Maria*, in *Bsl* 45 (1984), pp. 202-211, and the article *Maria of Alania* in *ODB* (p. 1298).

However both these events point reveal a more general feature. Psellos was tied to the women with specific connections with the Caucasus, or in general with the eastern Anatolian parts of the Byzantine Empire. Psellos was in close contact with the Caucasian faction of the women's quarters ([13]). This can be first seen with his wife of Armenian origin whom Psellos married at the beginning of his career in the 1030s. It has been shown that she was the descendant of Stylianos Zautzes who had been minister for Leo VI and to whom many of the novellae of that reign were addressed ([14]). It is for this reason that Psellos named his daughter Styliane after her ancestor.

Subsequently Psellos seems to have been in the circle of Skleraina, the mistress of Constantine IX Monomachos. Psellos also wrote a poem to commemorate her death ([15]). However Psellos' account in the *Chronographia* is not simply about Skleraina as an imperial mistress. He tends to show interest in her family's role in history. When he talks about Basil II's reign, he does not refer to the subjugation of Bulgaria, now considered one of the most important achievements of that reign, but about the emperor's fight against the aristocracy. In doing so however he presented the only enemies as being the Phocades and the Skleroi, and neglected other families. The most notable omission was that of the Maleinoi against whom Basil II acted forcibly by confiscating their

(13) For a prosopographical analysis of Armenians within Byzantium at this time see A. P. KAŽHDAN, *Armjane v sostave gospodstvujuščego klassa*, Moscow, 1975.

(14) On the figure of Stylianos Zaoutzes see e.g. the article *Zaoutzes, Stylianos* in *ODB* (p. 2220).

(15) Psellos's poem for Skleraina is edited in L. G. WESTERINK, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart - Leipzig, 1992, poema 17 (pp. 239-252). If she is the same person mentioned in poem 44 of Christopher of Mytilene, ed. E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 26-29, then her full name would have been Maria Skleraina. For the identification see E. FOLLIERI, *Le poesie di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica*, in *Zbor.*, 8, 2 (1964), p. 137ff. and W. SEIBT, *Die Skleroi : eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 9), Vienna, 1976, pp. 71-76.

(16) For political action against the Maleinoi, see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Basileios and Konstantinos 21, p. 340, 88-96 : Διὸντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ Εὐστάθιος μάγιστρος ὁ Μαλεῖνος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις ὑπεδέξατο πανστρατί, πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἀφθόνως παρεσχηκὼς χορηγίαν. ὃν ὡς τάχα ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας καὶ μετ'

lands ([16]). By eliminating the extreme wealth of such a family, the emperor effectively strengthened the position of their rivals the Skleroi ([17]). Psellos' protection of the Skleroi's reputation is also clear when he depicts the episode of the general George Maniakes ([18]). This able general was about to complete his plan to reconquer the island of Sicily for the Byzantine Empire when the emperor recalled him in 1043. What Psellos does not say is that it was Skleraiana's brother, Romanos Skleros, who was also in Southern Italy and who had complained about Maniakes' behavior and thus wanted him to leave ([19]). Behind such episodes one can see the influence of the closest person to the emperor, his mistress Skleraina. This was the view of the people of Constantinople who actually staged demonstrations in the street in 1044 against her excessive power.

> ἐξαίφνης ἐξηχήθη φωνὴ ἀπὸ μέσου τοῦ πλήθους· "ἡμεῖς τὴν Σκληραιναν βασίλισσαν οὐ θέλομεν, οὐδὲ δι' αὐτὴν αἱ μάνναι ἡμῶν αἱ πορφυρογέννητοι Ζωή τε καὶ Θεοδώρα θανοῦνται". Καὶ εὐθὺς συνεχύθη τὰ πάντα, καὶ ταραχὴ κατέσχε τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἐζήτει τὸν βασιλέα διαχειρίσασθαι (John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Konstantinos Monomachos 7, p. 434, 57-61).
>
> Suddenly a voice rose from the middle of the crowd : "We do not want Skleraina as empress, nor will our mothers the purple born Zoe and Theodora

αὐτοῦ προσλαβόμενος εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα ἔκτοτε ὑποστρέψαι οὐ συνεχώρησεν, ἀλλὰ χορηγῶν αὐτῷ δαψιλῶς τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν καὶ ὥσπερ τι θηρίον ἔν τινι τρέφων σηκῷ κατεῖχεν, ἕως αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ πέρας τοῦ βίου κατέλαβε. Τούτου ἀποθανόντος ἡ κτῆσις αὐτοῦ πᾶσα δεδημοσίευτο. Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ νόμον ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴργοντα τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἐν ὁμάδι χωρίων αὐξάνεσθαι. See also OSTROGORSKY, p. 306.

(17) The Skleroi's connection with the east is clear also from the friendship ties Bardas Skleros had with the Emir of Mosul who was his host for seven years. On the issue see M. CANARD, *Deux documents arabes sur Bardas Sklèros,* in *Atti del V. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini* (*Studi Bizantini e Neoellenci*, 5/1), Rome, 1939, p. 55-69, and SEIBT, p. 48.

(18) George Maniakes is described in Psellos, *Chronographia* 6, 74-89. See also the article *Maniakes, George* in *ODB* (p. 1285).

(19) Skleraina's brother Romanos against Maniakes, see John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, Konstantinos Monomachos 3, p. 427, 67 - p. 428, 71 : ἄρτι δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ τοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ παραλυθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπεγνωκώς (ἤδει γάρ, ὡς οὐκ εἰς χρηστὸν αὐτῷ τέλος ἡ εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἄφιξις τελευτήσει), τὰς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δυνάμεις ἀνασείσας καὶ διαφθείρας, διψώντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς οἰκείας ἰδεῖν πατρίδας, ὅπλα κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κινεῖ. See SEIBT, p. 77.

die because of her". And immediately everything was chaos and confusion held the multitude and it sought to kill the emperor.

Thus when Psellos claims he gave Skleraina private lessons of mythology, it is also a political statement and he is reaffirming his connection with the eastern parts of the empire.

Once Skleraina had died the next mistress of Constantine IX Monomachos was a princess from the Caucasian region of Alania. This country was considered most faithful to the Byzantines already at the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos ([20]). Nevertheless she was part of the change of fortune of Psellos which resulted in his retirement to a monastery ([21]). He does not mention her by name and he claims that she was entertained by the buffoon which left Psellos unamused who is also left unnamed ([22]). However he does mention that this court jester amused also the empresses Zoe and Theodora ([23]), demonstrating how Psellos had been cut out of the life of the court. For Psellos to loose his Caucasian contacts at court meant living in obscurity. The new mistress was not merely a prisoner as he would prefer his reader to think, but seems to have had royal connections in Psellos' account. Her power coincided with a low point in Psellos' career.

Subsequently Psellos was recalled by the empress Theodora to a court unfavourable to him in 1056. That changed overnight with his embassy to Isaac Komnenos. Though not generally considered to be connected somehow with the east, his wife was. Catherine was known to Psellos. It has been mentioned that he wrote a letter to her complaining that he could

(20) Importance and friendliness of Alania see for example Constantine Porphyrogennetos' *De administrando imperio* 11, 3-5 in the edition of G. Moravcsik, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* De administrando imperio (*CFHB*. 1), Washington, 1967 : "Οτι τοῦ ἐξουσιοκράτορος 'Αλανίας μετὰ τῶν χαζάρων μὴ εἰρηνεύοντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον προτιμοτέραν τιθεμένου τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ βασιλέως 'Ρωμαίων. See A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, pp. 507-508 where he places the Alans in the context of their neighbours. See also M. D. Lordkipanidze, *Concerning the History of the Byzantine-Georgian Relations in the Seventies of the Eleventh Century*, in *Actes du XVe Congrès Intenational d'Études Byzantines*, IV, Athens, 1976, pp. 192-197.

(21) For Psellos' retirement to a monastery in Bithynia, see Psellos, *Chronographia* 6, 194-199.

(22) There are three major unnamed people of the *Chronographia* : Romanos Boilas, Leo Paraspondylos and the Alanian princess.

(23) Zoe and Theodora amused by Romanos Boilas : see Psellos, *Chronographia* 6, 144.

only reach the emperor through her. However she was a well known friend of Psellos. Her brother was strategos of Theodosioupolis (modern day Erzerum) in the 1030s ([24]). He was the famous Alousianos who incited the rebellion in Bulgaria since his and Catherine's father was John Vladislav, a pretender to the Bulgarian throne. Alousianos while secretly in Constantinople bumped into Psellos in the street :

> Τῷ γοῦν τοῦ λόγου πατρί, ὡς ὕστερόν μοι εἰρήκει, δίς που καὶ τρὶς ἐπὶ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως προσεγένετο· ἦν γάρ μοι ἐθὰς ὁ ἀνήρ, καί με ἠσπάζετο εὐμενῶς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἐγνώκειν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἄλλος τις οἷς ἐκεῖνος πεπλησίακε. Διέδρα οὖν καὶ τὴν πολυόμματον τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου δύναμιν, καὶ οὐδὲ τούτῳ γέγονεν ἁλωτός (4, 47, 1-6).
>
> He met the author of this book in Constantinople two of three times, as he later told me. He was an acquaintance of mine and he greeted me kindly. Nevertheless I did not recognize him, nor did anyone else whom he approached. Thus he even escaped the ever vigilant power of the orphanotrophos [John] and he was not arrested by him.

Though Psellos knew him, he did not recognize him. It is probable that Psellos knew him through his family. Psellos may have known another brother of the empress Catherine, Aaronios. He was governor of Iberia ca. 1047 and of Mesopotamia in 1059. He may have been governor of Edessa as well as of Ani. In view of Psellos' sudden promotion under Isaac I Komnenos it would seem that he benefited from the help of the empress Catherine. Not only did the empress Catherine have connections to the east through her two brothers, but the great cathedral of the Armenian capital of Ani, by now part of the Byzantine empire, was restored under her name.

> [εν ονοματι του πρς και του υυ και του πνς]
> ΑΝΕΚΑΙΝΙΣΘΗ[σαν ?] ... [επι Ισα]ΚΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
> ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ [α]ΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΡΩ[μαιω]Ν ΤΟΥ
> ΚΟΜΝ[ηνου και] ΑΙ[κα]ΤΕ[ρινης της ευσεβ]ΕΣΤΑΤΗΣ
> ΑΥΓΥΣΤΗ[ς δια] ΙΩΑ[ννου] ΒΕΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ [τ]ΟΥ
> ΚΑΤΕΠΑΝΩ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ [του
> μ]ΟΝΑΣΤΗΡ[ι]ΩΤΟΥ ΕΤΕΙ ΣΦΞΖ (1059) ([25])

(24) For Alousianos as strategos of Theodosioupolis see the article *Alousianos* in *ODB* (p. 70).

(25) The inscription, with all its peculiarities, is published in V. Beneševič, *Tri Anijskija nadpisi 11 veka iz epohi vizantijskago vladyčestva* (*Anijskaja Serija*, 7), Saint Petersburg, 1921, p. 19.

In the name of the father and the son and the spirit, [the buildings] were renewed under the King and Emperor of the Romans, Isaak Komnenos and the most revered Augusta Ekaterina through the Vestarch and *Katepano* of Armenia and Iberia John Monasteriotes in the year 6567 (1059).

The same year the inscription was put up, Isaac chose Constantine X Doukas as his successor and the former empress Catherine retired to a convent. Nevertheless, Psellos managed to find the support of Constantine X Doukas who after a couple years decided to have an Alan wife for his son, the future Michael VII in 1065 ([26]). This was the famous Maria of Alania. Unfortunately Psellos speaks briefly about her in the *Chronographia* ([27]), since his description of the reign of Michael VII has remained unfinished. However we do have some other indications of how important this marriage was. One can turn to the Khakhuli triptych in which Michael VII and the empress Maria are depicted together. This was probably a diplomatic gift dated to 1072 illustrating to the Georgians how their princess was recognized as a Byzantine empress ([28]). Her importance in Psellos' career is not obvious except for one of the most significant episode in the philosopher's life. In 1078 Michael VII was deposed by the usurper Nicephoros Botaneaites ([29]). Maria fled to the Petrion monastery

(26) On the decision to marry Maria of Alania to the future Michael VII see D.I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (*University of London Historical Studies,* 22), London, 1968, p. 46.

(27) References to Maria of Alania in the *Chronographia* of Psellos, see 7c. 9, 1-11 : Ἀλλ' ἐπιτέμνοντα τὸν λόγον πολλά με διέλαθε, τὸ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα φίλτρον, οἷον ἐξ ἐκείνης ἀποτέκοι παιδίον, τὸ περὶ τοῖν ἀδελφοῖν, ὧν θαυμασίων ὑποκειμένων θαυμασιώτερος ἐκεῖνος γνωρίζεται. Καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρὰ τὸ γένος ἐπαινοίην τὴν βασιλίδα, εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ ἀρχαιότητι πᾶσαν ὑπεραῖρον ἀρχήν, ἀρκεῖ αὐτῇ, ἀντὶ πάντων τὸ ἦθος οἷον οὐχ ἑτέρας ἕξεως. καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἷον οὐχ ἑτέρας ὄψεως· εἰ δὲ γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει, κατὰ τὸν τραγῳδόν, κόσμου παντὸς αὕτη τιμιωτέρα καθέστηκεν, ὅτι μηδενί τῳ ἄλλῳ ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἐγνώρισεν, αὐτομάτως καλλίων τυγχάνουσα ἢ ὁπότε ἀναγκαίως ἔχοι κοσμήσασθαι.

(28) On the Khakouli triptych see G. Abramishvili and O. Egadze, *The Khakhuli Icon*, Tbilisi, 1979. There the opinion is expressed that the triptych was brought by Maria herself when she visited her father Bagrat IV in 1072.

(29) On the deposition of Michael VII see Nikephoros Bryennios, *Historiae* 3, 24, 1-7 in the edition of P. Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios, Histoire* (*CFHB,* 9). Bruxelles, 1975 : Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ παραυτίκα τήν τε κόμην ἐκείρατο καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν περιεβάλλετο σχῆμα, συνόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ θείου καὶ καίσαρος, ὃς τὸ τε κοῦφον τοῦ κρατήσαντος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ τὸ αὖθαδες

in Constantinople with her son ([30]). This was a clear sign that she felt she had lost power and needed protection. Other friends of Psellos who came from the Caucasus fled the capital at the same time. One can think of one of Psellos' students Ioanne Petrici who wrote a commentary in Georgian on Psellos' favourite philosopher, Proklos, in his new place of residence, the Petritzos monastery near Bačkovo in Bulgaria ([31]). This monastery had been recently founded by a fellow Caucasian who came from the same region as the empress, Gregory Pakourianos ([32]). The flight of Maria to the Petrion monastery signaled the disintegration of a Caucasian faction at court. Indeed after the brief reign of Nicephoros III Botaniates, Alexios I Komnenos, who had been initially protected by Maria, ensured that her son would not be a political danger ([33]). She once more retired to a nunnery and after an unsuccessful attempt to regain power was exiled to the prince's isles ([34]). With the accession of Alexios Komnenos one sees the rise of an interest in the western rather than eastern part of the empire, comprehensible in view of such menaces to the empire as the

τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δουλοκρατουμένην ἑώρα τούτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν, δείσας περὶ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μή τι πάθῃ δεινότερον συνεβούλευε τούτῳ τῷ Θεῷ καθιερωθῆναι. Ὁ τοίνυν τηνικαῦτα τὸν τῆς πατριαρχίας θρόνον ἰθύνων – ἦν δὲ Κοσμᾶς ὁ μέγας καὶ περιβόητος – τὴν καθαρότητα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γινώσκων τῷ κλήρῳ αὐτὸν συγκατέλεξε καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον μητροπολίτην Ἐφέσου κεχειροτόνηκεν. See OSTROGORSKY, pp. 346-348 and ANGOLD, pp. 121-124.

(30) On the flight of Maria of Alania to Petrion Monastery : Nikephoros Bryennios, *Historiae* 3, 25, 1-7 : Ὁ Βοτανειάτης δὲ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας σκήπτρων γενόμενος ἐγκρατής, καίτοι τοῖς οὐδοῖς προσεγγίσας τοῦ γήραος, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἔνδον γενόμενος καὶ δυσὶ γάμοις προσομιλήσας πρότερον, ὅμως αὖθις τὴν βασιλίδα Μαρίαν ἠγάγετο, καὶ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τὸν Βοτανειάτην ἐγκρατῆ τῆς βασιλείας γενέσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγχοῦ τῆς Σιδηρᾶς διακείμενον μοναστήριον, ὃ Πέτριον ὀνομάζεται, ἡ βασιλὶς Μαρία ἀπελθοῦσα ἐκεῖσε τὴν οἴκησιν ἐποιήσατο.

(31) For Ioane Petrici see G. V. TAVZADE and N. R. NATAZDE, *Ioane Petrici, Rasmotrenije platonovskoij filosofii i Prokl Diakoha*, Moscow, 1984.

(32) On the foundation of the Petrici monastery see the will of Pakourianos edited by P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, in *REB*, 42 (1984), pp. 5-145 ; see also *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (*DOS*, 35), Washington, 2000, pp. 507-563.

(33) On the exclusion of Constantine Doukas from power see the article *Doukas, Constantine* in *ODB* (pp. 657-658).

(34) On the fate of Maria Alania see e.g. NODIJA (1978), MULLETT (1984) and the article *Maria of "Alania"* in *ODB* (p. 1298).

Normans ([35]). One can think of the marriage of his son and heir John II with a princess from Hungary in 1104 ([36]). However the only westerner who had been effectively connected to the eastern faction of the previous court was John Italos, since he had also been a student of Psellos ([37]). It is also for this reason that Italos was condemned by the new emperor, who thus gave a show of force against those who had been part of the previous regime. Nevertheless, the flight of Maria of Alania in 1078 is significant for another reason. It marks the end of Psellos' career. After this year there is no information about Psellos other than a controversial work and some believe that this was the year of his death ([38]). Whatever the case may be, it is certain that from this date on Psellos suffered his political death : he vanished from public eye. His traditional area of imperial support had crumbled away from under his feet and there had been such changes that it could not have been possible for him to envisage a return, as he had done before. The exclusion of those connected with the eastern magnates at court after 1081 means that Psellos is one of chief representatives of common Byzantine and Caucasian interests. However the aftermath of the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 signified the permanent loss of most of Anatolia and the separation of Byzantine and Caucasian interests which were now geographically divided. The direct consequence was that the powerful eastern magnates which lay as the backbone of Psellos' support had lost their influence at court. This turn of events made Psellos' fall into political obscurity inevitable.

(35) For the change of court policy under the Comnenoi see MULLET (1984) and A. P. KAŽHDAN and S. RONCHEY, *L'aristocrazia bizantina, dal principio dell' XI alla fine del XII secolo* (*Nuovo prisma*, 3), Palermo, 1997, pp. 146-148.

(36) For John II's marriage see POLEMIS, p. 136.

(37) For an account of Italos see P. JOANNOU, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz*, I, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (*Studia Patristica et Byzantina*, 3), Ettal, 1956, and L. CLUCAS, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 26), München, 1981.

(38) On the debate concerning Psellos' death see P. GUTIER, *Theophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres, CFHB* 16.2, Thessalonike, 1986, pp. 113-115, who proposes 1078. In the article *Psellos, Michael* in *ODB* Každan, proposes a date after 1081, though he also mentions that a date after 1095 may be possible. See also the articles of A. SCHMINCK, *Zum Todesjahr des Michael Psellos*, in *BZ*, 94 (2001), pp. 190-196, and of A. KARPOZILOS, *When did Michael Psellus die ? The Evidence of the Dioptra*, in *BZ*, 96 (2003), pp. 671-677.

While at court, Psellos was a councilor and confidant to imperial women. One has seen Zoe, Theodora, Skleraina, Catherine, Eudocia Makrembolitissa and Maria of Alania. Psellos' attachment to them explains his long career at court. While the emperors tended to have short reigns, the role played by the women was more continuous and constant. His career of nearly forty years in the imperial court can thus be more easily explained. Many of these women were either of eastern origin or represented wealthy families which were landowners in the remote eastern areas of the Empire. The only time when Psellos was excluded from such a faction was when the anonymous mistress of Constantine IX was in control. However her prominence coincided with the rise of other courtiers who were in conflict with Psellos, namely Leo Paraspondylos and Romanos Boilas. Apart from the brief interval of 1051-1056 Psellos seems to have played a role as a man in the entourage of imperial women. This feminine aspect of Psellos has been captured by Perikles Joannou, even though for different reasons ([39]). Psellos himself refers to himself in terms which would seem bizarre when taken out of their context. Psellos clearly states to his friend Andronicos Doukas in a letter of the 1070s :

> Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πρὸς μὲν τὰς μαθήσεις ἀρρενωπότερον ἴσως διάκειμαι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν φύσιν θῆλύς εἰμι (*Epistula* 72 ed. SATHAS, p. 307, 25-26).
>
> Though I may be most manly in my studies, I am a woman by nature.

This letter was written to inform his friend that his daughter had given birth. His happiness for the event makes him write a letter in which he explains he is also sorry for the suffering she had to go through with her labour. Thus Psellos manages to develop the theme of sympathy for his daughter in very striking terms. It may have been this character of understanding and compassion which made him attuned to the gossip which was circulating throughout the palace. This ability, coupled with his great literary, intellectual and political interests made him one of the chief courtiers with access to the imperial women's quarters. The *Chronographia,* therefore, is a work which was written to illustrate the dynamics of court politics from the point of view of an insider who had access to the imperial women's quarters and represents a unique document for

(39) On the femininity of Psellos see JOANNOU (1956), pp. 16-18 and E. N. PAPAIOANNOU, *Michael Psellos' Rhetorical Gender*, in *BMGS*, 24 (2000), pp. 133-146.

the modern reader as it did for his contemporaries who insisted that he undertake its composition.

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SUMMARY

There were frequent changes of emperors during Psellos' career, though, at the same time, there was a relatively stable network of women in the palace. Psellos' survival at court from 1034 to 1078 can be explained by associating him with these women. Furthermore they had another defining feature which was their association with eastern Anatolia or even the Caucasus. The radical change which occurred in the period 1078-1081 not only severed the empire from the eastern territories but also altered the social nature of the palace and therefore Psellos no longer had the support he previously enjoyed. Psellos' public disappearance happened in 1078 with the fall of the Doukas dynasty and the subsequent change within the women's quarters, though his death may have occurred any time after that.

LE CALCUL DE LA DATE DE PÂQUES DANS LES TRAITÉS DE S. MAXIME LE CONFESSEUR ET DE GEORGES, MOINE ET PRÊTRE (*)

Au VIIe siècle à Byzance, les grandes controverses liées au calcul de la date de Pâques, apparues dès le début de l'ère chrétienne, se sont apaisées. On ne constate plus, en effet, de querelles telles qu'il en a existé durant les quatre premiers siècles. L'usage des *Quartodécimans*, qui, dès le IIe siècle et principalement au sein des Églises d'Asie, fêtaient Pâques au jour de la Pâque juive – à savoir le 14e jour de la Lune –, avait complètement disparu. Les *Protopaschites*, situés dans les environs de la Syrie et qui, tout en suivant l'usage juif, commettaient l'erreur de célébrer Pâques avant l'équinoxe de printemps, avaient été mis en échec au concile de Nicée (325). Denys le Petit (*ca* 525) avait finalement réussi à imposer à Rome et à Alexandrie une même table pascale basée sur le système alexandrin qui fixait l'équinoxe au 21 mars. Ceci n'empêcha pas les controverses pascales de ressurgir plus tard du côté latin comme dans le monde grec. Le XIVe siècle byzantin, par exemple, verra réapparaître des conflits qui aboutiront finalement à la réforme du calendrier julien par le pape Grégoire XIII en 1582.

Dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle, la problématique pascale se positionne principalement sur le terrain des méthodes de comput chronologique. On voit, en effet, fleurir à l'époque, et plus particulièrement sous le règne de l'empereur Héraclius Ier (610-641), plusieurs traités qui développent des méthodologies propres de calcul pascal en s'appuyant sur des systèmes et des décomptes chronologiques bien particuliers. Cette littérature de comput se compose de quatre principaux traités qui sont, dans l'ordre chronologique :

(*) Je tiens tout d'abord à remercier le Prof. A. Tihon-Duhoux pour ses conseils et le temps consacré à la relecture de cet article, ainsi que B. Markesinis pour ses renseignements d'ordre codicologique.

- le traité astronomique de Stéphane d'Alexandrie (1), dont le 30e et dernier chapitre, daté de 623, s'intitule *Méthode par laquelle on trouve Pâques selon la tradition ecclésiastique* ;
- la *Chronique Pascale* (2) qui selon le titre s'étend jusqu'en 630 mais dont le texte s'arrête en 628 ;
- le traité pascal du moine et prêtre Georges (3), daté de 638/639, suivi d'un autre opuscule incomplet ;
- le *Computus ecclesiasticus* de S. Maxime le Confesseur (4) (640/641).

La *Chronique* et le *Computus* sont de véritables traités chronologiques complets qui, outre les questions purement méthodologiques, avancent des arguments et des preuves théoriques de la véracité de leur système de chronologie. La *Chronique* offre, en outre, une histoire universelle d'Adam à l'an 628. Le chapitre 30 du traité de Stéphane et le traité de Georges sont, pour leur part, de loin plus restreints et se cantonnent à une résolution pragmatique du calcul pascal.

Tous ces textes sont importants pour la connaissance de l'histoire de la chronologie et ont déjà servi à des manuels sur le sujet. Citons, par exemple, les études de Schwartz, Ginzel ou Grumel (5). Ces manuels sont des références de valeur mais, en raison de leur grande part de théorie et de

(1) Le texte est partiellement édité par H. USENER, *De Stephano Alexandrino commentatio*, dans *Kleine Schriften von Hermann Usener*, III, *Arbeiten zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte : Geschichte der Wissenschaften, Epigraphik, Chronologie*, Leipzig - Berlin, 1914, pp. 247-322. La paternité de ce traité astronomique est fort discutée, les manuscrits l'attribuant tantôt à Stéphane tantôt à l'empereur Héraclius tantôt encore à un auteur anonyme. Les trois derniers chapitres (ch. 28-30) traitent davantage de chronologie ; moins scientifiquement rigoureux que le reste du traité et écrits dans un style différent, ces chapitres finaux semblent *a priori* avoir été ajoutés au traité initial. Cf. A. TIHON, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, dans *Philomathestatos : Studies in Greek and Byzantine texts presented to Jacques Noret for his sixty-fifth birthday*, ed. B. JANSSENS - B. ROOSEN - P. VAN DEUN (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137), Leuven, 2004, pp. 625-646.

(2) L. DINDORF, *Chronicon Paschale* (*CSHB*, 10-11), Bonn, 1832.

(3) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios, ein unbekannter Schriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts*, dans *BZ*, 9 (1900), pp. 24-32.

(4) *PG* 19, 1217-1280.

(5) E. SCHWARTZ, *Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln*, Berlin, 1905 ; F. K GINZEL, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie : das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker*, 3 vol., Leipzig, 1906-1914 ; V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie* (*Traité d'Études Byzantines*, I), Paris, 1958.

reconstitution, ils ne permettent pas de comprendre tous les arcanes méthodologiques propres à chaque traité. C'est pourquoi il est intéressant de retourner aux textes mêmes et de mettre en exergue les éléments (tables, datations, calculs) qui aident à l'étude de ces traités. L'objectif de cet article rejoint cette perspective : détailler au moyen d'indications textuelles les systèmes chronologiques et les méthodes de calcul employés par S. Maxime et le moine et prêtre Georges pour fixer la date de Pâques. Ces deux traités nous intéressent particulièrement par leur date de rédaction quasi-contemporaine, les vues orthodoxes et le milieu monacal de leurs auteurs. Après un récapitulatif sur le texte et la matière des deux traités, des considérations chronologiques permettront de jeter une lumière neuve sur leur résolution du calcul de la fête de Pâques.

Le traité de S. Maxime le Confesseur

Comme son nom l'indique, le *Computus ecclesiasticus* est un traité de chronologie ecclésiastique. Il est édité dans la *Patrologia Graeca* de J.-P. Migne (6), qui a reproduit dans sa vaste collection l'édition réalisée, à la fin du XVIIe siècle, par D. Petau (7) sur base, semble-t-il, du *codex Vaticanus gr.* 1502. Petau a simplement indiqué s'être basé sur un manuscrit du Vatican mais ne l'a pas identifié davantage. Le *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 est un manuscrit de luxe sur parchemin (384 f. ; 313 × 243 mm. ; 48 l. ; 2 col.), écrit au XIIe siècle sans doute à Constantinople et qui, à sa grande descendance, n'a transmis que des œuvres de S. Maxime (8). R. Devreesse a cru que Petau avait édité le *Computus* à partir du *Vaticanus gr.* 505 (9), un *codex* en papier de 1520 qui est une copie très fidèle du *Vaticanus gr.*

(6) *PG* 19, 1217-1280 (traité intégré dans l'*appendix ad Eusebii Chronicon*).

(7) *Opus de doctrina temporum*, III, Antwerpiae, 1703, pp. 170-193.

(8) Le *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 est décrit dans C. Giannelli, *Codices 1485-1683* (*Codices Vaticani Graeci*), Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1950, p. 32-36 ; C. Laga - C. Steel, *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, I (*CCSG*, 7), Turnhout-Leuven, 1980, pp. L-LIV. Voir aussi P. Van Deun, *Maximi Confessoris Opuscula Exegetica duo* (*CCSG*, 23), Turnhout-Leuven, 1991, pp. XLI-XLII, et Id., *Maximi Confessoris Liber Asceticus* (*CCSG*, 40), Turnhout-Leuven, 2000, pp. CV-CVI.

(9) R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 330-603*, Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1937, p. 351. On y trouve (*ibid.*, pp. 349-352) une description de qualité du *Vaticanus gr.* 505. Voir aussi, au sujet de ce manuscrit, P. Van Deun, *Opuscula Exegetica*, p. XXIX, et Id., *Liber Asceticus*, pp. CI-CII.

1502, mais plusieurs leçons de l'édition de Petau font croire pour l'instant à un travail à partir du *Vaticanus gr.* 1502.

Le *Vaticanus gr.* 1502 est cependant loin de constituer le témoin le plus ancien du *Computus*. Le *Lugdunensis Batavorum, Scaligeranus gr.* 33 témoigne, pour sa part, d'une version plus ancienne du *Computus*. Ce manuscrit est un témoin sur parchemin datable du xe siècle ([10]). Il comprend 26 folios (220 × 170 mm. ; 45 l.) : les f. 1-2 sont les deux derniers d'un quaternion abîmé ; les f. 3-26 sont des quaternions intacts. Les titres et les lettres initiales y sont écrits en rouge. Le manuscrit contient le *Computus ecclesiasticus* de S. Maxime (f. 1-14), figures et tables du traité inclues, ainsi qu'un second comput intégrant des tables et intitulé Πῶς δεῖ ψηφίζειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν ποίῳ ζωδίῳ ἐστὶ etc.

Le *Computus ecclesiasticus*, et ses tables chronologiques plus particulièrement, méritent une meilleure édition que celle de la *PG* ([11]).

Le *Computus ecclesiasticus* de S. Maxime est un traité en trois parties consacré à une défense de la chronologie alexandrine, considérée comme la chronologie ecclésiastique traditionnelle. Chaque partie présente une table chronologique minutieusement décrite et suivie d'un ensemble de méthodes destinées à l'employer. Des exemples et des considérations annexes viennent souvent étoffer cette présentation.

1. La première partie du comput ([12]) développe des calculs à effectuer afin de fixer la date de moments religieux importants : la fête juive du Yom Kippour, l'entrée dans le jeûne chrétien et surtout la fête de Pâques. L'auteur présente ensuite une chronologie alexandrine de la vie du Christ ([13]), comparée à celle de Jean le Baptiste. C'est cette section du traité que S. Maxime destina au patrice Pierre (cf. *infra*, p. 300). Il y aborde des notions qu'il approfondit dans le reste du traité.
2. La deuxième partie du *Computus* ([14]) est une critique d'un système de calcul inventé par des computistes dont S. Maxime est un grand détracteur. La

(10) Voir description dans le catalogue : J.-J. Scaliger, *Codices Scaligerani (Praeter Orientales)* (*Codices manuscripti*, II), Lugduni-Batavorum, 1910, p. 9. Le *Scaligeranus* y est daté du xie siècle.

(11) Une édition critique du traité est d'ailleurs actuellement en préparation par B. Markesinis et moi-même dans le cadre de la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*.

(12) *PG* 19, 1217-1252.

(13) À ce sujet, cf. E. Bratke, *Maximi Confessoris Chronologia succincta vitae Christi*, dans *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 13 (1892), pp. 382-384.

(14) *PG* 19, 1252-1264.

table chronologique permet d'employer leurs méthodes. Ces computistes, du nom de *quintuplants et sextuplants*, sacrifient, aux yeux de Maxime, la chronologie alexandrine traditionnelle sur l'autel d'un nouveau comput erroné ([15]).

3. En troisième lieu ([16]), l'auteur décrit une table dont le but est de définir le jour hebdomadaire d'une quelconque date donnée. Il termine son traité par une méthodologie du calcul de l'âge lunaire et par plusieurs listes chronologiques (Patriarches de la Bible, rois orientaux et empereurs romains ainsi qu'une énumération de conciles et de synodes).

Même si la première section se détache de l'ensemble du texte par sa forme épistolaire, les trois parties sont intimement liées entre elles. S. Maxime use de renvois et revient parfois sur ce qui a déjà été évoqué de sorte que le *Computus* forme un *opus* complet et achevé.

Le traité du moine et prêtre Georges

Le traité de Georges, moine et prêtre, sur la date de Pâques est édité dans un article de Fr. Diekamp ([17]). Celui-ci a procédé à l'édition d'un ensemble de trois textes de Georges contenus dans le *codex Vaticanus gr.* 2210.

Le *Vaticanus gr.* 2210 est un manuscrit sur parchemin daté du xe siècle ([18]) (190 f. de 248 × 160 mm.). S. Lilla y constate la copie complète du texte par un copiste du xe siècle ainsi que l'intervention de cinq autres mains s'échelonnant du xie au xive siècle (Fr. Diekamp, pour sa part, ne distingue que quatre mains au total ([19])). Le manuscrit contient des résumés sur les hérésies par Théodoret de Cyr, notre moine et prêtre Georges, Jean Damascène, des extraits tirés d'écrits de Maxime le Confesseur ou d'Eusèbe, le traité pascal de Georges, divers passages d'histoire ou de

(15) Ce comput se base sur l'ère byzantine et fausse particulièrement le calcul de l'âge lunaire. La méthode des *quintuplants et sextuplants* est exposée en détail dans V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, pp. 117-122. S. Maxime est le seul à présenter la théorie de ces computistes, que sa critique acerbe finira d'ailleurs par évincer !

(16) *PG* 19, 1264-1280.

(17) Fr. Diekamp, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, pp. 14-51.

(18) On se réfère ici à la description du manuscrit exposée dans S. Lilla, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 2162-2254*, Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1985, pp. 184-192.

(19) Fr. Diekamp, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 14.

chronographie ou encore des morceaux de commentaires à l'Apocalypse de saint Jean.

De l'oeuvre de Georges, le *Vaticanus gr.* 2210 nous transmet deux fragments de son traité sur les hérésies (f. 138-141v) ([20]) ainsi que le traité complet sur la date de Pâques (f. 150-159) et une brève explication d'un triple *trochos* (= roue) synchronique (solaire, lunaire et indictionnel), ce *trochos* ayant malheureusement disparu (f. 160-161).

Alors que le *Computus* de S. Maxime défend la chronologie alexandrine officielle et traditionnelle, le traité pascal de Georges est, selon V. Grumel ([21]), le plus ancien texte qui se fait fort de théoriser et de justifier l'emploi d'un nouveau système chronologique : l'ère byzantine. S'il est clair qu'il prône d'un point de vue pragmatique l'utilisation de ce système qui deviendra «l'ère byzantine», Georges est cependant loin d'être un théoricien : son comput, même s'il rend précisément compte du point de départ de l'ère, n'entreprend aucune justification réelle sur le plan théologique et chronologique ([22]). Quoi qu'il en soit, apparue dès le second tiers du VIIe siècle, l'ère byzantine n'avait pas encore fait son entrée dans les computs. Le traité de Georges consacre donc deux paragraphes aux mérites de la nouvelle ère : accord parfait avec tous les cycles (cycle solaire de 28 ans, cycle lunaire de 19 ans, tétraétéride du bissexte, période indictionnelle de 15 ans et période pascale de 532 ans), respect du cycle des épactes lunaires et de la date génésiaque de la Lune (pleine Lune le mercredi).

Le reste du traité est tourné vers le calcul de la date de Pâques : il ne possède pas de table mais développe des méthodes de recherche des épactes lunaires, des épactes des semaines (c'est-à-dire du Soleil), du 14e jour de la Lune pascale, du jour de la semaine et *in fine* du dimanche de Pâques.

(20) Ce texte est toutefois intégralement publié dans M. RICHARD, *Le traité de Georges hiéromoine sur les hérésies*, dans *REB*, 28 (1970), pp. 238-269, sur base, outre du *Vaticanus gr. 2210*, de l'*Athos, Vatopédi* 290 (Xe siècle) et de l'*Ochrid, Musée nat.* 86 (XIIIe siècle) ; cette étude a été reprise dans M. RICHARD, *Opera minora*, III, Turnhout - Leuven, 1977, n° 62.

(21) V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 157.

(22) Voir à ce sujet le point de vue de J. BEAUCAMP - R. Cl. BONDOUX - J. LEFORT - M. F. ROUAN-AUZÉPY - I. SORLIN, *La Chronique Pascale : le temps approprié*, dans *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe-XIIIe siècles* (*Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, 604), Paris, 1984, pp. 461-463.

Remarque

Les computs pascaux expriment une réalité chronologique relativement simple : ces traités ont pour but de calculer les dates successives de la fête mobile de Pâques à partir des cycles de la Lune et du Soleil, cycles qui sont à la base du fonctionnement des calendriers. Mais si les dates canonisées par ces traités sont à quelques exceptions près identiques, les difficultés et les divergences proviennent du fait que les computistes se réclament de systèmes chronologiques différents et surtout recourent à un référentiel de dates qui souvent leur est propre. Avant d'aborder le calcul pascal proprement dit, il convient donc généralement de se familiariser avec leurs usages et leurs particularismes en matière de chronologie. Un plan de notre étude peut dès lors être utile à la compréhension de notre démarche face aux traités de Maxime et de Georges :

Notions de base
Considérations chronologiques et astronomiques préalables
I. Les tables de S. Maxime et son cycle de 19 ans
II. Le cycle lunaire de Georges
Le calcul de la date de Pâques
I. Le calcul pascal de Georges
I.a. Méthodes et théorie
I.b. Illustration : la date de Pâques de l'an 604
II. Le calcul pascal de S. Maxime
II.a. Méthodes et explications
II.b. La date de Pâques de l'an 641
Georges et Maxime : un essai de rapprochement
Conclusion

Notions de base

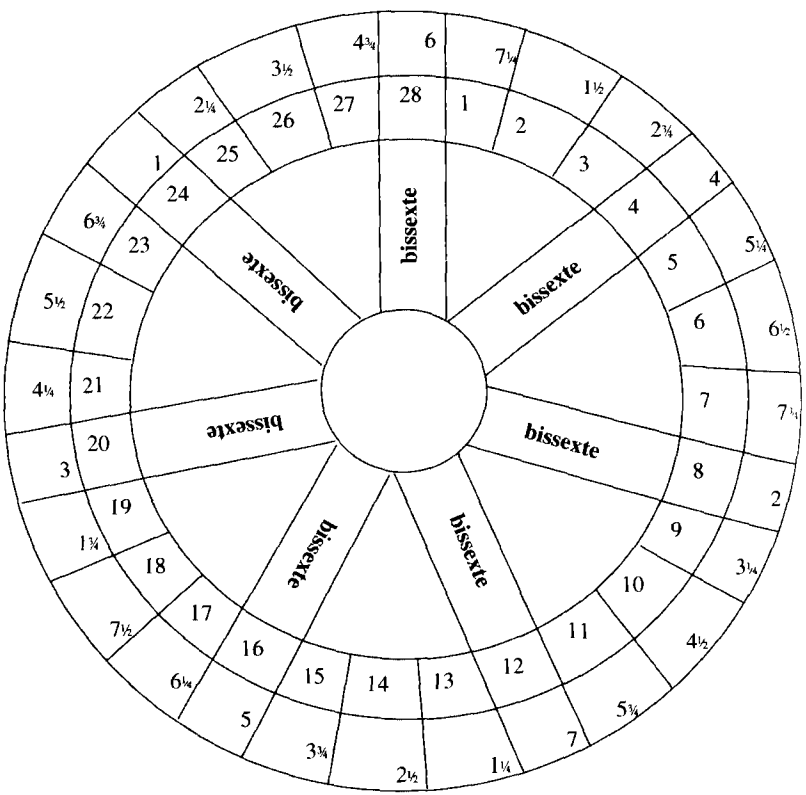
Ces définitions veulent donner une première idée des réalités chronologiques dont on va parler. Elles seront explicitées et précisées au fur et à mesure de l'avancée de notre étude.

- Cycle solaire de 28 ans : cycle des jours de la semaine ; après une période de 28 ans, les jours de la semaine reviennent, en effet, de manière successive, aux mêmes dates de l'année.
- Cycle lunaire de 19 ans : attribué à l'astronome athénien Méton (ve siècle av. J.-C.), ce cycle a pour but de faire coïncider lunaison et année solaire ; au bout de 19 ans, les lunaisons (ou phases de la Lune) reviennent successivement aux mêmes dates de l'année.

- Épactes solaires : ces épactes (c'est-à-dire des «jours à ajouter») expriment le décalage des jours de la semaine ; elles servent à déterminer le jour hebdomadaire d'une date donnée à partir d'un point de départ précis ; ces épactes solaires fonctionnent en corrélation avec le cycle de 28 ans puisque après cette période le décalage des jours se reproduit de manière identique.
- Épactes lunaires : ce sont les jours de décalage entre l'année lunaire (soit 12 lunaisons) et l'année solaire ; le cumul de ces épactes permet de dater le point de départ des années lunaires et, de là, fixer l'âge de la Lune à une date précise. Les épactes lunaires s'additionnent dans un cycle de 19 ans au bout duquel leur nombre revient à zéro.

Considérations chronologiques et astronomiques préalables

I. *Les tables de S. Maxime et son cycle de 19 ans*



Le calcul pascal chez S. Maxime s'effectue sur base d'une double table figurant en tête de traité ([23]). La première table se traduit par un *trochos* circulaire qui représente un cycle solaire de 28 ans ([24]), les épactes et les sept bissextes (7 × 4 bissextes = 28 ans) inclus ([25]).

La seconde table expose un cycle de 19 ans (avec épactes lunaires et intercalations) ainsi qu'une série de dates issues du calendrier julien. Dans un comput pascal traditionnel, le cycle de 19 ans ne s'accompagne que des dates du 14e jour de la Lune. Chez S. Maxime, on peut remarquer la présence de dates juliennes supplémentaires, liées aux calculs du début du jeûne chrétien et de la fête juive du Yom Kippour. Ce supplément témoigne déjà de la complexité de son traité. Mais la particularité du comput maximien réside, en réalité, dans le fait que ces dates juliennes sont des correspondances de dates issues du calendrier juif :

- le 14 Nisan (qui n'est autre que le *XIV lunae* pascal et permet le calcul de la date de Pâques),
- le 16, 17 Chevat ou 18 Adar (dates menant au calcul du début du jeûne ; elles sont multiples du fait qu'il existe dans le calendrier lunaire juif des années communes de 12 mois et des années embolismiques de 13 mois),
- le 10 Tichri (date de la fête juive du Yom Kippour).

Ces équivalences, et les calculs qui s'y rattachent, témoignent non seulement d'un intérêt de S. Maxime pour le calendrier juif mais encore d'une connaissance approfondie du cycle lunaire approprié (le cycle de Maxime en est fort proche).

Les flèches ici annotées sont un ajout qui éclaire le contenu de la table :

(23) *PG* 19, col. 1219-1220.

(24) La dénomination «solaire» vient du fait que l'on se trouve dans une perspective d'années solaires de 365j 1/4 et que l'on oppose ce cycle à celui de la Lune. Le cycle solaire et son principe de fonctionnement seront détaillés plus loin dans le détail du calcul pascal, p. 282.

(25) Le *trochos* donné dans la *PG* est incomplet car les fractions d'unité (1/4, 1/2 et 3/4) font défaut à la ligne des épactes (1ère ligne du *trochos*). Ces fractions sont, par contre, bien présentes dans le même *trochos* donné par les différents témoins de la tradition manuscrite du texte : citons par exemple le *Lugdunensis Batavorum, Scaligeranus gr.* 33, le *Vaticanus gr.* 1502, le *Vaticanus gr.* 505 ou encore le *Romanus Angelicus gr.* 120.

Cycle de 19 ans — 16, 17 Chevat, 18 Adar — 14 Nisan (XIV *lunae* pascal) — 10 Tichri

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VI	V	IV	III	II	I
Jours Intercal.	Années lunaires	Epactes	Mois romains	Dates	Ajouts	Ajouts	Dates	Mois romains	Ajouts	Dates	Mois romains	Années lunaires
Intercal.	19	27	Février	8	4		5	Avril	6	25	Septembre	1
	1	9	Janvier	28	1	4	25	Mars	6	14	Septembre	2
	2	20	Février	16	4		13	Avril	1	3	Octobre	3
Intercal.	3	1	Février	5	4		2	Avril	6	22	Septembre	4
	4	12	Janvier	25	1	4	22	Mars	6	11	Septembre	5
	5	23	Février	13	4		10	Avril	6	30	Septembre	6
Intercal.	6	4	Février	2	4	4	30	Mars	6	19	Septembre	7
	7	15	Février	21	4		18	Avril	1	8	Octobre	8
Intercal.	8	26	Février	10	4		7	Avril	6	27	Septembre	9
	9	7	Janvier	30	1	4	27	Mars	6	16	Septembre	10
	10	18	Février	18	4		15	Avril	1	5	Octobre	11
Intercal.	11	29	Février	7	4		4	Avril	6	24	Septembre	12
	12	10	Janvier	27	1	4	24	Mars	6	13	Septembre	13
	13	21	Février	15	4		12	Avril	1	2	Octobre	14
Intercal.	14	2	Février	4	4		1	Avril	6	21	Septembre	15
	15	13	Janvier	24	1	4	21	Mars	6	10	Septembre	16
	16	24	Février	12	4		9	Avril	6	29	Septembre	17
Intercal.	17	5	Février	1	4	4	29	Mars	6	18	Septembre	18
	18	16	Février	20	4		17	Avril	1	7	Octobre	19
*	*	*				*	*	*				*

Ce tableau réclame plusieurs explications, mais on se contentera de celles interférant dans notre problématique pascale (munies d'un astérisque) :

- Le cycle de 19 ans, à gauche, inclut les 19 années lunaires (col. II), leurs épactes (col. III) et les mois intercalaires de 30 jours (col. I) formés par le cumul des épactes. Les épactes permettent de définir l'âge de la Lune à une date précise (9 épactes = 10 jours d'âge), mais aussi le décalage annuel entre l'année lunaire (12 lunaisons ou 354,367j) et l'année solaire (365,2422j), soit environ 11 jours. Comme on le verra, les 11 épactes annuelles se comptent chez Maxime au 1er avril et forment un mois supplémentaire (= jours intercalaires) dès qu'elles dépassent le nombre 30.
  Ce cycle de 19 ans exprime, en définitive, le cadre chronologique de la table
- Les années lunaires sont reprises à droite (col. I) mais se décalent d'un an par rapport au cycle de gauche : le mois juif de Nisan débute, en effet, une nouvelle année lunaire.
- Le 14 Nisan (ou 14e jour de la Lune) est converti en dates juliennes (col. V et VI). Ce calcul s'effectue à partir du 1er avril (= date de décompte des épactes).

prenons par exemple la 1ère année lunaire : au 1er avril, la Lune possède 9 épactes soit 10j d'âge, la Lune aura donc 14j le 5 avril. Les jours d'ajout (col. VII) entreront en ligne de compte lors du calcul du jour hebdomadaire du 14 Nisan.

Le cycle de 19 ans est un outil chronologique pratique qui permet de faire revenir, de manière successive, les phases de la Lune aux mêmes dates de l'année solaire. Le principe est que 19 années solaires = 235 lunaisons : après 19 ans, les syzygies (Nouvelles et Pleines Lunes) sont donc successivement observées aux mêmes dates de l'année. Ce cycle canonise dès lors les dates du 14e jour de la Lune (soit le jour approximatif de la Pleine Lune), mais il ne sert dans la pratique que si l'on parvient à l'ancrer dans la réalité, bref à le dater. C'est en recourant aux indications internes au traité de Maxime qu'on esquissera une datation précise de son cycle :

S. Maxime rédige son traité dans la 14e année du cycle lunaire et dans la 28e du cycle solaire (ce sont, à ses yeux, les années «en cours») ([26]). De même, l'auteur compte «jusque l'actuelle 14e indiction, année 31 du règne d'Héraclius notre très pieux empereur, 6133 ans» ([27]). Par conversion, ces différentes données chronologiques nous situent en l'an 640/641 apr. J.-C.

En effet,

6133 - 5493/5492 (l'ère utilisée par S. Maxime est l'ère alexandrine ([28])) = 640/641

(26) Comme on peut en déduire de ce passage : «la 15e année lunaire qui est la suivante [...], l'année solaire suivante, c'est-à-dire la 1ère» (*PG* 19, 1236C 11-15).

(27) *PG* 19, 1233D 4-7.

(28) La règle de réduction qu'on applique ici est celle d'une année alexandrine débutant au 29 août - 1er thôth ou au 1er septembre. Mais l'usage normal de l'ère alexandrine (début au 25 mars 5492 av. J.-C.) est de commencer les années au 25 mars (en considération des mystères de l'Incarnation et de la Résurrection qui furent accomplis ce jour-là). Néanmoins, sous l'influence de leur calendrier civil, les chronographes et computistes ont souvent déplacé ce point de départ au début de leur année usuelle. Le système chronologique de S. Maxime témoigne de cette ambiguïté. Dans sa présentation des vies du Christ et de Jean le Baptiste (*PG* 19, 1249-1252), le 25 mars est la seule date-départ qui rend cohérent l'ensemble de sa chronologie (V. GRUMEL, *L'année du monde dans l'ère byzantine*, dans *EO*, 34 [1935], p. 321, le note déjà à propos de l'Annonciation à la Vierge, 25 mars, et de la Nativité du Sauveur, 25 décembre, fixées dans la même année) ; de même, le 25 mars 640 tombe un samedi, précisément le jour hebdomadaire donné par Maxime comme premier jour de la 28e année solaire (*PG* 19, 1241). Mais lorsqu'il recourt à une chronologie relative (en particulier ses liens récur-

610 (début du règne d'Héraclius au 5 octobre) + 31 (calcul inclusif) = 640/641
6133 : 15 = 408 reste 13 13 + 1 = 14e indiction ([29])

Ces indications nous permettent, dans un premier temps, de déterminer la période de rédaction du *Computus* : elle s'étend du 5 octobre 640 (début de la 31e année d'Héraclius) au 24 mars 641 (fin de la 28e année solaire). Ce laps de temps s'écourte avec la prise en compte de la mort d'Héraclius Ier survenue le 11 janvier 641 et apprise en province d'Afrique durant le mois de février suivant ([30]) : le *Computus* fut rédigé entre le 5 octobre 640 et la mi-février 641.

rents à l'an 6133, année 31 d'Héraclius, 14e indiction), Maxime semble antéposer cette date-départ au 1er septembre précédent (début de l'indiction et de l'année byzantine) ou même au 29 août-1er thôth (début de l'année civile égyptienne ou copte). Les règles de réduction voudraient, en effet, que cette année 6133, pour qu'elle concorde avec l'indiction 14 et l'année 31 d'Héraclius, débute au 29 août ou au 1er septembre. Cette ambiguïté entre le 25 mars et le 1er septembre est perceptible dans V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 95, n. 1, qui se contredit en affirmant que «Saint Maxime semble commencer l'année avec l'indiction» précisément au sujet de la chronologie de la vie du Christ dont on a parlé. On peut cependant régler le problème par un calcul inclusif et un décompte de 6132 ans accomplis. En définitive, l'ambiguïté mise ici en exergue dénote chez S. Maxime le souci de suivre la datation civile de son époque mêlé au respect du symbolisme alexandrin du 25 mars.

Par ailleurs, le point de départ des années solaires et lunaires vient doubler cette difficulté chronologique. Années de la Lune et du Soleil étant continuellement couplées, on pourrait croire qu'elles débutent au même moment. Or, il n'en est rien : l'année solaire débute, à l'instar de l'ère d'Alexandrie, au 25 mars tandis que le début des années lunaires oscille entre le 8 mars et le 5 avril (en raison des 11 épactes annuelles et de l'ajout des mois intercalaires). Il se peut toutefois que Maxime antépose leur point de départ en ajustant au 1er septembre années du monde, années lunaires et solaires.

(29) Il faut ajouter une unité au résultat car on calcule ici une indiction à partir de l'ère alexandrine. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 202.

(30) Pour P. SHERWOOD, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (*Studia Anselmiana*, 30), Rome, 1952, p. 45, le *terminus ante quem* est le 11 février 641 (arrivée en Afrique de la nouvelle apprenant la mort de l'empereur) ; C. ZUCKERMAN, *La haute hiérarchie militaire en Afrique byzantine*, dans *Antiquité tardive*, 10 (2002), p. 174, place pour sa part le *terminus post quem* de la rédaction en décembre 640 (?) et le *terminus ante quem* à la fin de l'hiver 641 (la mort d'Héraclius, survenue le 11 janvier 641, fut connue en Haute Égypte avant la fin du mois de février 641 et aurait été annoncée à Carthage au même moment).

Nous sommes ensuite à même de fixer le point de départ du cycle maximien : l'an 627/628 de notre ère (640/641 - 13 = 627/628).

Le cycle de S. Maxime coïncide avec un cycle débutant à l'an 285 de notre ère, c'est-à-dire à l'an 2 de Dioclétien ([31]) (284 + 1) :

$$627 - 285 = 342 = 18 \times 19$$

Le règne de Dioclétien devint un moyen de datation car son début coïncidait avec celui du cycle lunaire issu de la réforme du cycle d'Anatole de Laodicée, réalisée à Alexandrie en 304. Ce nouveau cycle «alexandrin» débutait le 29 août 303 (coïncidence d'une nouvelle Lune et du début de l'année civile égyptienne) et, remonté de 19 ans, il se confondait avec les années de Dioclétien ([32]). En effet, 303 – 19 = 284. C'est en raison de cette remarquable correspondance que l'on créa, suite au cycle alexandrin, «l'ère de Dioclétien».

Le cycle de Maxime, par une remontée de cycles, concorde avec le cycle alexandrin, mais, comme il s'agit du cycle des épactes, il y a un décalage d'un an (la première année du cycle d'Alexandrie n'a pas d'épacte et les 11 épactes annuelles n'apparaissent qu'après un an ([33])). On doit toutefois affirmer que le cycle d'Alexandrie est bien le modèle de Maxime.

Remarquons que le cycle maximien débute avec 9 épactes et non 11 comme on s'y attendrait. C'est que S. Maxime calcule les épactes au 1er avril, et au 1er avril 627, la Lune possédait bien 9 épactes (soit 10 jours d'âge) puisqu'il y eut une nouvelle Lune le 23 mars de la même année ([34]).

Étant donné que le cycle de Maxime se base sur celui d'Alexandrie, il coïncide aussi avec l'ère alexandrine qui en découle ([35]), ou plus exactement avec l'an du monde + 1 (le cycle des épactes débutant à l'an 2 du monde) :

$$5491 + 627 = 6118 = 322 \times 19$$

(31) L'ère de Dioclétien (appelée aussi «ère des martyrs» en raison des persécutions ordonnées par l'empereur) débute au 29 août 284 apr. J.-C.

(32) Cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, pp. 36-37 (réforme d'Alexandrie et ère de Dioclétien).

(33) C'est-à-dire que les onze jours annuels de décalage entre le Soleil et la Lune n'apparaissent de manière effective qu'après un an de révolution solaire.

(34) Ce qui a été vérifié par le programme *Kairos* de R. Mercier (Cambridge).

(35) Cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 85 sqq. (ère alexandrine).

Le cycle de Maxime et son calcul des épactes se révèlent être dans la tradition d'Alexandrie et dans la lignée de ses astronomes notoires, tels Théon ou Stéphane d'Alexandrie. Les références chronologiques de ces trois savants pour le cycle de 19 ans sont en effet identiques ([36]).

II. *Le cycle lunaire de Georges*

Le cycle decemnovennal de Georges s'identifie clairement au cycle issu d'une réforme réalisée à Constantinople en 353 apr. J.-C. Cette réforme consista, comme celle d'Alexandrie, en une révision du cycle d'Anatole de Laodicée. Les computistes constantinopolitains aboutirent à un cycle lunaire qui débutait en 345 par la coïncidence d'une néoménie avec l'équinoxe vernal ([37]).

Comparé au cycle réformé d'Alexandrie, ce cycle réformé de Constantinople a une différence de 3 ans : du 29 août 303 (cycle alexandrin) au 20 mars 345 ([38]) (cycle constantinopolitain ou byzantin), il y a une différence de 41 années complètes, c'est-à-dire $(2 \times 19) + 3$.

Ce cycle de Constantinople compte 11 épactes à la 1ère année : Georges insiste particulièrement sur cette condition en soutenant que, lors de la création des astres (4e jour de la Création), la Lune, créée en son 15e jour (Pleine Lune), devançait déjà de 11 jours le Soleil ([39]). C'est une des principales divergences avec les tenants du cycle alexandrin qui n'en comptent aucune : les épactes n'apparaissent, selon eux, qu'après un an de révolution solaire.

(36) Les concordances des cycles de ces computistes sont exposées dans A. TIHON, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, pp. 640-645.

(37) Cf. V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, pp. 41-48. Ce dernier distingue, suite à la réforme de Constantinople, l'existence de deux cycles lunaires, l'un étant naturel (κατὰ φύσιν), l'autre conventionnel (κατὰ θέσιν), celui de Georges étant alors un cycle naturel comportant 11 épactes à la 1ère année. Mais, d'après J. BEAUCAMP - R. BONDOUX - J. LEFORT - M.-Fr. ROUAN - I. SORLIN, *Temps et Histoire*. I, *Le prologue de la* Chronique Pascale, dans *TM* 7 (1979), pp. 277-282, cette distinction se base sur une erreur d'interprétation du texte de la *Chronique Pascale* et n'a pas lieu d'être.

(38) C'est au 21 mars qu'on situait l'équinoxe, mais c'est au 20 mars que fut fixée la néoménie débutant le cycle, cf. V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 46. Du point de vue astronomique (programme *Kairos*), on constate d'ailleurs qu'en 345 c'est au 20 mars (peu avant 17h) qu'eut lieu la nouvelle Lune.

(39) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 28, l. 6-22.

Une particularité chez Georges réside dans la place qu'il attribue au saut de la Lune, à savoir à la 17e année.

Le «saut de la Lune» est une opération par laquelle on supprime un jour surabondant que possède, dans le cycle de 19 ans, le total des années lunaires par rapport aux années solaires. Il convient de mieux expliquer ce saut de la Lune qui ne trouve que trop rarement une explication claire dans les manuels modernes :

1. D'un point de vue astronomique, le cycle de 19 ans tombe presque juste et il n'y a pas besoin de grand ajustement. En effet, 19 années solaires (tropiques) valent : 19 × 365,2422j = 6939,6018j et 235 lunaisons valent : 235 × 29,530588j = 6939,68818j (soit 0,08638j de différence c'est-à-dire environ 2h de décalage ([40])).
2. Dans les comput, le cycle de 19 ans se comprend par une suite de lunaisons qui alternent entre 29 et 30 jours (la lunaison moyenne est donc de 29,5 jours) :
   – 12 années «communes» de 12 lunaisons,
   – 7 années «embolismiques ([41])» de 13 lunaisons.

Une année commune a 354 jours (6 × 29j + 6 × 30j) et une année embolismique 384 jours (6 × 29j + 7 × 30j). Le total est donc de 6936 jours (12 × 354j + 7 × 384j).

Ce total de jours est jusqu'ici compté en rapport avec des années juliennes de 365j (la preuve en est que l'on compte 11 épactes annuelles = 365j - 354j). Pour égaler les années juliennes de 365,25j, il faut donc ajouter, tous les quatre ans, le bissexte, soit 4j pour 16 ans et 0,75j pour les 3 dernières années = 4,75j (le bissexte s'ajoute à une lunaison de 29j pour former un mois de 30j ; le 0,75j restant n'est effectivement ajouté que lorsqu'il atteint l'unité au cycle suivant). Le nouveau total est de 6940,75j.

Par rapport au total des années juliennes (19 × 365,25 = 6939,75j), on se trouve au final avec un surplus d'un jour. Ce jour surabondant, on l'enlève de la dernière année embolismique qui ne comprend donc que 383j. Les lunaisons du cycle de 19 ans s'ajustent alors parfaitement aux 6939,75j des 19 années juliennes.

C'est cette opération de suppression d'un jour lunaire que l'on nomme «saut de la Lune» ([42]) et qui, par son action, crée une 12e épacte en fin de cycle : puis-

(40) L'erreur du cycle de Méton est donc d'un jour tous les 219 ans.

(41) L'année embolismique contient une 13e lunaison supplémentaire faite de 30 jours et permet d'attendre le cours du Soleil.

(42) L'expression «saut de la Lune» ou *saltus lunae* semble être liée aux comput latins. Du côté grec, on parle davantage de «ἡμέρα περιττεύουσα», c'est-à-dire de «jour surabondant».

qu'on enlève un jour à la dernière année, les épactes de cette année augmentent d'une unité. Ceci permet d'obtenir un total de 210 épactes sur tout le cycle ($18 \times 11 + 12 = 210$), former la 7e lunaison supplémentaire et faire revenir à zéro le nombre d'épactes ($230 : 30 = 7$ reste 0).

Alors que le cycle de Constantinople place le saut de la Lune, d'une manière traditionnelle, à la 19e année (ou plus exactement entre la 19e année et la 1e du cycle suivant), Georges le situe à la 17e année. En réalité, cette singularité n'est que l'application d'une réforme du comput de Constantinople réalisée, sous le règne de Justinien, par le computiste Iron, un érudit de la cour impériale ([43]). Le cycle lunaire de Georges ([44]).

Années lunaires	Épactes	*XIV lunae* pascal
1	11	2 avril
2	22	22 mars
3	3	10 avril
4	14	30 mars
5	25	18 avril
6	6	7 avril
7	17	27 mars
8	28	15 avril
9	9	4 avril
10	20	24 mars
11	1	12 avril
12	12	1 avril
13	23	21 mars
14	4	9 avril
15	15	29 mars
16	26	17 avril
17	8	5 avril
18	19	25 mars
19	30 = 0	13 avril

saut de la Lune

(43) La réforme d'Iron survint suite à une divergence entre les tenants du comput de Constantinople et ceux du comput d'Alexandrie. Comme les premiers situaient le *XIV lunae* pascal au 6 avril et au 26 mars et les seconds au 5 avril et au 25 mars, de nombreuses querelles s'ensuivirent. L'action d'Iron fut de modifier le comput constantinopolitain afin de consacrer les dates alexandrines. Le saut de la Lune observé chez Georges à la 17e année est un moyen de se rattacher au comput réformé. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, pp. 103-108. Chez S. Maxime, ce sont bien les dates alexandrines du 5 avril et du 25 mars qui sont prises en compte (cf. p. 276).

(44) Cette reproduction se base sur les données qui figurent dans le traité : Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 27, l. 27sqq. (épactes lunaires) et p. 29, l. 7sqq. (*XIV lunae* pascal). On peut la trouver dans la comparaison de V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, pp. 54-55 («Formes diverses du cycle lunaire de 19 ans»).

On est en mesure de dater précisément ce cycle d'après les diverses indications données dans le traité :

«l'actuelle douzième indiction, la 29e année du règne d'Héraclius» (45),
«les 6147 années depuis la naissance du monde» (46).

Cette double datation suggère de placer la rédaction du traité durant l'année 638/639 de notre ère. En effet,

610 (début du règne d'Héraclius au 5 octobre) + 29 (calcul inclusif) = 638/639
6147 - 5509/5508 (l'ère byzantine est celle qu'emploie Georges ; point de départ : 21 ou 25 mars (47)) = 638/639.

On peut même affiner la période de rédaction du traité : elle s'étend du 5 octobre 638 (début de la 29e année du règne d'Héraclius) au 21 ou 25 mars 639 (fin de la 6147e année byzantine) (48).

«la première année de l'actuel cycle lunaire de dix-neuf ans correspondait à la troisième indiction en cours du cycle actuel, c'était l'année 346 de Dioclétien, l'année 1308 d'Alexandre, l'année 675 d'Antioche, l'année 755 de Tyr, l'an 622 de la divine Incarnation, l'an 589 de la salutaire Passion, l'an 286 de la 12e période de 532 ans, l'an 6138 de la création du monde» (49).

Le système qui permet de passer du nombre d'épactes à la date du 14e jour de la Lune sera expliqué dans le détail du calcul pascal de Georges.

(45) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 24, l. 15-16.

(46) *Ibid.*, p. 25, l. 3-4.

(47) Dans ses débuts, c'est-à-dire au moins durant le second tiers du VIIe siècle, l'ère byzantine débutait en mars (soit le 21, jour de l'équinoxe, soit le 25, à la manière alexandrine). Ce n'est que par après, sous l'influence de l'indiction, que le point de départ des années byzantines fut déplacé au 1er septembre. Cf. V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 124.

(48) Ce qui correspond à la datation réalisée par Fr. Diekamp qui place cependant le *terminus ante quem* de la rédaction du texte au 31 août 639 (Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 44). V. Grumel, pour sa part, situe, de manière erronée, la rédaction du traité en l'année 640/641 (V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 108 et 157). Celui-ci s'est, en réalité, basé sur une datation tirée du commentaire de Georges au *trochos* synchronique perdu (*ibid.*, p. 112) qui, dans l'édition de Diekamp comme dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 2210, suit le traité pascal proprement dit. Il n'a pas vu que cette datation est plus tardive que celle du traité et donc distincte, mais il l'a amalgamée fautivement au comput.

(49) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 27, l. 7-13. Ce synchronisme de divers systèmes chronologiques est repris et détaillé dans A. TIHON, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, p. 644.

L'année 6138 du monde étant la 1ère du cycle «actuel» de Georges, l'année 6147 en est donc la dixième, comme l'affirme déjà le computiste lui-même au début du traité :

> «le nombre de 6147, divisé par dix-neuf, révèle, par le reste, notre actuelle année lunaire, à savoir la dixième» (50).

On en conclut aisément que la 1ère année du cycle lunaire de Georges est l'an 629/630. Plus précisément, le cycle de Georges débute au 1er janvier 630. En 630, le *XIV lunae* pascal est porté au 2 avril, et à la date du 1er janvier 630 (comme au 1er mars par ailleurs) la Lune possède bien 11 épactes (51). C'est, en outre, à cette date du 1er janvier que Georges compte les épactes lunaires (52).

Et l'on voit finalement que ce début cyclique coïncide avec l'an 345, début du cycle lunaire issu de la réforme de Constantinople de 353. En effet, 630 – 345 = 285 = 15 × 19. Oui, Georges se réfère bien à la forme constantinopolitaine du cycle lunaire : la preuve en est l'exacte correspondance !

Le calcul de la date de Pâques

Avant d'entamer ce chapitre consacré au calcul pascal, il vaut la peine de se rappeler les trois principaux fondements astronomiques et chronologiques au cœur du calcul de la date de Pâques (53) :

- le 14e jour de la Lune du 1er mois des Hébreux (Nisan) : autrement dit, le jour approximatif de la pleine Lune (appelé traditionnellement le «*XIV lunae* pascal») au soir duquel les Juifs entament leur Pâque ;
- l'équinoxe de printemps du 21 mars : ce phénomène astronomique marque véritablement l'entrée dans une nouvelle année car il est reconnu pour être le commencement naturel de l'année solaire. L'équinoxe vernal permet d'éviter de fêter Pâques deux fois dans la même année ;

(50) Fr. Diekamp, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 24, l. 27-29.

(51) Constatation faite via le programme *Kairos* de R. Mercier.

(52) Comme on l'a vu (voir ci-dessus, n. 38), le cycle byzantin débute par nature à la nouvelle Lune du 20 mars. Néanmoins, dès le début de son emploi, les computistes reportèrent artificiellement son point de départ, et de là le point de décompte des épactes, «au 1er janvier, où la Lune a le même âge qu'au 1er mars, à savoir le XIIe jour» (= 11 épactes). Cf. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 190.

(53) Ces trois fondements sont détaillés, d'un point de vue théclogique et au sujet de la *Chronique Pascale*, dans J. Beaucamp - R. Bondoux - J. Lefort - M.-Fr. Rouan - I. Sorlin, *Temps et Histoire*, I, pp. 258-265.

– la succession des jours de la semaine : cette succession aide à chercher le dimanche de Pâques d'après le jour de la semaine du *XIV lunae* pascal.

Pour conclure, Pâques ne doit se fêter ni avant le 14e jour de la Lune ni avant l'équinoxe vernal, mais bien après ces deux phénomènes astronomiques. Pâques se définit donc comme le dimanche suivant le 14e jour de la Lune, qui suit lui-même l'équinoxe de printemps ; si ce 14e jour lunaire tombe un dimanche, la fête pascale doit alors être reportée au dimanche suivant (54).

I. *Le calcul pascal de Georges*

Dans son comput, Georges n'indique pas de date précise, susceptible d'être un exemple qui illustrerait son calcul de la date de Pâques. Son seul exemple de datation pascale remonte à la deuxième année du règne de l'empereur Phocas : le 22 mars 604. Georges évoque cette date car, en cette année, Pâques eut lieu à une extrémité des échéances pascales : en raison de la double observation de la pleine Lune et de l'équinoxe vernal du 21 mars, Pâques ne peut, en effet, avoir lieu qu'entre le 22 mars et le 25 avril inclus. Georges ne développe donc pas d'explication systématique dont le but serait de calculer, pas à pas, la date de ce 22 mars 604. Cette date, donnée en fin de traité, ne rend finalement pas compte des étapes de la méthode du calcul pascal. Néanmoins, il est intéressant de s'en servir dans notre problématique afin d'ancrer dans la réalité le calcul pascal de Georges : cette date du 22 mars 604 (ou 22 mars 6112 de l'ère byzantine : 604 + 5508 = 6112 (55)) nous permettra d'illustrer sa méthode.

I.a. *Méthodes et théorie*

1. Diviser les années du monde par 19 et 28 afin de connaître les années de la Lune et du Soleil

C'est la méthode la plus traditionnelle pour définir les années lunaires et solaires. On la retrouvera chez S. Maxime et, généralement, chez tous

(54) Cette postposition impérative de la fête pascale au dimanche suivant a pour but d'éviter de fêter Pâques au même jour que la Pâque juive.

(55) On ajoute 5508 car on se trouve au 22 mars. La règle de réduction veut, en effet, que, pour trouver une année chrétienne à partir de l'ère byzantine, l'on retranche, dans les débuts de l'ère byzantine (comme dans le cas de Georges), 5507 du 1er janvier au 20 mars et 5508 du 21 mars au 31 décembre et, plus tardivement, 5508 du 1er janvier au 31 août et 5509 du 1er septembre au 31 décembre (V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 220).

les autres computistes. Le reste de la division indique le rang de l'année du monde à l'intérieur des différents cycles.

Le cycle lunaire de 19 ans ramène les mêmes phases de la Lune (syzygies) aux mêmes dates de l'année solaire (19 années = 235 lunaisons). Il permet donc, pour une année donnée, de repérer une néoménie précise. Dans notre problématique, il servira à définir, pour l'an 604, la date de la pleine Lune pascale.

Les années solaires se comptent dans un cycle de 28 ans. C'est au bout de cette période que les mêmes dates de l'année reviennent successivement aux mêmes jours de la semaine.

Le principe de ce cycle est que chaque année comporte 52 semaines complètes de 7 jours (52 × 7 = 364 jours), plus 1 jour pour l'année de 365 jours (364 + 1 = 365) et plus 2 jours pour l'année bissextile de 366 jours (364 + 2 = 366). Ce surplus de 1 ou de 2 jours par rapport aux 52 semaines entraîne donc, chaque année, un décalage du jour du 1er de l'an. Par exemple, si une année de 365j débute un lundi, l'année suivante commencera alors un mardi.

En réalité, le jour du 1er de l'an se décale chaque année d'une unité un quart (l'année solaire comprenant réellement 365j 1/4, et non 365 ou 366j) mais, dans les comput, on ne considère généralement que les unités complètes et l'on introduit tous les quatre ans un jour (qui n'est autre que le bissexte), formé par les quatre quarts de jour accumulés.

Ce principe de décalage se répète d'une manière identique tous les 28 ans (ou sept tétraétérides (56)) et ce n'est qu'après cette période que les mêmes jours de la semaine se succèdent aux mêmes dates de l'année (57).

On comprend désormais pourquoi il nous faut connaître les années des cycles lunaire et solaire : ceux-ci nous feront savoir, par un calcul développé plus loin, respectivement la date de la pleine Lune pascale et son jour de la semaine.

2. Chercher les épactes lunaires et solaires

a) Calcul des épactes lunaires :

Les épactes lunaires sont déjà fournies par la représentation qu'on a faite du cycle lunaire, mais le traité indique aussi la méthode de leur calcul :

(56) Le cycle de 28 ans n'est finalement que le produit de la multiplication des 7 jours de la semaine et des 4 ans du cycle du bissexte (7 × 4 = 28).

(57) Voir la représentation du cycle de 28 ans, reprise au computiste Isaac Argyre (XIVe siècle), dans A. Tihon, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, pp. 635-636.

Multiplier par onze l'année lunaire ; retrancher, le cas échéant, les trentaines du produit obtenu ; le résultat indique les épactes lunaires.

Les épactes de la Lune marquent le décalage annuel qu'il existe entre le cours du Soleil et celui de la Lune (365j environ – 354j environ = 11j environ). Elles font partie intégrante du cycle de 19 ans puisque, rappelons-le, au bout de 19 ans, le cours des deux astres se rejoint (19 ans = 235 lunaisons) et le nombre des épactes devient nul. On comprend aisément la multiplication par onze d'une année lunaire donnée : il s'agit de définir les jours de décalage entre la néoménie débutant cette année lunaire et le point de départ du cycle de 19 ans ([58]).

Mais comme le but ultime des épactes lunaires est de trouver la date de la nouvelle Lune, non pas depuis le point de départ du cycle, mais depuis le début du mois le plus proche, on retranche autant que possible les trentaines du nombre total d'épactes ([59]). Enfin, comme l'explique bien A. Tihon ([60]), les épactes définissent le plus souvent, non pas la distance entre la nouvelle Lune et le 1er du mois où elle tombe, mais bien la distance qui sépare la nouvelle Lune du début du mois suivant. C'est bien cette réalité que les épactes lunaires expriment dans le traité de Georges : les 11 épactes de la 1ère année de son cycle marquent le décalage entre la néoménie du 21 décembre 629 et le 1er janvier 630 (cf. p. 284).

b) Calcul des épactes solaires, appelées également «épactes des semaines» :

Prendre une unité et un quart par année solaire, en négligeant les fractions jusqu'à ce qu'elles forment une unité complète après des périodes de quatre années ; diviser la somme obtenue par sept ; le reste de la division indique les épactes solaires.

Le décalage des jours de la semaine, exposé plus haut au sujet du cycle de 28 ans, s'exprime au moyen des épactes solaires. Si elles aussi rendent

(58) Le cycle de 19 ans, quelle que soit sa forme, débute toujours par une nouvelle Lune choisie à une date de départ bien précise : comme on l'a vu, le cycle alexandrin débute par la coïncidence d'une nouvelle Lune avec le 1er thôth, premier jour de l'année civile égyptienne ; quant au cycle de Constantinople, il commence par la concordance d'une néoménie avec l'équinoxe vernal (abaissé au 20 mars).

(59) Le système fut d'abord conçu pour le calendrier égyptien dont les mois comptent 30 jours.

(60) A. Tihon, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, p. 637.

compte d'un décalage, ces épactes sont cependant très différentes de celles de la Lune.

Variables de 1 à 7, elles permettent de trouver, d'après le jour connu au commencement d'un cycle solaire, le jour de la semaine qui débute une autre année (du même cycle ou, par prolongement, d'un cycle inférieur ou ultérieur). Si une année possède 4 épactes, cela veut dire qu'elle a 4j de décalage par rapport au début du cycle : les cycles débutant souvent un dimanche (1er jour de la semaine), cette année débutera donc un jeudi.

En s'ajoutant à une date précise de l'année, les épactes solaires indiquent alors le jour hebdomadaire de cette date. Il faut bien entendu, pour cela, connaître le jour de cette date à la 1ere année du cycle. Exemple : le 21 mars de la 1ère année du cycle étant un lundi, le 21 mars d'une année de 3 épactes sera un jeudi.

On perçoit bien le rôle de ces épactes dans le calcul pascal : définir le jour de la semaine du *XIV lunae* pascal et, de là, fixer le dimanche de Pâques.

Chez Georges et la plupart des computistes, le fonctionnement des épactes solaires se comprend à partir du 1er jour de la semaine (dimanche), c'est-à-dire que 3 épactes dénotent un décalage de 3 jours par rapport au dimanche (mercredi). Les chronographes recherchent généralement, comme point de décompte à la 1ère année du cycle, un dimanche qui coïncide avec le début d'un mois. Ce sera le cas de Maxime avec le dimanche 1er avril. En ce qui concerne Georges, il semble que ce soit aussi au 1er avril qu'il compte annuellement les épactes, mais avec cette différence que ce 1er avril tombe un lundi à la 1ère année de son cycle (le lundi 1er avril 597).

Dans le calcul des épactes, on prend un jour par année (c'est le jour annuel de décalage), plus un jour pour chaque période de 4 ans (quatre quarts de jour accumulés qui forment le bissexte). On opère ensuite une division par le nombre des jours de la semaine (7) pour parvenir au nombre d'épactes.

3. Trouver le 14e jour de la Lune pascale

Georges expose deux méthodes pour définir le *XIV lunae* pascal. Il vaut la peine de s'y attarder car elles sont le point d'orgue du traité sans toutefois être d'une grande clarté.

a) 1ère méthode :

«Tu connais pour chaque année le 14e jour de la Lune pascale, en retirant soit 11 lorsque le 14e jour est en avril, soit 12 lorsqu'il tombe en mars, ou, s'il n'y

a pas le compte pour retrancher 11, en ajoutant 20 [...]. Il est clair que, à partir et au-delà de 20, le calcul nous désigne le mois de mars et qu'en dessous de 20, c'est avril qu'il montre. Il faut d'autre part savoir que, dans la 17e année lunaire, comme nous le disions plus haut, étant donné qu'on ajoute aux épactes un jour [...], c'est au cinq avril que se trouve le quatorzième jour» (61).

Cette première méthode se base sur le *XIV lunae* pascal de l'année du cycle de 19 ans qui *précède* celle dont on cherche le 14e jour de la Lune. En réalité, c'est un nombre précis qu'il convient d'ajouter ou de soustraire à ce *XIV lunae* pour trouver le 14e jour de la Lune de l'année suivante.

À partir de l'assertion de Georges, on peut établir trois formules. Les exemples sont tirés de notre reproduction du cycle lunaire géorgien (p. 282) :

1. *XIV lunae* (**avril**) **- 11** = *XIV lunae* (**avril**) de l'année suivante
   exemple : 15 avril (*XIV lunae* de la 8e année) – 11 = 4 avril (*XIV lunae* de la 9e année)

2. *XIV lunae* (**mars**) **- 12** = *XIV lunae* (**avril**) de l'année suivante
   exemple : 27 mars (*XIV lunae* de la 7e année) – 12 = 15 avril (*XIV lunae* de la 8e année)

3. *XIV lunae* (**avril**) **+ 20** = *XIV lunae* (**mars**) de l'année suivante
   exemple : 4 avril (*XIV lunae* de la 9e année) + 20 = 24 avril (*XIV lunae* de la 10e année)

Les différents nombres à ajouter ou à soustraire peuvent faire apparaître ces formules quelque peu alambiquées. Or, si ces formules ne sont guère claires, la réalité qu'elles désignent est assez simple. Elles font, en effet, ressortir, toutes les trois, un nombre commun (11) qui n'est autre que le nombre des épactes lunaires annuelles :

- Lorsqu'on retranche 11 d'un *XIV lunae* d'avril pour trouver le *XIV lunae* du même mois de l'année suivante, ces 11 jours que l'on soustrait correspondent aux 11 épactes lunaires annuelles. Rappelons-nous que les épactes servent à repérer la néoménie débutant l'année lunaire par rapport au début du cycle puis au début du mois le plus proche (cf. p. 288). Il s'agit ici de situer, un an plus tard, le même *XIV lunae* pascal ; comme on est en avril, il est correctement placé après l'équinoxe du 21 mars.

- Lorsqu'on retire 12 d'un *XIV lunae* de mars pour chercher le *XIV lunae* du mois d'avril de l'année suivante, ces 12 jours à soustraire sont les 11 épactes

(61) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 29, l. 25-34.

+ 1 jour. On situe toujours le *XIV lunae* dans l'année suivante (– 11 épactes) mais, comme on est en deçà de l'équinoxe, on passe à la lunaison suivante, en avril. Étant donné que, par ce saut, on quitte un mois de 31j (mars) et que le système des épactes fonctionne pour des mois de 30j, il convient de soustraire le jour superflu apporté par le 31 mars. On retire donc un jour en plus des épactes : 11 + 1 = 12.

– Lorsqu'on ajoute 20 à un *XIV lunae* d'avril pour trouver le *XIV lunae* du mois de mars de l'année suivante, ces 20 jours correspondent à 30j – 11 épactes + 1j. Comme précédemment, on trouve par un retrait de 11 épactes le *XIV lunae* pascal de l'année suivante. Mais comme on passe d'avril à mars, il faut prendre en considération 31 jours, et non plus 30. À l'inverse de la situation précédente, on ajoute donc un jour pour que le système des épactes inclue le 31 mars (31 – 11 = 20).

b) 2e méthode :

«Autre méthode pour connaître à quelle date mensuelle tombe le 14e jour de la Lune.
En plaçant toujours sur les doigts le nombre 43 et en retirant les épactes de l'année dont tu veux connaître le jour, le reste t'indique le 14e jour de la Lune pascale. Sache que, lorsque le jour arrive en mars, c'est-à-dire qu'il dépasse 20, il faut ajouter un au reste. [...] Il faut encore se rappeler ce qui a été dit, à savoir qu'à la 17e année lunaire nous ajoutons aux épactes le jour totalisé à partir de cette mince fraction, dont nous avons parlé plus haut. [...] Chaque fois que le 14e jour de la Lune pascale est au 20 et au-delà, il faut savoir que le jour est en mars ; si on le trouve en-dessous de 20, il faut savoir qu'il est en avril» (62).

La seconde méthode de calcul est basée sur le nombre 43, duquel il faut retirer les épactes lunaires de l'année dont on veut connaître le *XIV lunae* pascal : 43 – *x* épactes = *XIV lunae*. Ce nombre de 43 jours est composé de plusieurs données qui sont : 43 = 30 + 14 – 1.

– Le nombre 30 renvoie à un mois de 30 jours. Comme les épactes lunaires désignent la distance entre la nouvelle Lune et la fin du mois où elle tombe, le mois de 30 jours moins les épactes désigne la nouvelle Lune (30 - *x* épactes = NL).
– Le nombre 14 désigne les 14 jours qui séparent, de manière approximative, la nouvelle Lune de la pleine Lune (NL + 14 = PL).
– Le jour à retirer de la somme est le premier des 14 jours de la Lune, jour déjà compris dans le nombre 30. En effet, le premier jour de la Lune est déjà inclus

(62) Fr. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios*, p. 30, l. 3 sqq.

dans le mois de 30 jours. Cependant, on rajoute un jour lorsqu'on est au mois de mars (31 jours), puisque jusqu'ici on se trouve dans la perspective d'un mois de 30 jours (avril) :

43 = 30 + 14 – 1 (avril)
43 [30 + 14 – 1] + 1 (mars)

La seconde méthode de recherche du *XIV lunae* pascal peut elle-même se définir selon ces deux formules :

43 [mois de 30j + PL – 1] – *x* épactes = *XIV lunae* (avril)
et 43 [mois de 30j + PL – 1] + 1 – *x* épactes = *XIV lunae* (mars).

Rappelons enfin que, comme dans l'exposé de la première méthode, l'on sait si l'on se trouve en mars ou en avril d'après le résultat final de l'équation : à partir et au-delà de 20, on est en mars ; en-dessous de 20, on est en avril.

Cette dernière recherche du *XIV lunae* pascal est quasi identique à la méthode employée dans le chapitre 30 du traité astronomique de Stéphane d'Alexandrie. Dans ce chapitre, on voit que le computiste trouve le 14e jour de la Lune par la formule 44 – *x* épactes. A. Tihon explique cette formule par un schéma (63) : la somme des 44 jours n'y est autre, comme chez Georges, que l'addition d'un mois de 30j et d'une pleine Lune. Chez Stéphane, on y retranche simplement une unité lorsqu'on se trouve en avril.

4. Trouver en quel jour de la semaine tombe le 14e jour de la Lune

Prendre la date du 14e jour de la Lune, et si elle tombe en avril, ajouter le nombre des épactes du Soleil de la même année. Ensuite, diviser par 7 et le reste montre le jour de la semaine auquel se trouve le 14e jour de la Lune. Si on trouve le 14e jour en mars, ajouter les jours de mars et les épactes du Soleil et, en plus, 4 autres jours et diviser par 7 ; le jour de la semaine est connu à partir du reste.

Afin de trouver le jour de la semaine du *XIV lunae* pascal, on ajoute à sa date les épactes solaires. Étant donné que les épactes solaires définissent ici le jour du 1er avril, aucune opération supplémentaire ne doit être faite : le jour du *XIV lunae* pascal est correctement établi en avril.

En ce qui concerne mars, il faut ajouter aux épactes solaires 4 jours supplémentaires qui témoignent du décalage entre le jour du 1er mars et

(63) A. Tihon, *Le calcul de la date de Pâques de Stéphanos-Héraclius*, p. 637.

du 1er avril : il y a, en réalité, 3 jours accomplis de décalage (31j en tout ou 4 × 7j + 3j), ce qui signifie 4 jours dans un compte inclusif où l'on compte comme unité supplémentaire le jour entamé (1er avril) (64).

Le total obtenu doit enfin être divisé par 7 afin d'obtenir un reste qui indique la position hebdomadaire du *XIV lunae*.

5. La date de Pâques

Dans l'idée que la résurrection du Christ eut lieu le dimanche qui a suivi la Pâque juive, la dernière étape du calcul de la date de Pâques veut que l'on passe du jour de la pleine Lune pascale au dimanche suivant.

I.b. *Illustration : la date de Pâques de l'an 604*

Mars-avril 604 = mars-avril 6112 de l'ère byzantine.

1. Années lunaire et solaire

6112 : 19 = 321 reste 13
6112 : 28 = 218 reste 8
L'an 6112 est **13 de la Lune et 8 du Soleil.**

2. Épactes lunaires et solaires

a) 13 × 11 = 143
143 – 120 = 23
23 épactes lunaires

b) 8 + (8 × 1/4) = 10
10 : 7 = 1 reste 3
3 épactes solaires

3. Recherche du 14e jour de la Lune

a) 1e méthode : *XIV lunae* pascal de la 12e année lunaire = 1er avril
1 + 20 = **21 mars** (formule n°3) = *XIV lunae* pascal de la 13e année lunaire

b) 2e méthode : 43 – 23 épactes lunaires = 20
à partir de 20 (mars), + 1 (formule n° 2)
20 + 1 = **21 mars** = *XIV lunae* pascal

(64) Ce compte inclusif peut paraître mathématiquement faux, mais il se corrige de lui-même par la suite où l'on compte le jour hebdomadaire du *XIV lunae* à partir du 1er jour de la semaine (dimanche) *inclus* (ex. 3e jour = mardi).

4. Jour de la semaine du 14e jour de la Lune

21 + 3 + 4 = 28
28 : 7 = 4 reste 0 Le reste 0 s'assimile au reste 7.
Le 21 mars tombe le 7e jour de la semaine (le 7e jour après le dimanche inclus), c'est-à-dire un **samedi**.

5. Date de la fête de Pâques

La date de Pâques est le dimanche qui suit le samedi 21 mars ; elle tombe donc, en 604, le **dimanche 22 mars**.

II. *Le calcul pascal de S. Maxime*

Dans son *Computus ecclesiasticus*, S. Maxime calcule la date de la fête de Pâques pour l'année 6133 de l'ère mondiale d'Alexandrie ([65]). Il s'agit de l'an 640/641 de notre ère (6133 - 5493/5492 = 640/641). Plus précisément, puisque Pâques se situe en mars-avril, S. Maxime calcule la date de Pâques pour mars-avril 641. Il condense les étapes de son calcul en un seul paragraphe :

> «Exposé de la manière avec laquelle on pourra calculer Pâques à chaque année à partir de cette petite table.
>
> Trouver l'année en cours de la Lune par le calcul clairement exposé plus haut (prenons par exemple la quinzième année qui est la suivante [...]) ; ensuite, connaître l'année solaire suivante, c'est-à-dire la première : ceci est la première étape [...]. Et si nous voulons connaître la fête de la résurrection elle-même, nous cherchons le mois romain situé en face de la quinzième année lunaire dans la petite table ronde toute proche ; et en trouvant que celui-ci est avril, nous prenons la date de ce mois située à côté, c'est-à-dire le premier, puisque le 14e jour de la Lune, c'est-à-dire du premier mois des Hébreux, je veux dire Nisan, correspond à ce premier avril. Par rapport à cette même quinzième année lunaire, nous ajoutons toujours aussi à ce premier avril les épactes de l'année solaire suivante, c'est-à-dire la première, au nombre de 7 et inscrites auprès de cette première année solaire. De cette manière, nous divisons les 8 jours en 7, et du seul jour restant nous connaissons le jour de la semaine, nous savons que le premier avril est le premier jour de la semaine,

(65) Comme on l'a dit (voir ci-dessus, n. 28), il s'agit soit de l'an 6132 (début au 25 mars) si S. Maxime compte de manière inclusive soit de l'an 6133 s'il part du 29 août ou du 1er septembre. Cette dernière hypothèse me semble ici plus plausible puisque notre computiste veut calculer la date de Pâques, c'est-à-dire une date de mars ou d'avril (dans le cas d'avril, l'an 6132 est déjà révolu).

c'est-à-dire le saint jour du Seigneur ; et de ce jour, nous faisons passer la fête de la sainte résurrection au saint jour du Seigneur suivant, elle se situe de manière évidente le huit avril. [...]» (66).

II.a. *Méthodes et explications*

1. «Trouver l'année en cours de la Lune»

Le calcul de l'année lunaire est traditionnel et déjà exposé en début de traité. Il suffit de diviser les années du monde (celles de l'ère d'Alexandrie en l'occurrence) par 19, le reste indiquant le rang de l'année lunaire en cours.

2. «Connaître l'année solaire»

A l'instar de l'année lunaire, le calcul de l'année solaire est du plus évident : en divisant les années du monde par 28, on parvient, par le reste, à trouver l'année du Soleil.

Le cycle pascal de 532 ans peut, dans un premier temps, aider à la détermination des années lunaire et solaire. Ce cycle, produit de la multiplication des cycles de 19 ans et de 28 ans, permet de ramener les *XIV lunae* successivement aux mêmes dates de l'année et aux mêmes jours de la semaine. Georges, pour sa part, évoque son principe mais ne l'utilise pas dans le calcul de l'année.

Seconde méthode : diviser autant que possible les années du monde par 532 ; diviser la période restante soit par 28 pour connaître l'année du Soleil soit par 19 pour l'année lunaire ; le reste de la division fait savoir le rang de l'année.

3. «Chercher la date et le mois romain situés en face de l'année lunaire»

Cette opération renvoie à la table du cycle lunaire (reproduite p. 276). S. Maxime y liste les dates alexandrines officielles du *XIV lunae* pascal (col. V-VI de droite). Ces dates s'échelonnent sur 19 ans puisque, rappelons-le, c'est après cette période que la série des *XIV lunae* pascaux revient aux mêmes dates de l'année. La table détermine, pour chaque année de la Lune, la date et le mois du 14e jour de la Lune, à partir d'où se positionnera le dimanche de Pâques.

À l'inverse de Georges, S. Maxime ne propose pas de calcul du 14e jour lunaire à partir d'une formule précise intégrant les épactes de la

(66) *PG* 19, 1236C5 - 1237A10.

Lune. On se doit cependant de livrer ici son calcul des épactes lunaires :

Calcul des épactes lunaires :

- Multiplier par 11 l'année lunaire dont on veut connaître les épactes.
- Retrancher deux unités au produit obtenu. Cette opération est due au fait que la 1ère année lunaire ne comporte que neuf épactes, là où on s'attendrait à en compter onze (67).
- Diviser le produit obtenu par 30, le reste donne les épactes lunaires.

4. «Ajouter à la date trouvée les épactes de l'année solaire»

Les épactes du Soleil renvoient à la même réalité calendaire que les épactes des semaines observées dans le traité de Georges. Mais, plus rigoureux que ce dernier, S. Maxime prend la peine d'en proposer une définition :

> «Les épactes des années solaires sont les jours qui, à partir du jour de la semaine débutant l'année solaire, restent par rétrogradation dans la même semaine jusqu'au premier jour, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au jour du Seigneur» (68).

Les épactes solaires se définissent donc comme le nombre de jours que le 1er de l'an possède en décalage par rapport au 1er jour de la semaine (dimanche).

D'après cette définition, une année qui débute un samedi possède 6 épactes puisqu'on trouve 6 jours (vendredi, jeudi, mercredi, mardi, lundi, dimanche) en parcourant la semaine en sens inverse jusqu'à son premier jour. Les épactes du Soleil servent ainsi à définir quel jour de la semaine débute une année donnée.

Chez S. Maxime, les épactes solaires sont comptées au 1er avril (69) : elles lui permettent de définir le jour de la semaine du 1er avril d'une

(67) Cf. *supra*, p. 279.

(68) *PG* 19, col. 1241 B4.

(69) Le 1er avril est aussi le point de départ pour son calcul des épactes lunaires, alors que les Alexandrins comptaient généralement ces épactes lunaires au 29 août (= 1er thôt), comme le sous-entend S. Maxime lui-même (*PG* 19, 1272B7). V. Grumel pense que Maxime a voulu donner le même point de départ aux épactes de la Lune qu'à celles du Soleil (V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, p. 190). Il est clair que Maxime a voulu harmoniser les deux points de départ. Le 1er avril pour les épactes solaires lui permettait d'éviter, comme dans le cas de Georges, un ajout de jours pour trouver le jour hebdomadaire d'un *XIV lunae* d'avril. D'autre part, la date-exemple de son calcul pascal (14e jour de la Lune au

année donnée. Dans la même perspective, ajoutées à une date du même mois d'avril (le 14e jour de la Lune en l'occurrence), les épactes solaires définissent le jour hebdomadaire de cette date.

Comme chez Georges, si le 14e jour de la Lune tombe en mars, il convient d'ajouter aux épactes 4 jours supplémentaires qui résultent du décalage entre le 1er mars et le 1er avril ([70]). Ces 4 jours sont ceux qu'on voit inscrits dans la table de Maxime sous la rubrique «ajouts ([71])».

Les épactes solaires sont facilement obtenues via le *trochos* de la table qui en donne le nombre à chaque année du cycle. Si le *trochos* permet de faire l'impasse sur leur calcul, il vaut toutefois la peine de s'y arrêter.

Calcul des épactes solaires ([72]) :

- Prendre le même nombre de jours que le nombre de l'année solaire dont on veut connaître les épactes.
- Retirer à ce nombre une unité. Il faut, en effet, soustraire un jour à ce nombre car la 1ère année du cycle solaire de Maxime débute un dimanche et ne possède dès lors aucune épacte, comme le précise le Saint lui-même :

  «Il faut enlever un jour au nombre égal à celui de l'année puisque la première année se trouve sans épacte en raison du fait d'être réglée sur le premier jour, c'est-à-dire sur le saint jour du Seigneur. En effet, toute année commençant par le jour du Seigneur ne possède généralement aucune épacte» ([73]).

- Ajouter à ce nombre le quart du nombre de la même année solaire. Cette opération permet de prendre en compte le bissexte apparaissant à chaque tétraétéride.
- Diviser la somme obtenue par 7 (nombre hebdomadaire), le reste donne à savoir le nombre des épactes du Soleil.

1er avril) l'aura certainement convaincu de compter les épactes de la Lune à cette même date.

(70) C'est-à-dire, de manière inclusive, 32 jours ou 4 semaines complètes (28j) + 4 jours.

(71) Le terme «ajouts» traduit le grec προσθεταὶ ἡμέραι, c'est-à-dire les «jours à ajouter (aux épactes)».

(72) Cf. *PG* 19, 1248D1.

(73) *Ibid.*, 1248D8.

5. «Diviser le total des jours en 7 et connaître, par le reste, le jour de la semaine»

Ceci fait savoir en quel jour de la semaine tombe le *XIV lunae* pascal. Une fois que l'on a ajouté les épactes solaires – et, le cas échéant, les jours d'ajout – à la date du *XIV lunae* pascal (la pleine Lune pascale est alors située par rapport au jour débutant le mois), il suffit de diviser la somme obtenue par 7 pour trouver, via le reste, le jour de la semaine du *XIV lunae* pascal.

6. «Faire passer la fête de Pâques au dimanche suivant»

Cette opération est identique à tous les calculs pascaux. Ce saut au dimanche suivant est impératif, même si le *XIV lunae* pascal tombe lui-même un dimanche, car on ne peut fixer la date de Pâques au même jour que la Pâque juive, comme le rappelle S. Maxime :

> «En effet, il convient que nous passions totalement au-dessus de la Pâque hébraïque, je veux dire du 14ème jour de la Lune, c'est-à-dire du premier mois des Hébreux, et il convient, si elle tombe au jour du Seigneur, de passer à l'autre jour du Seigneur» (74).

D'après la longueur du saut entre le *XIV lunae* et le dimanche suivant, la fête de Pâques se situe toujours entre le 15e et le 21e jour de la Lune. Ce sera le 15e jour lunaire si le *XIV lunae* tombe un samedi, le 21e s'il arrive un dimanche.

II.b. *La date de Pâques de l'an 641*

S. Maxime se réfère à l'an 6133 de la Création, 14ème indiction, année 31 de l'empereur Héraclius. Le calcul pascal se base donc sur les mois de mars-avril de l'année alexandrine 6133, soit mars-avril 641.

1-2. Trouver les années solaire et lunaire

6133 : 19 = 322 reste 15 et 6133 : 28 = 219 reste 1

ou 6133 : 532 = 11 + 281
281 : 19 = 14 reste 15 et 281 : 28 = 10 reste 1

L'an 6133 de l'ère d'Alexandrie est **15 de la Lune et 1e du Soleil.**

On sait que les années solaires débutent chez S. Maxime au 25 mars et que le début des années de la Lune varie du 8 mars au 5 avril. Mais l'on a vu que

(74) *PG* 19, 1237A10.

S. Maxime, dans ses parallèles avec l'indiction, fait aussi débuter les années alexandrines au 1er septembre. Un tableau peut être utile à une visualisation du synchronisme des différentes données chronologiques embrassées jusqu'ici. On situe le début des années alexandrines au 1er septembre, en rapport avec l'indiction :

Dates juliennes	Jours de la semaine	Ère alexandrine	Indiction	Années du règne d'Héraclius	Cycle solaire	Cycle lunaire
1er janvier 640	Samedi	6132	13	30	27	13
25 mars 640	Samedi	6132	13	30	**28**	13
30 mars 640	Jeudi	6132	13	30	28	**14**
1er septembre 640	Vendredi	**6133**	**14**	30	28	14
5 octobre 640	Jeudi	6133	14	**31**	28	14
19 mars 641	Lundi	6133	14	31	28	**15**
25 mars 641	Dimanche	6133	14	31	**1**	15
1er septembre 641	Samedi	**6134**	**15**	31	1	15
5 octobre 641	Vendredi	6134	15	**32**	1	15

3. Chercher la date et le mois romain du 14e jour de la Lune, en face de la 15e année lunaire

La date alexandrine officielle du *XIV lunae* pascal de la 15e année lunaire est le **1er avril**. Comme le rappelle S. Maxime, ce 14e jour de la Lune correspond toujours au 14e jour du mois de Nisan, le premier mois du calendrier lunaire juif.

4. Ajouter à la date trouvée les épactes solaires

D'après le *trochos* circulaire du comput, les épactes de la 1e année solaire sont au nombre de **7**. Vérifions cette donnée par le calcul de ces épactes :

- Prendre le même nombre de jours que cette année : 1 jour.
- Retirer une unité : 1-1 = 0.
- Ajouter le quart du nombre de l'année. 1 : 4 = 1/4 ; 0 + 0 (on ne prend pas en compte les fractions mais simplement les unités complètes qui constituent le bissexte) = 0.
- Diviser par 7. 0 : 7 = 0.

La 1ère année solaire ne possède aucune épacte. Ce qui est équivalent à une année de 7 épactes puisqu'un décalage de 7 jours fait revenir au même jour de la semaine.

On ajoute ces épactes à la date du 1er avril : **7 + 1 = 8**.

Étant donné qu'on se situe en avril, on n'ajoute rien de plus à cette somme.

5. Diviser le total des jours en 7 et connaître, par le reste, le jour de la semaine

8 : 7 = 1 reste 1. Le 14e jour de la Lune tombe au **1er jour de la semaine : dimanche**.

6. Faire passer la fête de Pâques au dimanche suivant

La fête de Pâques de l'an 641 tombe **le dimanche 8 avril**.

Georges et Maxime : un essai de rapprochement

Le calcul pascal des deux traités a montré que Georges et Maxime sont en opposition par leur usage de l'ère mondiale : alors que le premier loue les avantages de l'ère byzantine dans un comput qui est l'un des premiers à l'évoquer, le second reste un tenant de l'ère alexandrine traditionnelle et critique un système basé sur l'ère byzantine.

On a déjà dit, en effet, que Georges vante les mérites d'une ère qui est en accord avec tous les autres cycles (solaire, lunaire, bissextile, indictionnel, pascal). Ce qui est vrai et supplée au défaut de l'ère d'Alexandrie qui ne coïncide pas avec le cycle de l'indiction : la première année de cette ère (5492 a.C.n.) ne concorde pas avec le début du cycle indictionnel qui débute, à cette époque, un an plus tôt (5493 a.C.n.) ; ce «défaut» est, par contre, corrigé dans l'ère byzantine où indiction et années du monde s'ajustent.

Quant à S. Maxime, qui se base sur l'ancienneté et l'efficacité prouvée du système alexandrin, il reproche aux *quintuplants et sextuplants* «d'ajouter seize ans aux années d'Adam (75)», en d'autres mots, d'user de l'ère byzantine (– 5492 – 16 = – 5508).

Cette double position vis-à-vis de l'ère mondiale fait apparaître Maxime comme un conservateur et un protecteur de la chronologie traditionnelle, et Georges comme un innovateur, porte-parole de la nouvelle ère byzantine. Cependant, s'ils se distinguent par l'ère mondiale employée, là où les deux computistes se rejoignent, c'est justement dans le recours à une même chronologie qui n'est autre que celle des Alexandrins. Le pont est, en fait, jeté par Georges qui, tout en adoptant l'ère

(75) *PG* 19, 1229B13.

byzantine, n'ose pas toucher à la chronologie alexandrine en vigueur. La preuve en est la pure et simple adaptation de la chronologie de la vie du Christ, tirée du système alexandrin et conforme à celle de S. Maxime, à la nouvelle ère (l'Incarnation est transposée de l'an 5501 de l'ère d'Alexandrie à l'an 5517 de l'ère byzantine) ([76]). Il est vrai que, tout au long de son traité, Georges n'entre pas dans des considérations chronologiques très poussées. Il n'avait pas, semble-t-il, les compétences nécessaires à la création d'une nouvelle chronologie typiquement byzantine. Mais l'important pour nous est qu'il s'accorde en cela avec Maxime et que les deux traités se répondent sans s'opposer.

Un autre point commun entre les deux traités réside, de par leur contemporanéité, dans le témoignage neuf de l'existence de l'ère byzantine. Aucun comput précédent ne l'atteste, en effet. C'est pourquoi il est permis de dater l'apparition de cette ère dans le début du second tiers du VIIe siècle. D'autre part, l'écart minime de deux ans qui sépare nos deux traités pousse à étudier le contexte politique et religieux de l'époque. Les traités, en tout ou en partie, ont tous deux été destinés à des dignitaires du milieu impérial (le patrice Pierre, stratège de Numidie, probablement exarque de Carthage à cette époque ([77]), est le destinataire de la première section du traité de Maxime) ou patriarcal (le diacre Jean, peut-être de Sainte-Sophie ([78]), pour le traité de Georges). Ils se voulaient être aussi une mise à jour des problèmes chronologiques et du calcul pascal. Nous y décelons une motivation commune qui se traduit par un souci d'une correcte utilisation de la chronologie dans les milieux officiels de l'époque, politique ou religieux. Une étude de plus grande envergure serait bien utile à la compréhension de l'implication de ces milieux dans la discipline chronologique. Pourrait-on penser que le pouvoir en place ait

(76) Cette adaptation de la chronologie alexandrine à l'ère byzantine chez Georges est décrite dans V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, p. 116.

(77) D'après Y. Duval, le patrice Pierre aurait été promu exarque de Carthage dans les environs de 636 (Y. DUVAL, *Le patrice Pierre, exarque d'Afrique ?*, dans *Antiquités africaines*, 5 (1971), pp. 209-214). En ce qui concerne la date de la mort de Pierre, notons avec C. ZUCKERMAN, *La haute hiérarchie* (cf. n. 30), p. 174, que l'hypothèse de Y. Duval (l'an 637) n'est pas acceptable puisque le patrice Pierre est encore bien vivant quand Maxime lui envoie son *Computus* (entre le 5 octobre 640 et la mi-février 641, cf. *supra*, p. 278).

(78) Comme le suggèrent J. BEAUCAMP - R. Cl. BONDOUX - J. LEFORT - M. Fr. ROUAN-AUZÉPY - I. SORLIN, *La Chronique Pascale : le temps approprié*, p. 460.

commandé à Maxime et Georges des traités destinés à clarifier des problèmes de chronologie ecclésiastique ?

En dehors de leurs computs, il est délicat d'établir un rapprochement entre nos deux auteurs. Aucun indice ne permet, en effet, de suggérer une connaissance mutuelle ou une relation commune. L'ensemble de l'œuvre de Georges n'évoque aucun Maxime ; quant à celui-ci, trois de ses écrits (79) citent un certain Georges, très saint prêtre et higoumène, qui serait le guide d'une communauté monastique en exil et aurait été recueilli avec ses ouailles par l'évêque Jean de Cyzique (80). Dans l'*opusculum theologicum et polemicum* IV, S. Maxime exprime à ce Georges ses vues sur l'Incarnation du Verbe et insiste particulièrement sur la consubstantialité du Sauveur. Ce sont, sans aucun doute, les querelles christologiques, si déchaînées à cette époque, qui poussèrent Maxime à réaffirmer les grandes lignes de l'orthodoxie à son correspondant. Mais rien ne laisse entendre que celui-ci coïnciderait avec notre computiste.

On doit donc se cantonner aux parallèles qui apparaissent en filigrane dans les traités eux-mêmes et en retirer finalement que nos deux textes se complètent fort bien dans la littérature de comput du moment, tant par leur approche de la discipline chronologique que par leur contexte rédactionnel.

Conclusion

Les traités du moine et prêtre Georges et de Maxime le Confesseur canonisent tous deux les mêmes sièges pascaux et s'accordent en cela à la chronologie ecclésiastique officielle de leur époque. Si on applique, en effet, leurs méthodes au calcul pascal d'années diverses, on parvient tou-

(79) *Opusculum theologicum et polemicum* IV (*PG* 91, 56-61), *Epistolae* XXIX et XXXI (*PG* 91, 621-623 et 624-625).

(80) À propos de ce Georges, très saint prêtre et higoumène, V. Grumel, *Notes d'histoire et de chronologie sur la vie de saint Maxime le Confesseur*, dans *EO*, 26 (1927), p. 26, suggère que S. Maxime, après avoir quitté, vers 626, le monastère de Chrysopolis face à l'avancée de l'armée perse, aurait voulu se remettre sous la houlette de cet abbé Georges, higoumène du monastère Saint-Georges de Cyzique. Ch. Boudignon, *Maxime le Confesseur était-il constantinopolitain ?*, dans *Philomathestatos* (cf. n. 1), pp. 22-28, montre, pour sa part, que l'hypothèse de V. Grumel, selon laquelle cet higoumène Georges aurait dirigé la communauté de Saint-Georges à Cyzique, est une construction arbitraire.

jours au même résultat. La date-exemple de Georges, l'an 604 apr. J.-C., fournirait ainsi, du côté de Maxime, des données identiques : 14e jour de la Lune au 21 mars (16e année lunaire chez Maxime) ; 3 épactes solaires (20e année solaire) ; 4 jours d'ajout (mois de mars). Le calcul serait analogue :

21 + 3 + 4 = 28
28 : 7 = 4 reste 0
21 mars (14e jour de la Lune) = samedi
Pâques 604 = dimanche 22 mars.

Dans le détail de leur calcul pascal, on aura aussi pu remarquer que Georges et Maxime se réfèrent, dans un ordre quelque peu décalé, à des notions (épactes lunaires ou solaires, jours d'ajout) qu'ils interprètent de manière semblable. Leur système chronologique s'ancre néanmoins dans un référentiel propre. Le cycle de 19 ans suit celui issu d'une réforme tantôt alexandrine tantôt constantinopolitaine, et le saut de la Lune y est placé à des années distinctes. L'ère mondiale, basée sur ce cycle, se déroule chacune à partir d'un moment précis de l'année. D'un écart de 16 ans, les deux ères engendrent des synchronismes différents avec le cycle indictionnel. Quant au point de décompte des épactes lunaires, il est, lui aussi, fixé à des dates divergentes.

On peut visualiser les principaux traits propres aux deux traités, d'après ce tableau récapitulatif :

	Maxime	*Georges*
Année de rédaction du traité	640/641	638/639
Date-exemple de la fête de Pâques	8 avril 641	22 mars 604 (sans détails)
Ère mondiale Début des années	alexandrine 25 mars (ou 1er septembre en parallèle avec l'indiction)	byzantine 21 ou 25 mars
Cycle de 19 ans Départ du cycle Saut de la Lune	forme alexandrine 1er avril 627 (9 épactes) 19e année	forme constantinopolitaine 1er janvier 630 (11 épactes) 17e année
Date de décompte des épactes	Lune : 1er avril Soleil : 1er avril	Lune : 1er janvier Soleil : 1er avril

En outre, nos deux traités se distinguent par une certaine particularité Georges insiste spécialement sur une double méthode de recherche du 14 jour de la Lune pascale ; le traité de Maxime offre l'avantage de tables chronologiques évitant des calculs superflus. Il est vrai que nos deux

computistes se centrent sur des objectifs d'échelle différente. Le traité de Georges se cantonne à une recherche pragmatique de la date de Pâques dans une perspective calendaire exclusivement julienne. Les tables du *Computus* englobent des données autres que celles liées au calcul pascal et fonctionnent dans une problématique chronologique plus élargie (calculs à partir de dates juives, chronologie de la vie du Christ) et plus théorique (système des *quintuplants*).

Ces points d'analogie et de divergence doivent être replacés dans la dimension spatio-temporelle des deux traités. La chronologie ecclésiastique de l'époque ne souffrait plus tant de querelles visant la date même de Pâques que de vicissitudes liées à des questions de méthodes de son calcul. Par leur approche de la problématique pascale, nos deux traités le montrent d'une manière manifeste. En témoignent aussi, semble-t-il, le chapitre final du traité de Stéphane d'Alexandrie et, dans une moindre mesure, la *Chronique Pascale* dont «le projet n'est pas de fournir des méthodes pour calculer la date de Pâque, mais d'utiliser des méthodes de ce genre pour justifier l'exactitude de l'ère mondiale qu'il adopte ([81])». Par ailleurs, ce dernier traité mériterait de par sa complexité d'être analysé en détail.

Il semble finalement que ces quatre traités aient eu en partie comme objectif de fournir des réponses aux problèmes techniques soulevés à ce moment-là. La comparaison de leurs tables, de leurs développements théoriques ou de leurs exposés pragmatiques pousse à le croire. Cette comparaison permet enfin de penser que, dans leur tentative de résolution des problèmes, ces divers traités contemporains furent en opposition les uns avec les autres. Cette dernière question est cependant délicate et, avant de parler d'opposition – ou de concurrence – il faudrait savoir avec exactitude sur quels milieux et endroits du VIIe siècle byzantin ces comput ont eu de l'impact. La première section du *Computus* fut destinée au patrice Pierre, en province d'Afrique, le traité de Stéphane et celui de Georges sont liés à Constantinople, la *Chronique Pascale* était peut-être de courant patriarcal ([82]). La méthodologie propre à chaque traité a-t-elle permis de résoudre les problèmes de chronologie qui se posaient dans l'une ou l'autre région de l'empire ou dans un quelconque milieu du pou-

(81) J. BEAUCAMP - R. Cl. BONDOUX - J. LEFORT - M. Fr. ROUAN-AUZÉPY - I. SORLIN, *La Chronique Pascale : le temps approprié*, p. 462.

(82) La veine patriarcale de la *Chronique* est suggérée dans *ibid.*, p. 465.

voir ? D'après les endroits où ces traités étaient utilisés, peut-on affirmer qu'ils étaient en concurrence ? On est loin d'être en mesure de répondre à ces questions. C'est une réflexion sur l'ensemble du contexte historique de l'époque et sur ses liens avec les chronographes du moment qui serait susceptible d'y apporter des réponses.

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RÉSUMÉ

La comparaison systématique du *Computus ecclesiasticus* de S. Maxime le Confesseur (640/641) et du traité sur la date de Pâques du moine et prêtre Georges (638/639) offre d'intéressantes conclusions. Si ces traités canonisent les mêmes dates pascales et ne remettent pas en cause la chronologie officielle de leur époque, ils développent toutefois des méthodes de comput basées sur des systèmes chronologiques bien particuliers. L'analyse de leur propre référentiel chronologique permet de positionner ces computs par rapport aux grandes réformes du cycle d'Anatole de Laodicée, celle d'Alexandrie pour le *Computus* et celle effectuée à Constantinople pour le traité de Georges. Cette étude détaille les calculs des traités et montre les étapes successives aboutissant à la résolution du problème pascal. Des parallèles entre les deux traités témoignent enfin de l'importance accordée par chacun des deux auteurs aux controverses pascales du moment. Alors que Georges propose une méthode purement pragmatique du calcul pascal, S. Maxime insère ce dernier dans une problématique plus élargie et fait du *Computus* un traité plus complet.

TWO LOVES I HAVE : DIOSCORUS, APOLLO, DAPHNE, HYACINTH

Poem 41 by Dioscorus of Aphrodito (1), once termed by the present writer an *ethopoiia* (2) and now explained by its re-editor as a *progymnasma* (3), was probably composed in the reign of Justin II, about A.D. 566-573. The hexameter text places the god Apollo between two of his mythological lovers : a female, Daphne (addressed second), on his left, and a male, Hyacinth (addressed first), on his right (4).

Apollo('s words), Hyacinth and Daphne having been made into plants in the same place

You, O Hyacinth, and you too, lady Daphne,
hope of my heart, a great greeting. Apollo too,
arranged between you both, (could wish) to become a plant
so as, even myself, to be in direct contact with you.
What more could I wish, what else could I wish to perceive (νοῆσαι)
but Hyacinth on my right and likewise Daphne on my left ?

(1) J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle : La bibliothèque et l'œuvre de Dioscore d'Aphrodité*, Cairo, 1999 (hereafter Fournet, *Dioscore*), I, pp. 446-447, II, pp. 651-652 ; pl. 73.

(2) L. S. B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito : His Work and his World* (*The transformation of the classical heritage*, 16), Berkeley, 1988 (hereafter MacCoull, *Dioscorus*), pp. 128-129 ; G. Agosti, *L'etopea nella poesia greca tardoantica*, in *Ethopoiia : la représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalite vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive*, ed. E. Amato and J. Schamp, Salerno, 2005, pp. 34-60.

(3) Fournet, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 275-276 with the literature there cited ; also I, pp. 325-326. On *progymnasmata* see now E. J. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria* (*The transformation of the classical heritage*, 41), Berkeley, 2006, p. 3 with n. 12 and the literature there cited.

(4) Apollo speaks in the first person, using λαιῆσι and δεξιτερῆς (l. 6) ; if the piece were an ekphrasis of a work of visual art (MacCoull, *Dioscorus*, p. 129) the point of view might be that of the beholder, i.e., the other way round – though both MacCoull and Fournet translate with "my" / "ma".

The divine speaker, far from being torn between his two loves of different sexes (5), is made to express pleasure at being fitted into their midst and simultaneously encountering both (6). What might have lain beneath this striking image of what we might term bisexuality (7) for a late antique audience ?

A recent deep insight has provided us with an enlightening picture of our lawyer-poet : that of Dioscorus the teacher (8). Himself profoundly formed in late antique rhetorical culture, heavy on poetry (especially Homeric) as it was, Dioscorus the *grammatikos* was passing on ancient knowledge (9) to new generations who would need a command of it to succeed in the world. Along with transmitting Homeric scholia and verb paradigms, translation aids and math tables, he was taking ancient Greek 'classic' myth and regarding it as a body of material from which fresh texts might be made (10). The making of such hexameter 'new myths' as this and its companion pieces nos. 42-46 (dealing with Achilles) was a skill taught to upper-class Byzantine Egyptians (11) whose wealth permitted them to seek posts in the imperial bureaucracy, posts in which they could put their literary skills to good use. It may even have been felt as a skill that was dying out (12). Besides giving a nod to the stories of Apollo-

(5) A late antique comparandum might be Nemesian's *Eclogue* 4, but that work features two male speakers, each pining for his own beloved : one for a female, one for a male.

(6) Might [ἀμφοτέρ]οισι be restored in l. 4 ? It would fit the space.

(7) E.g. *Bisexualities : Theory and Research*, ed. F. KLEIN *e.a.*, New York. 1985.

(8) FOURNET, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 236-237, 325-326, II, pp. 651, 688-690.

(9) The text preceding this in *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67188 → is Dioscorus' copy of *Anthologia Palatina* 9.357, on Greek games by then two centuries extinct – the first text of the three is Dioscorus' 'gnostic' invocation : see L. S. B. MACCOULL. *P.Cair.Masp. II 67188 v 1-5 : The Gnostica of Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, in *Tyche*. 2 (1987), pp. 95-97 –. We shall return to the *Anthologia Palatina* connection shortly.

(10) A process beautifully described (for western matter) in S. MCGILL, *Virgil Recomposed : The Mythological and Secular Centos in Antiquity* (*American Classical Studies*, 48), Oxford, 2005, pp. XVI-XIX, and (for eastern) by M.D USHER, *Homeric Stitchings : The Homeric Centos of the Empress Eudocia*, New York, 1998, pp. 9-17.

(11) R. CRIBIORE, *Gymnastics of the Mind : Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton, 2001, pp. 221-230.

(12) "The Muse has departed" : poem no. 51 (FOURNET, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 457-458, II, p. 665). I would prefer to translate "(the Muse) who gives glory to humanity" (as in poem 17, 25) rather than "whom humanity glorifies".

and-Daphne ([13]) and Apollo-and-Hyacinth, what was Dioscorus trying to do here, in this 'triangular' depiction, in his own place and time ?

Note that both mythic loves on Apollo's part first ended unhappily, with the deaths of both beloveds, but then had the happy outcome reflected here in their transformations into plants that would ever after be linked with the god. Apollo's love for Daphne was unrequited, for Hyacinth requited but plagued by another god's jealousy. Yet in Dioscorus's eyes both loves are braided together with the lover to achieve eternal renown. What could he have intended ?

Just before this text on the → side of *P.Cair. Masp.* II 67188 Dioscorus had, as stated above, copied *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 357. The clue may lie in this material (in its sixth-century state to be sure) ([14]). *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 751 is a distich epigram on an engraved seal-ring : "The seal is a (H)yacinth (stone) ; Apollo is on it and Daphne. Which does Leto's son prefer ?" Dioscorus seems to be composing an answer – "Neither ; he loves both" – to this rhetorical question. Though the design in 9, 751 implies just two humanoid figures, god and nymph, with the third figure (that of the youth) embodied in the substrate, this earlier conceit positions Apollo provocatively between just these two loves. This is likely to have been Dioscorus's poetic starting-point.

Apollo

First : why Apollo ? ([15]) The god of eloquence, statues of whom had stood in late antique Constantinople ([16]), figures elsewhere in Dioscorus's

(13) See FOURNET, *Dioscore*, II, p. 651 for this story's importance in rhetorical education.

(14) See C. RAPP, *Literary Culture under Justinian*, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. MAAS, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 376-397, here pp. 388-389. The dedicatee of the poetic Cycle of Agathias seems to have been the same Theodore the decurion who would be the governor of Egypt in A.D. 577 : cf. L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Dioscorus and the Dukes*, in EAD., *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (*Variorum Collected Studies*, 398), Aldershot, 1993, no. X, p. 35 (though this study is largely superseded by FOURNET, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 330-336).

(15) L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Apollo*, in *ODB*, pp. 136-137.

(16) On the three Apollo statues from the late-fifth-century Baths of Zeuxippus described by the Egyptian poet Christodorus of Coptos (*Anthologia Palatina* 2, 72-77, 266-270, 283-287), none of which seems to have had flanking figures, see S. BASSETT, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 52, 165-166. The original structure had been destroyed in

poetry. Poem 33, the epithalamium for Matthew (probably an Antinoite official) ([17]), declares that Apollo too knew love's darts (l. 16-17) and indeed will ever be known by the title 'the Daphnean' (cf. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 13, 82 ; *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 477) from the name of one of his loves (l. 18) ([18]). However, Apollo's love for the nymph was not returned by its object : the sixth-century bridegroom Dioscorus is praising, though, will not have to fear that his intended will run away to end up as a tree – what kind of tree will prove to be important. Let us also not forget that Dioscorus's late father, headman of Aphrodito and monastic founder, had been named Apollos : yet another instance of a pagan theophoric name becoming transvalued once it was borne by a Christian saint, and moreover a saint venerated as a monastic founder ([19]). Such a double resonance would not have been lost on the ear of a Byzantine Egyptian audience.

However, Apollo's importance to a sixth-century Egyptian Christian had yet more power behind it. Both longer and shorter oracular texts attributed to Apollo in a Christianized context are preserved in the so-called *Theosophy* ([20]) which has recently been traced to sixth-century anti-Chalcedonian origins ([21]). The longer text ([22]) apparently was later

the Nika Revolt of A.D. 532, before Dioscorus visited the imperial capital, but some statues might have survived in the later partial restoration by Justinian (p. 122, 124).

(17) Fournet, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 434-435, II, pp. 625-629.

(18) Fournet, *Dioscore*, II, p. 629.

(19) See M. Krause, *Zu den nach Apollo benannten Klöstern in Ägypten*, in *Sprache und Geist : Peter Nagel zum 65. Geburtstag*, Halle - Saale, 2003. pp. 149-166 esp. pp. 159-160 ; S. Clackson, *Coptic and Greek Texts relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 5-6. Apollo of Bawit in the nearby Hermopolite was venerated as half of a monastic duo, along with his disciple and partner Phib. Another sixth-century Apollo left the Pachomian center at Pbow as an anti-Chalcedonian protest (Krause, *Apollo*. pp. 164-165 with nn. 72-73).

(20) Ed. P. F. Beatrice, *Anonymi Monophysitae Theosophia : An Attempt at Reconstruction* (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 56), Leiden - Boston - Köln, 2001, A 5 (pp. 11-12) and A 16 (p. 15) respectively.

(21) Beatrice, *Theosophia*, pp. xxxiv-l ; very sceptical about this hypothesis are F. Alpi and A. Le Boulluec, *Étude critique : la reconstruction de la* Théosophie *anonyme proposée par Pier Franco Beatrice*, in *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), pp. 293-306.

(22) P. F. Beatrice, *Monophysite Christology in an Oracle of Apollo*, in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 4 (1997-1998), pp. 3-22.

reinterpreted by a pro-Chalcedonian ([23]) to make Apollo, while admitting Christ's victory, utter incarnation formulae like "without change, without confusion" (Daley, l. 46 ; Beatrice, l. 15). The shorter oracular text, supposed to be about the founding of the original city of Byzantium by Byzas, also has *Anthologia Palatina* connections ([24]). In it Apollo prophesies the triumph of an almighty God before whom all creation trembles. Apollo has been made the mouthpiece of Christian, indeed originally anti-Chalcedonian, truths about the Trinity and Christ ([25]). Apollo oracles are also quoted in an anti-Chalcedonian Christian context by the sixth-century Alexandrian polymath and exegete John Philoponus in his commentary on Genesis, the *De Opificio Mundi* 4, 18-20 ([26]). In commenting on *Genesis* 1, 14-18 and condemning astrology, Philoponus quotes Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* where Apollo is also quoted in, it is made to seem, his own despite. The god of truth was not in possession of *the* truth. Dioscorus was, I believe, aware of Philoponus' works that had done so much for the Egyptian church ([27]) ; and the relevance of those works will become manifest as we continue to read this poem in depth.

Daphne

Second : why Daphne ? Her myth was one favored by rhetoricians and poetical followers of Nonnus of Panopolis, as well as by visual artists of the time ([28]). While in the sixth century Agathias in *Anthologia Palatina*

(23) B. Daley, *Apollo as a Chalcedonian : A New Fragment of a Controversial Work from Early Sixth-Century Constantinople*, in *Traditio*, 50 (1995), pp. 31-54, esp. pp. 33-34, 43 ; Beatrice, *Theosophia*, p. li.

(24) Beatrice, *Monophysite Christology*, p. 7 (with n. 19) ; Id., *Theosophia*, p. li.

(25) Beatrice, *Theosophia*, p. xxvii.

(26) Ed./tr. C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos Über die Erschaffung der Welt*, II, Freiburg, 1997, pp. 440-451, here pp. 442-447 (esp. p. 444, lines 19-25 ; pp. 446-447, n. 89) (I thank Cynthia White for helping me check this) ; tr. M.-C. Rosset and M.-H. Congourdeau, *Jean Philopon, La création du monde* (*Les Pères dans la foi*, 87-88), Paris, 2004, pp. 197-198.

(27) L. S. B. MacCoull, *The Historical Setting of John Philoponus'* De Opificio Mundi *in the Culture of Byzantine-Coptic Egypt*, in *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum*, 9 (2006), pp. 397-423. For a recent and different look at Philoponus see also Watts, *City and School*, pp. 237-255.

(28) Fournet, *Dioscore*, II, p. 629, 651. For a visual use of Daphne to symbolize chastity see R. Talgam, *The* Ekphrasis Eikonos *of Procopius of Gaza :*

6, 80, 1 alludes to his having composed nine Δαφνιακὰ βιβλία about love (an allusion to the 'Daphne' region of Antioch ?), the laurel has by that time also acquired a Christian resonance. In the *Protevangelium of James* § 2-3 it is under a laurel tree that St. Anne sits to lament her childlessness. Of course it is then that she and Joachim receive the miraculous revelation that they are to be parents of the woman who will be the God-bearer. The badge of poetic immortality is also the blazon of the future incarnation of deity.

To return to the wall-painting in sixth-century Gaza described by the rhetorician and exegete Procopius ([29]) : its first panel showed Phaedra tormented by desire for Hippolytus, with her old nurse, beside a sleeping Theseus, while its second depicted a mounted Hippolytus and Daphne, together out hunting, as a two-person symbol of σωφροσύνη ([30]). Daphne manifests shame at the love-letter Phaedra has had her nurse deliver to Hippolytus, as does he. She is depicted as youthful, with her bare right arm held crosswise and her left hand simultaneously grasping a spear and holding her cloak. Her free-flowing hair streams over her shoulders, held off her face by a laurel wreath ([31]). The key phrase in this unique Daphne description is : "even though being a woman by nature (τὴν φύσιν), she surpasses men in good sense (φρονήματι)" ([32]). This is the classic formulation used as praise in the hagiography of female saints ([33]). According to Procopius, the mythological Daphne, who fled from sexual union, is assimilated to an ascetic woman, a fit companion for the equally sex-fleeing (and Christianized) Hippolytus. This is the other face of Daphne in Dioscorus : while in an epithalamium she stands for what the Christian bride will *not* do, in this iconic scene she stands for the purity of the poetic vocation.

The Depiction of Mythological Themes in Palestine and Arabia During the Fifth and Sixth Centuries, in *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, ed. B. Bitton-Ashkelony and A. Kofsky, Leiden, 2004, pp. 209-234 esp. p. 212.

(29) P. Friedländer, *Ein spätantiker Gemäldezyklus* in *Gaza* (*Studi e testi*, 89), Vatican City, 1939.

(30) Friedlander, *Gemäldezyklus*, p. 12, l. 238-239 ; pp. 59-60.

(31) Friedlander, *Gemäldezyklus*, p. 14, l. 291-302 ; p. 65.

(32) Friedlander, *Gemäldezyklus*, p. 14, l. 296-297.

(33) Amidst the abundant literature on this aspect of the late antique female saint, see A. Papaconstantinou, *'Je suis noire, mais belle' : le double langage de la* Vie de Théodora d'Alexandrie, alias *Abba Théodore*, in *Lalies*, 24 (2004), pp. 63-86 (I thank the author for a copy).

Hyacinth

And third : why Hyacinth, the human male beloved of a male god ? He too figures in one other place in Dioscorus's poetry, poem 4 (l. 37), the encomium of petition addressed to Romanos, probably a Constantinopolitan official ([34]). In that work he is paired with Adonis as another beautiful, youthful human loved by a divinity, a human whose death – death through jealousy – occasioned both mourning and transformation ([35]). Here once again, as so often, Dioscorus's poetic predecessor is Nonnus of Panopolis. In the fifth-century poet's *Dionysiaka* Hyacinth / the hyacinth is termed a φυτὸν ἔμπνοον (48, 587), whom Apollo resurrects (19, 104). In Nonnus the youth's death is brought about by the jealousy of the wind god Zephyr, who also loves him and does not want Apollo to have him (3, 153-163 ; 29, 95-99). Zephyr blows on the discus Apollo throws and causes it to swerve and strike Hyacinth fatally (10, 252-255) ([36]). To a sixth-century audience member who was conversant with philosophical debates in contemporary Alexandria, this notion of 'swerve' would suggest nothing so much as the debate over impetus or 'impressed force' sparked by John Philoponus ([37]). Apollo, patron of the intellectual arts ([38]), is thus standing between laureled Daphne and impetus-felled Hyacinth : between poetry and science.

(34) FOURNET, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 378-380, II, pp. 475-486 : perhaps one the poet met personally in 551.

(35) FOURNET, *Dioscore*, II, p. 486.

(36) See *Nonnos de Panopolis, Les Dionysiaques*, ed./tr. P. CHUVIN, II (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 1976, p. 140 with notes.

(37) See C. SCHOLTEN, *Antike Naturphilosophie und christliche Kosmologie in der Schrift "De Opificio Mundi" des Johannes Philoponos* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 45), Berlin - New York, 1996, pp. 200-208 ; L. S. B. MACCOULL, *John Philoponus' De Opificio Mundi and the Papyri*, in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, II, Florence, 2001, pp. 841-847, esp. pp. 842-843. See also C. WILDBERG, *Philosophy in the Age of Justinian*, in *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. MAAS, pp. 316-340 esp. here p. 328 ; ID., *John Philoponus*, in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2003 Edition)*, ed. E. N. ZALTA, <http ://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2003/ entries/philoponus/> ; also L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Philosophy in its Social Context*, in *Egypt in the Mediterranean World A.D. 450-750*, ed. R. S. BAGNALL, Cambridge, 2007, chap. 4.

(38) Cf. BASSETT, *Constantinople*, pp. 52-53 ; she also points out that the other popular theme was that of the Troy cycle, hence perhaps Dioscorus's composition of Achilles / Polyxena *progymnasmata*.

Historical context

Dioscorus, a lawyer, wrote his poetry at an interesting time for a *doctus poeta* to be practising his craft (39) . The interaction of pagan/classical and Christian culture in Byzantine Egypt has been long and intensively studied, and yet is still far from being completely explored ; it has lost little of its fascination for Late Antiquity specialists of the present day. Recent work has surprisingly re-emphasized what might almost have amounted to an anti-intellectual turn on the part of leading figures of Egyptian Christianity (40). In such a world, authenticity could come more from ascetic witness than from aesthetic erudition (41). And yet Christian elite pupils continued to strive for that classical education in the poets and philosophers that would mark them as persons of *paideia* (42), while keeping their own religious values reinforced through liturgy and reading (43). By Dioscorus' era the time was ripe for someone like him who participated in both cultural spheres, classical and Christian ; in both culture-carrying languages, Greek and Coptic ; and in both fields of writing, documentary and literary (44), to seek to negotiate the place of such a person of learning in the world.

Between the laurel of immortality-bestowing poetry and the hyacinth of philosophical science stood the desiring subject, Dioscorus himself.

(39) See C. HUMFRESS, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*, forthcoming, chap. 4 (I thank her for a pre-publication copy).

(40) WATTS, *City and School*, pp. 169-203.

(41) WATTS, *City and School*, pp. 177-181 ; and J.-E. STEPPA, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture*, 2nd rev. ed., Piscataway, NJ. 2005, pp. 21-24, 97-100, 118-122.

(42) WATTS, *City and School*, pp. 2-21 ; Humfress, *Orthodoxy*, chap. 4.

(43) WATTS, *City and School*, pp. 210-222 esp. p. 216 ; cf. ID., *An Alexandrian Christian Response to Fifth-Century Neoplatonic Influence*, in *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Smith, Swansea, 2005, pp. 215-229.

(44) FOURNET, *Dioscore*, I, pp. 317-343, "Une poésie 'documentaire'" ; ID., *Between Literary Production and Cultural Change : The Poetic and Documentary Production of Dioscorus of Aphrodite*, in *Learned Antiquity*, ed. A. A. MACDONALD *e.a.*, Leuven, 2003, pp. 101-114 esp. p. 102, pp. 111-112 ; ID., *Entre document et littérature : la pétition dans l'antiquité tardive*, in *La pétition à Byzance*, ed. D. FEISSEL and J. GASCOU (*Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies*, 14), Paris, 2004, pp. 61-74.

identifying himself with Apollo ([45]). Dioscorus was writing in a world in process of change from what it had been under Justinian. Who could rise in society, especially provincials in relation to the empire's center, was even more up for grabs, as education combined classicism with Christianity (of different varieties) ([46]) and as linguistic possibilities widened to include Coptic alongside Greek ([47]). Recent research on later Western culture provides a useful parallel for understanding our lawyer-poet's "vision of the educated man's ideal place in the cosmos" ([48]). Dioscorus certainly held poetry to be "a mark of (his) elite status" and "believed in the power and social value of poetry" ([49]), as we see throughout his petitionary encomia. As a person of *paideia* who had absorbed the system and was passing it on, he, like other *docti*, strove to interpret ancient myths ([50]) in order to recover a usable past for his own time, thinking with myths to reveal deep truths ([51]). Placing himself in the role of Apollo planted between two loves, linking desire for a beloved with the divine stimulus that prompts one to undertake the craft of thinking poet and lawyer, Dioscorus depicts "an idea of individual human possibility based on education and books, on learning to read the word and the world

(45) Compare the treatment of Apollo (Justice) between the bow in his left hand and the Graces (with laurel) on his right, or with bow and lyre, recalling Justinian's empire defended by arms and laws, by E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *On Transformations of Apolline Ethics*, in ID., *Collected Studies*, Garden City, NY, 1965, pp. 399-408.

(46) M. MAAS, *Roman Questions, Byzantine Answers*, in *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, pp. 3-27, here pp. 17-21.

(47) Cf. L. S. B. MACCOULL, *Why Do We Have Coptic Documentary Papyri Before A.D. 641 ?*, poster at the International Congress of Coptic Studies, Paris, 2004. Dioscorus was one of the first notaries to produce securely dated legal documents in Coptic.

(48) T. C. MOSER, Jr., *A Cosmos of Desire : The Medieval Latin Erotic Lyric in English Manuscripts*, Ann Arbor, 2004, p. 287 ; cf. p. 2, pp. 12-13 on the education and social aspirations of such a man and how eros was "a part of his craft as philosopher and poet" (cf. p. 8, 64, 123, 141, 260) ; also pp. 95-96, 107-108 on the search for patronage by a professional looking for security.

(49) MOSER, *A Cosmos of Desire*, p. 19.

(50) MOSER, *A Cosmos of Desire*, p. 129 : "(philosophical poets) writing themselves and their lives into the old stories they read."

(51) MOSER, *A Cosmos of Desire*, p. 285 ; cf. p. 316 : "how theorizing about the gods provided scholars with a way to think about the shape of their own day-to-day existence."

in order to become a person better and more useful to oneself and to society" (52) – a society mapped by poetry, philosophy, and desire (53).

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SUMMARY

The poem on Apollo and his two loves, Daphne and Hyacinth, by Dioscorus of Aphrodito presents the striking image of a male speaker comfortably between two objects of desire, a female and a male. Placing Dioscorus' work in a sixth-century cultural context, I read it as an allegory of the *doctus poeta* positioned between literature (figured as Daphne, the laurel of poetic immortality) and philosophy (figured as Hyacinth whose death obeyed the laws of physics as expounded by Philoponus).

(52) MOSER, *A Cosmos of Desire*, p. 118.

(53) I thank the Interlibrary Loan Service of Arizona State University for all their help. – In loving memory, as always, of Mirrit Boutros Ghali (*Cant.* 7, 10).

CROWN, VEIL AND HALO

CONFRONTING IDEALS OF ROYAL FEMALE SANCTITY IN THE WEST AND IN THE BYZANTINE EAST IN LATE MIDDLE AGES (13th-14th CENTURY)

hominem in corpore positum, peregrinari a domino
(*Vita Hedwigis*)

INTRODUCTION

Fulfilling representative duties, taking care of their families and engaging in pious patronage, the lives of late Byzantine and western saintly princesses seem to betray little variation. A closer look at their vitae, however, reveals interesting dissimilarities in the ideals the two cultures set for a pious female ruler. In order to examine them, I subdivided the irregular material of the primary sources into three parts, each related to an area of the princesses' lives (1). The first part describes their piety in context of their families as daughters, wives and mothers (2) (I) ; the second inquires into the social and political aspect of their sainthood as members of the ruling class (II) ; while the third investigates actions and occurrences going beyond what was ordinarily expected from pious believers (e.g. visions, prophesies or miracles), but was necessary for official acclamation as saints (III).

If female rulers were not typical adepts of sainthood in the beginning of the medieval period, they were even less so at its end. While the fifteenth century remained fruitless, the preceding two hundred years added only four to the number of existing saintly princesses : Hedwig of Silesia,

(1) The four women studied in this article held different titles and therefore I used the word "princess" to denote them as wives of independent rulers.

(2) As Theodora is the only eastern saint connected with the throne in the chosen period, this study ignores the unmarried saintly descendants of western royal families, whose lives, often spent in nunneries, would not easily be compared to the lives of married princesses.

Elisabeth of Thüringen, Isabella of Aragon and Theodora of Arta (3). Circumstances considered, it is not a negligible number as wives of rulers represented only a fraction of the group of women and the requirements imposed on royal saints coupled with the specific socio-historical situation necessarily narrowed their occurrence even further.

As for the character of the primary sources, the four vitae differ significantly in genre and scope. The early lives of Hedwig (4) and Isabella (5) represent late medieval hagiography combining biographical and stereotypical descriptions, while the narratives concerning Elisabeth (6) include her servants' and friends' testimonies and her spiritual advisor's concise summary of her life. The vita of Theodora (7) differs much from the western legends merging chronicle and biography elements incorporated into a fairy-tale frame where a devil and a sorceress instigate a plot with a good end.

(3) St. Hedwig (ca. 1174/1178-1243), a descendant of the German noble house of Andechs, was married to Henry I. Duke of Silesia. St. Elisabeth (1207-1231) was a Hungarian princess who grew up at the court of her future husband, Ludwig of Thüringen. St. Isabella (1270/1271-1336) was an Aragon-born married to Dionysius, king of Portugal, while St. Theodora of Arta (the year of her birth is subject to debate ; both 1210 and around 1225 have been suggested – she died around 1270), the daughter of Sebastokrator John Petraliphas, became wife of Despot Michael II. Komnenos Doukas of Epirus.

(4) *Vita Sanctae Hedwigis*, in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, IV, Lwow, 1884, p. 501-642 (abbreviation used in this article : *MPH*). For more literature : J. GOTTSCHALK, *St. Hedwig : Herzogin von Schlesien*, Köln - Graz, 1964, pp. 6-22. *Die Hedwigs-Predigt d. Papstes Klemens IV. von Jahre 1267*, in *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, 15 (1957), pp. 15-35, especially pp. 31-35. R. FOLZ, *Les saintes reines du Moyen Age en Occident (VIe-XIIIe siècles)* (*Subsidia hagiographica*, 76), Brussels, 1992, pp. 140-144.

(5) *AASS, Iul.*, II, pp. 169-213. Further sources and literature : FOLZ, p. 145, n. 256, pp. 156-158. — The original vita which later disappeared was written in Portuguese shortly upon Isabella's death by a nun of the convent where the queen spent her last years : CTE DE MOUCHERON, *Sainte Élisabeth d'Aragon, reine de Portugal et son temps*, Paris, 1896.

(6) A. HUYSKENS, *Der sog. Libellus de dictis quattuor ancillarum s. Elisabeth confectus*, Kempten - München, 1911. For the *Summa*, in which Conrad of Marburg described the life of Elisabeth to Gregory IX, see A. WYSS, *Hessisches Urkundenbuch*, I, Leipzig, 1879, p. 31-35. Further literature : FOLZ, pp. 105-127.

(7) Cf. *BHG* 1736 ; *PG*, 903-908. For further literature see *PLP* 5664 ; for translation and details on author and the date of writing : A.-M. TALBOT (transl.), *St. Theodora of Arta*, in : A.-M. TALBOT (ed.), *Holy Women of Byzantium : Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, Washington, D.C., 1996, pp. 323-333.

Contemporary social and religious development influenced strongly both the lives of the future saints and their vitae. While the west conquered paganism and entered the road to greater economic prosperity, the rich church alienated a number of believers. The twelfth century witnessed a movement of pious mysticism initiated by St Francis proclaiming individual poverty and self-abnegation. A little later, the rise of the Cistercian Order gave a new dimension to monastic life stressing manual work and missionary activity in rural areas. Simultaneously, the opportunity of the laics to participate on pious life increased along with their possibility to achieve sainthood.

In late Byzantium, enclosure between the Muslim East and the Catholic West and its military, economic and religious implications influenced deeply the manifestations of female piety. The conditions under which the cults of saintly women developed in the past changed ; with the lack of "safe" wilderness, the penitent sinner saints of the early Byzantine period disappeared and the decreasing power of the empress brought the political saint protecting the Orthodox faith (such as St. Irene or St. Theodora, wife of Theophilos) into obscurity. The ongoing wars left little space for arts such as hagiography or icon painting necessary for cult development and the sense of danger outside walled cities created a climate generating strong military heroes but too harsh for new female saints (8). In the ninth century, a new stereotype emerged celebrating the long-suffering wife, generous to the needy and supportive of the church. It was under these circumstances and paradigm that Theodora of Arta achieved sainthood as Byzantium's last female saint associated with the throne (9).

(8) Dr. Talbot particularly recognizes exclusion from participation on lengthy pilgrimages and more extreme asceticism as reason why late Byzantine women failed to qualify for sainthood. A.-M. TALBOT, *Female Sanctity in Byzantium*, first English version of this article published in A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 733), Aldershot, 2001, article VI, p. 15. L. Rydén, on the other hand, puts stress on absence of controversial religious issues and reluctance to acknowledge new saints where there already existed significant old ones : L. RYDÉN, *New Forms of Hagiography : Heroes and Saints*, in D. A. CHARATZAS (ed.), *The 17th International Byzantine Congress : Major Papers*, New York, 1986, pp. 537-551.

(9) It is interesting that while in the 13th century Germany (and greater part of western Europe) female saints outnumbered the male, after 10th century the Byzantines rarely elevated women to sanctity (TALBOT [1996], p. 323).

I. The veil : the saintly princess within her family

In describing the *origin and character* of the four saintly rulers, the hagiographers distinguish their heroines as predestined ; to the throne (through their family connections, appearance and possibly education) and/or to sainthood (through miraculous circumstances and humility). Voluntary surrender of honor and everything that elevated the saintly princess above her subjects then permeates her personal and familial life. Several differences between the Orthodox and the Catholic model nevertheless become apparent.

The western authors first focused on the *descent* of the saints. As virtues were considered hereditary, a connection to canonized relatives ([10]) necessarily marked the princesses' election to a similar fate further implied by miracles surrounding their birth. These could be both spiritual and physical in nature ; Elisabeth's sainthood was announced in a prophecy ([11]), Hedwig's by meaning of her name ([12]), and Isabella's through birth in an amniotic membrane later made into a reliquary ([13]). Similar to the western narratives, Theodora's life opens with a genealogy record. But the description of her lineage and family history reveals that her hagiographer intended to distinguish her only as future empress not mentioning the piety of her parents, otherwise a common theme in Byzantine female vitae ([14]). In this respect, Theodora's story as a saint is rather exceptional in both eastern and western context.

(10) Gottschalk mentions twenty-seven relatives of Hedwig, related both by blood and by marriage that were proclaimed saints or blessed. He also specifies the mutual relationship of the three western rulers ; Hedwig was Elisabeth's aunt and Isabella, a more distant relative, was named after Elisabeth. See Gottschalk, pp. 53-60.

(11) For details on this prophecy appearing in later vitae see O. Reber, *Die Gestaltung des Kultes weiblichen Heiligen im Spätmittelalter. Die Verehrung d. Heiligen Elisabeth, Klara, Hedwig u. Birgitta*, Hersbruck, 1963, pp. 160-161.

(12) Reber, pp. 161-162.

(13) *AASS*, p. 173, I, 4.

(14) The parents of female saints of the middle Byzantine period (such as Thomais of Lesbos, Theodora of Thessalonike, Athanasia of Aegina, Mary-Marinos or Elisabeth the Wonderworker) are commonly described as very pious. The lives of Thomais and Elisabeth moreover mention the initial barrenness of their parents.

The way in which the four texts treat *appearance* reveals another interesting difference. Beauty of the saint, often mentioned in the East ([15]), was stressed in the life of Theodora, which says that when Michael "arrived at the castle of Servion, he saw the beautiful young Theodora and was completely smitten with her" ([16]). In this respect the author follows the Byzantine tradition, in which beauty (despite Theodora's youth ([17])) of the saint matched the sanctity of her character. Unlike the early Byzantine martyrs such as Mary of Egypt or Theoktiste of Lesbos whose loss of femininity was an important part of their sainthood, in Theodora's time beauty, passively neglected, was no longer a dangerous attribute. In the West, on the other hand, contempt for body and looks ([18]) and the prevalence of political reasons in choice of the royal bride replaced the early medieval notion of physical attractiveness in female saintly rulers ([19]). Their emaciated bodies do not need good looks to complement the beauty of their soul established sufficiently by ascetic practices as well as by life of poverty and humility.

Surrounded by the luxury of the court, living in a consummated marriage and obliged to add splendor to the events of state, the married princess's position for becoming a saint was more difficult than that of other women. In order to combine the role of a female ruler with that of a saint in a society which prescribed poverty and self-abnegation to the pious, the three princesses had to develop an ascetic as well as a representative identity. The latter, connected to their splendid dress, which replaced the original notion of the saints' looks and came to symbolize majesty, power, prestige and riches of their husbands, enabled them to fulfill their duties as rulers. Not wearing it, they were free to assume the identity of saintly ascetics. Their relationship to the sumptuous dress necessarily reflected the ambiguity of their situation ; on one hand, they

(15) Beauty is stressed in the lives of several other saints of the middle Byzantine period such as Athanasia of Aegina, Mary the Younger or Thomais of Lesbos.

(16) *PG* 127, 905B : Μιχαήλ (...) περὶ τὸ κάστρον Σερβίον γενόμενος, τὴν καλὴν βλέπει νεάνιδα Θεοδώραν, ἧς ἄκρως ἀλοὺς (transl. Talbot [1996], p. 330).

(17) Dr. Talbot in her foreword to the translation of the vita points out that Theodora married Michael at a canonically illegal age, Talbot (1996), p. 323.

(18) Reber, p. 170.

(19) See C. Thiellet, *Femmes, Reines et Saintes (V^e^-XIe siècles)* (*Cultures et civilisations médiévales*, 28), Paris, 2004, pp. 46-47.

desired to divest it in order to live out the humble life, on the other, the rich robe was a sign of their position and not wearing it harmed the prestige of the court and exposed them to ridicule and anger of their spouses. A princess without proper attire even became a favorite subject of (later) miraculous accounts. Elisabeth was surprised by her husband in a simple dress and wearing a cilice when supposed to join a banquet. Fortunately, an angel brought her a magnificent robe and crown, which enabled her to fulfill the role of the mistress of the house ([20]). Similarly Hedwig

> "walking without shoes was unexpectedly met by the duke. Although she had shoes with her she [had no time] to put them on. The one for whose love she walked barefoot nevertheless considered it good to work a miracle. Shoes suddenly appeared [on her feet] in front of her husband and she escaped the awkward [situation] and his anger" ([21]).

Although in early medieval West beautiful dress and piety were still considered mutually complementary ([22]), later vitae are far from as much as suggesting such a view. Reduced to a compromise, the saints wore dresses that were not overtly decorated ([23]) and put on old clothes as often as possible. Only upon the death of their spouses could they openly abandon courtly garments for religious or semi-religious ones thus separating themselves from their representative identities ([24]).

Western princesses are distinguished by their attire and it is therefore the dress and splendor that they have to negate. In Theodora's story where focus is on her beauty, clothing has no symbolic value but her disregard

(20) *Vita beatae Elisabeth in purpura et deliciis nobiliter educatae*. L. LEMMENS, *Zur Biographie d. hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen*, in *Mitteilungen d. historischen Vereins d. Diözese Fulda*, 4 (1901), pp. 2-24, especially pp. 15-19 (unfortunately, I did not have access to this text).

(21) *MPH*, pp. 530-531 : ut more solito ipsa sine calciamentis incederet et ex inopiato eventu dominus dux, eius maritus, sibi veniret ex abrupto et sic artato tempore obviam, ut calcios, si quos tunc apud se habebat, induere non valeret. Sed quod per se non potuit facere, ille, pro cuius amore nudis pedibus incedebat, dignatus est miraculose subimplere. Nam subito calciata coram marito apparuit et sic indignacionem et inproperium ipsius evasit.

(22) THIELLET, pp. 340-341.

(23) For example, Hedwig wore only simple dresses already during her husband's life (*MPH*, p. 513) and upon his death never put on a new one (*MPH*, p. 520).

(24) Elisabeth : HUYSKENS, p. 43 ; Hedwig : *MPH*, p. 519 ; Isabella : *AASS*, p. 186, VIII, 74-75.

for physical appearance and dignity is duly stressed by the hagiographer : she "was neither carried away by her glorious position, nor did she succumb to her youth, nor did she indulge in luxury" ([25]).

Although *education* was hardly mentioned by other vitae ([26]), Hedwig's hagiographer used his heroine's upbringing in the Convent of Kitzingen to establish her saintly disposition. She apparently acquired a good knowledge of Latin, learned to read the Scriptures and received a practical introduction to devotional life mastering psalms and hours as well as any nun. The vita presents this training as initial to her becoming an avid reader of the Bible, a penitent woman following the prescriptions of the monastic life, founder of the first convent in Poland and on the personal level, an instructor of the poor ([27]). This view is however quite unique ; as the other three lives testify, formal education in high-born female saints was not a priority.

Another concept central to the figure of the saintly ruler was *humility*. But even here the ideals differ ; while the western saints acquired praise for their actions, Theodora was honored mainly for her submissive response to the harsh and unjust treatment. Where the three princesses denied noble birth by associating with and serving the poorest and exchanged the beautiful dress for simple clothes as often as possible, Theodora's story promotes humility, which is inflicted rather than self-chosen and secluded from public view. As direct charity or divesting the royal robe seem to have been unacceptable in the East, ascetic lifestyle remained the only possible active expression of humility left to the eastern saint.

General features of the saintly rulers being established, let us now focus on the main stages of their lives ; marriage, widowhood and death. In early MA, the role of a western princess in *marriage* included con-

(25) *PG* 127, 905C : οὐ παρεσύρη τῇ δόξῃ, οὐχ ἑάλω τῇ νεότητι, οὔτε μὴν πρὸς τρυφὰς οἶδε κατασπαταλᾶν (transl. TALBOT [1996], p. 330).

(26) For details on education : (West) FOLZ, p. 160 ; THIELLET, pp. 63-68 ; (East) A.-M. TALBOT, *Bluestocking Nuns : Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium*, in C. MANGO, O. PRITSAK (ed.), *Okeanos. Essays Presented to I. Ševčenko* (*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7), Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1983, pp. 604-618, especially p. 609 (reprinted in A.-M. TALBOT [2001], article XVIII).

(27) Hedwig's education : *MPH*, pp. 512-513 ; GOTTSCHALK, p. 92 ; Hedwig instructing a laundress : *MPH*, p. 557.

verting her husband to Christianity ([28]), while in later centuries her duties centered on helping him live up to the standards of a Christian monarch. Marriage itself, however, was usually considered an obstacle for achieving sanctity. As all three women had children, the hagiographers could not use the stereotype of virginal marriage and therefore other compensations had to be devised. Of these, focus on ascetic life within marriage ([29]) (a), influence on the moral and pious conduct of their husbands (b), intercession for the welfare of their people ([30]) (c), and patient acceptance of injustice caused by the spouse's adultery (d) proved most efficient.

Attention paid by the vitae to the marriages of the western princesses reflects these elements. There was apparently little need to reform Ludwig of Thüringen, Elisabeth's husband, who protected his saintly wife against those who slandered her 'excessive' piety, built hospitals and other charitable institutions and died on a crusade. The marriage was moreover by all accounts harmonious (involving no martyrdom) and thus remained largely outside the frame of Elisabeth's vita except for the passages describing the young woman's ascetic life. Hedwig and Henry's relationship attracted more interest of the writer as it included all but last of the above themes ; she cared for her husband's spiritual welfare and salvation, influenced his political decisions in order to promote institutional piety in Poland and pleaded mercy for convicted prisoners ([31]). Upon the birth of their seventh child the hagiographer praises the couple for deciding to live in continence and minimizing even their social interactions ([32]). Isabella's marriage represented yet another paradigm centered on the last of the four points. She patiently accepted her spouse's extramarital relationships and endured exile as punishment for protecting her son. Besides improving the king's character, the magnanimity, which she showed educating his illegitimate children and refusing military help to return to the throne created the basis of her saintly reputation ([33]).

(28) THIELLET, p. 312f.

(29) REBER, p. 207.

(30) THIELLET, p. 236.

(31) Hedwig's care of her husband's salvation : *MPH*, p. 543 ; influencing his religious policy : *MPH*, p. 544 ; defending prisoners : *MPH*, p. 548, pp. 555-556

(32) *MPH*, pp. 514-516.

(33) On Isabella's conduct in respect to her husband's adultery : *AASS*. p. 177, IV, 24 ; DE MOUCHERON, p. 47 ; on saving her son : *AASS*, p. 179, V, 36 . on impacting the king's character : *AASS*, p. 177, IV, 25 (further details in n. 26).

In late Byzantium reconciling sainthood and marriage apparently did not represent a major problem as from the tenth century on all female saints were married. This change in stereotype has not yet been fully accounted for but beside other reasons it is possible that a virtuous wife and mother was of more value to a militarily threatened and declining society than a pious virgin. Compared to the early Byzantine tradition illustrated by St. Matrona who left her husband and child in order to follow her spiritual vocation, the change in the saintly ideal was considerable. It is evident, however, that as much as unconditional pursuit of ascetic life was the foundation of Matrona's sainthood, Theodora's endurance and forgiveness allowing the preservation of her marriage marked her journey to the same end.

Focus on family abuse was not novel to late Byzantine hagiography as the roughly three hundred years' older vitae of Thomais of Lesbos and Mary the Younger, maltreated by their husbands for their generosity to the poor, show ([34]). Beside this similarity to the eastern saints, the presence of exile and adultery of the spouse create a strong parallel to the vita of Isabella. The link between Theodora's patience and her husband's change of behavior is, nevertheless, weaker than in the case of the Portuguese queen. Isabella's response to suffering reformed her spouse's conduct, but it was through the intervention of the nobility that the despot escaped the bewitchment of his mistress and was reconciled to his wife. Apparently, although marriage was the accepted setting of the eastern saint's life, improving her husband was not necessarily one of her tasks.

The measure of *asceticism and service within marriage* is another point in which the eastern and western vitae diverge. Western female rulers responded actively to the call for severe asceticism already during their husbands' lives and often against their will thus putting obedience to God beyond any human or political commitment. Theodora's legend articulated another view. Though devoted to God, she persevered in honoring the covenant created by her marriage and during the life of her hus-

(34) "It seems clear that the late ninth century developed a new type of woman saint, the married woman, who nobly endured an unhappy marriage, found solace in works of charity, and engaged in the prayer, fasting, and night vigils normally associated with monastic life." A.-M. TALBOT, *Byzantine Women, Saints' Lives and Social Welfare*, in E. A. HANAWALT, C. LINDBERG (ed.), *Through the Eye of a Needle : Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, Kirksville (Missouri), 1994, pp. 105-122, p. 114 (reprinted in A.-M. TALBOT [2001], article II).

band never disgraced him or herself in her position as wife and ruler. While numerous episodes pictured Elisabeth, Hedwig and Isabella engaged in fasting, generosity to the poor, manual work, flagellation, caring for their household, reciting the hours, wearing a cilice or kissing the wounds of lepers, Theodora's behavior was much less extreme :

> "she decided to devote herself to God, to cultivate the pursuit of virtue and to conduct herself in chaste manner. She embraced humility, avoidance of anger, love, meekness, compassion, and mercy, being successful above all others [in her quest], and always venerating God with her entire soul" ([35]).

The opinions expressed by the vitae regarding *motherhood* reveal another area in which queenship and sainthood clashed. Securing an heir to the throne was vital to the role of a married princess, but simultaneously, denial of emotions connected with natural motherhood was expected ([36]) from a saint. The eastern and western perspective came quite close regarding this issue ; although all four women were mothers, the vitae rarely mention their relationships to their children or participation on their upbringing and education.

From the western perspective, active renunciation of children was an indivisible part of rejecting the material world and everything that reflected the consummated marriages of the princesses. The lives of the saints offer different variations of holy motherhood featuring physical and spiritual abandonment as well as self sacrifice. The widowed Elisabeth voluntarily put her three children into the care of her relatives as she started working in the hospital. Hedwig's denial took another form as she outlived six of her seven children ([37]) ; instead of crying, she thanked God for giving her good children and then taking them back. Both voluntary loss of living children and reconciliation with their death offered important

(35) *PG* 127, 905C : τῷ Θεῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἔγνω προκεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, σωφρόνως ζῶσαι· ταπεινοφροσύνην ἀσπαζομένη, ὀργησίαν, ἀγάπην, πραότητα, συμπάθειάν τε καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς κατορθοῦσα, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ὁλοψύχως διαπαντὸς θεραπεύουσα (transl. Talbot [1996], p. 330).

(36) Reber, p. 219.

(37) Although the vitae only mention six children, three boys and three girls (*MPH*, p. 514), Gottschalk in his study showed that a fourth son, whose name is not known, was born to Henry and Hedwig in the winter of 1208 : Gottschalk, p. 111. *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte/ Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, VII, 1, Breslau, 1876², pp. 129-130.

and mutually complementary testimonies to the pious audiences of the time.

Isabella's vita is more explicit concerning motherhood. Upon being barren for eight years, she finally gave birth to a daughter and later to a son. Neither brought much joy to her as the young princess died soon upon marriage and the difficult relationship of her son and husband became a subject of endless concern to her. Instead of surrendering her son, she had to sacrifice herself. Saving his life on one occasion cost her exile, while later she risked her life riding unarmed into a battle to separate the armies of her spouse and son. The upbringing of her own children is not mentioned in the legend but the hagiographer praised extensively the care she took of the illegitimate offspring of the king ([38]). Isabella's magnanimity along with Elisabeth's concern for the impoverished and handicapped children illustrate the late medieval western ideal of motherhood appropriate for a saint while Hedwig represents the less common paradigm focusing on the salvation and future reunion with her children.

As marriage became the framework of eastern female sainthood, its physical aspect confirmed by the existence of offspring did not inconvenience the writers of the vitae. Suppressing love for a child in order to honor God was crucial to the middle Byzantine Life of St. Theodora of Thessalonica ([39]). Theodora of Arta's legend, on the other hand, says next to nothing about her six children ([40]) besides the fact that her eldest son Nikephoros was born to her in exile. Unlike the western sources, which offer a rather strict view of motherhood demanding separation and (self) sacrifice, Theodora's relationship to her children shows no confronting emotions ; she presumably cared for them and loved them but they were neither part of her pious life nor means of her spiritual growth.

Death of a spouse brought a significant change into the lives of the four women releasing them from the ambiguous position between duty to represent royal majesty and the desire for humility and asceticism.

(38) On barrenness of the queen, DE MOUCHERON, p. 37-38 ; the death of Isabella's daughter, *AASS*, p. 176, III, 11-19 ; Isabella taking care of her husband's illegitimate children, *AASS*, p. 177, IV, 24.

(39) A ninth century legend, for details and literature see *ODB*, p. 2038.

(40) Theodora and Michael had three sons and three daughters. For further information see S. PETRIDES, *Le moine Job*, in *Échos d'Orient*, 15 (1912), p. 42 ; S. P. LAMBROS, *Βυζαντιακὴ ἐπιγραφὴ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τὴν Ἄρταν μονῆς τῶν Βλαχερνῶν*, in *NE*, 15 (1921), pp. 24-29, especially 25-29.

Throughout their lives the western princesses supported and eventually protected the newly established religious orders (41), but unlike their early medieval predecessors (42), none joined them herself. Such a decision reflected the new ideals of piety and in the cases of Isabella (43) and Elisabeth also the recommendations of their spiritual advisors. The vitae specifically mention two reasons to explain their choice :

(a) Due to the newly instigated individual approach to pious life, monastic institutions were not the only option open to women wishing to consecrate their lives to God. They could also become members of the so called third order, *status tertius*, and devote time and resources to the care of the sick and the underprivileged. As rigid discipline of a convent imposed limits on varied and time-consuming acts of charity and regulated the ascetic life of nuns (44), this option became ill-suited for the three women, especially Elisabeth who wanted to consecrate herself wholeheartedly to active service.

(b) The economic aspect of becoming nuns (besides possible personal reasons) played a major role in the decision-making of Hedwig and Isabella. They insisted upon continuing their material support of the poor but the monastic requirement of renouncing property threatened to become an obstacle to their pious goals. Elisabeth, for her part, did not give any property to the church, which according to her own words decorated buildings instead of ennobling hearts and to whose well-dressed and well-fed priests she preferred the austere Conrad of Marburg (45). Consequently, she distributed her property directly to the poor and used the rest to build a non-denominational hospital.

All three princesses, nevertheless, wished to make some sort of religious commitment. Entering a convent, a novice usually passed through several rituals including promise of chastity and obedience, change of dress and tonsure. Abandoning the royal dress and putting on monastic

(41) *AASS*, p. 182, VII, 57.

(42) THIELLET, pp. 9, 185, 257. Thiellet shows that most of the early medieval saintly queens became nuns and claims that entering a monastery was the origin of saintly reputation of most of the royal widows of this period (p. 255) although exceptions existed (pp. 24, 278-279).

(43) *AASS*, p. 187, IX, 82-83.

(44) REBER, p. 191 : "Elisabeth und Hedwig wollten nicht in erster Linie gehorsam sein, sondern barmherzig oder asketisch".

(45) HUYSKENS, church decoration, pp. 75-76, criticizing church officials. p. 69.

garb (mentioned by all three vitae) marked the transformation of the western rulers into saintly widows. Elisabeth laid two vows "into the hands" of her advisor, Conrad of Marburg, declaring never to re-marry and pledging obedience to him. Both events took place in a church in front of numerous witnesses ([46]). On the second occasion, upon the death of her husband, she put on a grey dress and cut off her hair ([47]) accepting religious vocation but deciding to design her pious life according to the guidance of her advisor. Hedwig apparently never made a similar promise ([48]) ; quite on the contrary, "she put on a dress of the [Cistercian] sisters but did not bind herself by promise to the order or by obedience considering it desirable to devote herself to pious works and consolation of the poor" ([49]). Outwardly one of the sisters, she was free to move in and out, able to dispose with her property. Isabella likewise never entered the convent of the Order of Saint Clare, which she supported throughout her life and whose dress she put on immediately upon the king's death ([50]). This ceremony, also including tonsure, apparently took place in the palace and the person who handed her the dress was neither a priest nor an abbess but a lay woman. Like Hedwig, Isabella participated on the religious life in the nunnery ([51]) but maintained control over her posses-

(46) *Ibidem*, pp. 17-18.

(47) Taking the grey dress and accepting tonsure became part of the entrance rites for women who decided to follow her. Like Elisabeth, they pledged complete obedience to Conrad and confirmed the decision to follow the vocation of a nurse. For more details see W. MAURER, *Die heilige Elisabeth und ihr Marburger Hospital*, in *Jahrbuch d. hessischen kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung*, 7 (1956), pp. 36-69, especially 46, 56. Regarding the description of Elisabeth as a religious woman see by the same author *Zum Verständnis d. hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 65 (1953-1954), pp. 16-64, especially pp. 48-49.

(48) Hedwig not only did not obey her advisor but even made a point of disobeying his advice limiting her piety. *MPH*, p. 531.

(49) *MPH*, p. 519 : "sororum quidem illarum induit habitum, sed ordini se non obligavit per votum, ne ligata per professionis obedienciam, a pietatis operibus et a consolandis pauperibus ipsam existere oporteret de cetero elongatam".

(50) "Statim vero in illa hora, qua rex obiit, Regina separavit suum cubiculum, et induit habitum sanctae Clarae de manu cujusdam mulieris secularis". *AASS*, p. 183, VIII, 68 ; DE MOUCHERON, p. 91.

(51) *AASS*, p. 188, IX, 84.

sions ([52]). Moreover, in order to protect her freedom she had a document written defining the precise implications of her wearing a nun's attire ([53]).

As late medieval Orthodox Church primarily focused on preserving its heritage and no reform movement analogous to that of the Franciscans or Cistercians appeared, Theodora's options regarding pious life during her widowhood were more limited than those of her western counterparts. Although pilgrimage was popular in earlier centuries, Theodora probably never set out on any as in her time women were not encouraged to leave their homes and traveling for pious purposes rarely included long distance journeys ([54]). Following the traditional pattern of widowed female rulers, she became nun shortly upon her spouse's death. The event is not further specified by the vita but in contrast to the West, there was clearly no ambiguity regarding its significance. Although the text does not specifically mention it, it is probable that Theodora assumed a monastic name according to the Eastern custom.

At first glance, the choice of entering a convent may seem to set Theodora apart from the western rulers. It is however important to remember that Byzantine noblewomen were not as strictly subjected to monastic discipline as the common sisters and often exercised substantial freedom including the possibility to enter or leave the monastery or maintain control over their resources. Theodora's situation therefore may have differed only formally from that of the western princesses.

The *widowhood lifestyle* of the saints ([55]) took various forms from adopting complete poverty and increasing ascetic exercises to full-time concentration on service to the underprivileged. Elisabeth made the most radical break with her previous life. Receiving the news that her husband died on a crusade, she left behind the splendid court in humble clothes and gave away most of her property. From its remnant she established a

(52) DE MOUCHERON, p. 84, 106.

(53) "revêtir lesdits vêtements (...) non pas pour être novice ni professe de cet Ordre, ni pour en porter les insignes, ni pour nous soumettre à l'obédience, à la règle, ou aux supérieurs d'un Ordre quelconque, mais seulement à cause et en signe de notre veuvage et de notre humilité". For the complete document see : DE MOUCHERON, Pièces justificatives, no. VI, pp. 191-192, and no. VII, pp. 192-194.

(54) A.-M. TALBOT, *Female Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Era*, in *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, N.S. 1 (2002), pp. 73-88, especially pp. 81-82.

(55) THIELLET, pp. 50-51, stresses the importance of ascetic widowhood as the only means for married women to attain sainthood.

hospital for the poor where she served in severe hygienic and social conditions until her death three years later. Hedwig and Isabella did not demonstrate the same abandon of royal status representing the more common stereotype of noble widows who spent their days in prayer, charitable and peacemaking activities practicing severe asceticism.

After her husband died in a battle, Hedwig retired to a small house close to Trzebnitz Monastery ([56]), where she lived close to the nuns and where some of her miracles took place. Isabella first accompanied her deceased husband on his last journey and then embarked on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella with numerous gifts. Advised not to become a nun, she, like Hedwig, spent her days in a small palace close to the convent of the Order of St. Clare serving and encouraging the nuns ([57]). Her life changed little ; she continued not only the large-scale projects in favor of the church and the poor but also her engagement in politics.

While widowhood only enabled the western princesses to practice their asceticism openly, it bore greater significance for Theodora. Instead of mere virtue she could thereafter bring her piety to a deeper level spending "her time in vigils and all-night stances, conversing [with God] through psalms and hymns ; she wore out her body with fasting, and served all the nuns unceasingly" ([58]). The precise description of Theodora's activities before and in course of her widowhood suggests the hagiographer's objection to the blending of queenship and extreme piety ; as princess and wife, Theodora was expected to fulfill these roles flawlessly. After she ceased, in fact, being either, she was free to become an ascetic and consequently, a saint.

(56) *MPH*, p. 520.

(57) Pilgrimage to Compostella : *AASS*, p. 186, VIII, 69-72 ; given her counselors advice not to become a nun : *AASS*, p. 187, IX, 82 ; building a small palace close to the convent : *AASS*, p. 187, IX, 76 and p. 191, X, 99 ; serving the nuns : *AASS*, p. 188, IX, 82.

(58) *PG* 127, 908C : ἀγρυπνίαις καὶ στάσεσι παννύχοις σχολάζουσα, ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις προσομιλοῦσα· τὸ σῶμα νηστείαις κατατήκουσα· καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς ἀρραθύμως δουλεύουσα (transl. Talbot [1996], p. 332). It is interesting that service to other nuns is also mentioned in the life of Isabella (*AASS*, p. 188, IX, 83) as well as the division on activity in marriage and in widowhood (*AASS*, p. 188, X). For details on widowhood in Byzantium see A.-M. Talbot, *Late Byzantine Nuns : By Choice or by Necessity ?*, in *BF*, 9 (1985), pp. 103-117, especially pp. 113-115 (reprinted in A.-M. Talbot [2001], article XVII).

Death, preceded or followed by miraculous signs, had an important place in the vitae of the saintly rulers. In late MA, Christianity was already sufficiently established in Europe and the old notion of female martyrdom gradually changed. None of the four princesses died a violent death for faith. Rather, their lives bearing the testimony, death became a quiet, private event witnessed only by closest friends and family members.

The place and environment where the western women died marked the change they underwent since they left the throne. Modest rooms replaced palaces and simple nuns, nurses or nearest family the numerous servants, high officials and noblemen of the court. Elisabeth passed away in her mid-twenties in state of complete physical exhaustion surrounded by friends and nurses of her hospital ([59]), Hedwig, at the rather advanced age of sixty-nine, had her youngest daughter and the Trebnitz nuns by her side, while Isabella, mediating peace between Portugal and Castilia, spent her last moments in the presence of her son and his wife ([60]).

The closing scenes of the western saints' lives, unlike their marriages or particular personal choices, offer little variation. Cause of death was customarily illness partly resulting of the overall weakening of the body through fasting and harsh ascetic practices. The vitae portray them preparing to enter heaven ; Isabella prayed to Virgin Mary, Elisabeth meditated on the resurrection of Lazarus while Hedwig had visions of the saints, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Catherine, St. Thecla and St. Ursula ([61]).

Description of the saint's death and preceding or ensuing miracles were originally not a necessary part of a Byzantine vita. On the other hand, predicting death, taking the Eucharist, working miracles and speaking to the nuns or family members appear in female vitae of different periods. Theodora's legend shares some details with earlier Byzantine lives ; like Thomais or Mary the Younger, she predicted her own death followed by the only miracle accomplished during her lifetime. Feeling she was going to die before her church was finished she asked the Theotokos and St. George to mediate with God on her behalf in order to give her additional six months of life. The request was granted and she saw the work completed. Like the saintly Empress Theodora wife of

(59) Wyss, p. 34.

(60) For further details see de Moucheron, pp. 118-121.

(61) Isabella : *AASS*, p. 192, XI, 104 ; Elisabeth : Wyss, p. 34 ; Hedwig : *MPH*, p. 579, Gottschalk, pp. 213-214.

Theophilos, she addressed a speech to the fellow nuns before her death : "after instructing them well on necessary matters, and praying for their salvation, she joyfully delivered her spirit into the hands of God. And she was buried in the monastery, which she had erected" (62).

As more detailed studies have been written about it, let us only briefly deal with *canonization*. Beside political reasons of promoting glory and popularity of a dynasty, the sanctification of Hedwig (63) and Isabella (64) show the importance of admiration expressed by the deceased rulers' families and friends and the role of popular veneration in initiating this process (65). Elisabeth's case involved an interesting variety of people : shortly upon her death, Conrad of Marburg wrote the first concise vita later complemented by the testimonies of her two friends and two servants. The first attempt to canonize Elisabeth, however, failed (66) and it was only through the concerted effort of the family of her husband, the Teutonic Order and Frederic II, that the process was completed.

The lengths of the three processes differ considerably. Elisabeth was elevated to the altar honors four years after her death (1235) while the time between Hedwig's death and her numbering among the saints took more than six times as much (1241-1267). Isabella, for her part, had to 'wait' even longer : 289 years (1336-1625). There is no simple explanation for this disparity as it concerns deaths of popes and spiritual advisors, time necessary for writing extensive vitae as well as for gathering the protocols of miracles achieved through the saint's intercession.

(62) TALBOT (1996), p. 333.

(63) Her canonization was supported by Anna of Bohemia, her daughter-in-law and later by Otokar II. of Bohemia. *MPH*, p. 225, 233f. For more see GOTTSCHALK, p. 274, and FOLZ, pp. 137-139.

(64) St. Isabella was first venerated by people, under Manuel V. she was proclaimed blessed (1516) but only in 1625 was numbered among the saints. *AASS*, pp. 169-171 ; DE MOUCHERON, pp. 133-136 ; FOLZ, pp. 153-156.

(65) For details regarding family cults in early medieval west see Thiellet, p. 286f. According to Thiellet, in early MA the saintly queens were responsible for promoting family cults, a practice, which later vanished and does not appear in any of the four vitae.

(66) Elisabeth's canonization was delayed by the conflict of the court of Thüringen with the Archbishop of Mainz and afterwards by the murder of Conrad of Marburg. For details see W. MAURER, *Die heilige Elisabeth und ihr Marburger Hospital*, in *Jahrbuch d. hessischen kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung*, 7 (1956), pp. 36-69, especially 66. For further reference regarding Elisabeth's canonization see : FOLZ, pp. 112-116.

The fact that Theodora as a saintly ruler was not canonized, marked the growing discrepancy in the position of women in the two societies. Official acclamation developed in Byzantium at the beginning of the Palaiologan Period and its prerequisites did not much differ from the West ; popular veneration, evidence of miracles and creation of iconic and hagiographic tradition (67). Even though Theodora could fulfill these conditions, all formally sanctified persons were men. Theodora's veneration thus remained based on the family cult supported by her children (68), a practice reflecting the situation of royal saints in early medieval West (69).

II. The crown : the saintly princess and politics

Acts related to the society played a central part in progression to saint-hood of the western princesses. As spouses of rulers, and unlike most other women of their time, they had the financial means and influence necessary for large scale *generosity towards the disadvantaged.* In the West, personal participation in care of the poor was very desirable in a saintly ruler. The three legends repeatedly picture their heroines divesting themselves of all association with secular splendor. Their giving acquired a sacrificial character as they offered to others the material comforts, which they voluntarily gave up, and affection they were sometimes deprived of.

Elisabeth took the most radical approach washing lepers, acting as midwife, praying for the sick, baptizing children, providing clothes for

(67) See A.-M. Talbot, *Canonization*, in : *ODB*, p. 372, R. Macrides, *Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period*, in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint : University of Birmingham 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, London, 1981, pp. 67-87. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium*, Brookline, Massachusetts, 1983, pp. 21-30.

(68) A.-M. Talbot, *Family Cults in Byzantium : The Case of St Theodora of Thessalonike*, in J. O. Roenqvist (ed.), *Leimon. Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Uppsala, 1996, pp. 46-69, especially p. 68, also see footnote 63 (reprinted in A.-M. Talbot [2001], article VII).

(69) M.-F. Auzépy, *La sainteté et le couvent : Libération ou normalisation des femmes ?*, in S. Lebecq *e.a.* (ed.), *Femmes et pouvoirs des femmes à Byzance et en Occident (VIe-XIe siècles), Colloque international organisé les 28, 29 et 30 mars 1996 à Bruxelles et Villeneuve d'Ascq*, Lille, 1999, pp. 175-188, especially p. 179.

the poor dead or giving away a great part of her possessions ([70]). Besides building a hospital in Marburg (and possibly in Eisenach) in which she lived and worked towards the end of her life ([71]), she may have influenced her husband's decision to build the hospital in Gotha ([72]). Hedwig and Isabella also cared for the sick ([73]) but their generosity was rather long-term, concentrated on large scale projects supporting poor women, children and the sick or building activities promoting churches and various humanitarian institutions. Hedwig and her husband established the convent in Trebnitz, the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Wroclaw ([74]) (first in Silesia), the provost house of the Augustinians in Naumburg (1217) ([75]), a leprosarium close to Neumarkt (1230) ([76]), and an unspecified Templar house. Isabella engaged in public projects including wells, churches, hospitals, bridges and springs ([77]), taking into her care various pious institutions, providing education and board for poor children, keeping prices of bread low ([78]) and, inspired perhaps by her own bitter experience, established an institute for illegitimate children ([79]).

(70) Washing lepers : HUYSKENS, p. 29 (care of the disabled and of lepers were important features of female piety already in early MA, THIELLET, pp. 146-147) ; providing clothes for the dead : HUYSKENS, p. 25 ; distributing her possessions : *ibidem*, p. 44.

(71) HUYSKENS, p. 42. For more information regarding the history of the Marburg hospital see : W. MORITZ, *Das Hospital der hl. Elisabeth in seinem Verhältnis zum Hospitalwesen des frühen 13. Jahrhunderts*, in *Sankt Elisabeth Fürstin, Dienerin, Heilige. Aufsätze, Dokumentation, Katalog*. Ausstellung zum 750. Todestag der hl. Elisabeth, Marburg, 19. November 1981 - 6. Januar 1982, Sigmaringen, 1981, pp. 101-116.

(72) MORITZ, *Das Hospitalwesen d. hl. Elisabeth*, p. 103.

(73) Isabella : *AASS*, p. 189, X, 89 ; DE MOUCHERON, p. 66 ; Hedwig : *MPH*, p. 522.

(74) For details see GOTTSCHALK, pp. 130-131.

(75) *Ibidem*, pp. 131-132.

(76) *MPH*, p. 546.

(77) *AASS*, p. 182, VI, 56. The charity of the queen is further précised in : *AASS*, p. 182f, VII.

(78) DE MOUCHERON, p. 199, document 11.

(79) "aedificari opera publica, puta, ecclesias, hospital, pontes aut fontes ; donabat e thesauris suis", *AASS*, p. 182, VI, 56. She also took various charitable institutions under her protection including monasteries, *AASS*, p. 182, VI, 57, 58, and hospitals, *ibidem*, 65.

In Byzantium, personal care of the sick was not customary in empresses and high-born women ([80]). In course of her marriage, the vita never depicted Theodora engaging in such activities. Upon the death of her husband, however, she is said to have "served the nuns unceasingly (...) helped orphans and widows, assisted the poor, [and] consoled the oppressed" ([81]). Apparently, intense charity was expected of a royal widow but as no specific examples are given, its interpretation and extent remain uncertain. Building a monastic institution, on the other hand, was an indisputable feature of upper-end Byzantine female piety. Although contemporary scholarly research disagrees with the vita in the matter of the original founder, its author states that Theodora built the Convent of St. George in Arta ([82]), where she lived as a nun and was later buried ([83]).

Saintly princesses also engaged in *politics* even though their position in this area was "inherently ambiguous, unsteadily poised between royal rule and wifely subjection" ([84]). Their power was on the decrease ([85]) officially approved only in issues concerning spreading Christianity and promoting peace. However, their influence as saints was two-fold, related to both heaven and earth. On earth, they interceded for their subjects with the earthly rulers while as saints they could plead with God Himself. Elisabeth and Hedwig were chiefly valued in the latter role, their piety giving them the mandate to intercede for others. Influencing politic on earth was more problematic as women's submission and obedience standing high among female virtues contrasted vividly with such activity. Hedwig, Isabella and Theodora impacted significantly peacemaking deci-

(80) "in the case of the empresses, women of means usually helped the needy indirectly, through the provision of funds". A.-M. TALBOT (1994), pp. 105-122. especially p. 109.

(81) TALBOT (1996), p. 332.

(82) The monastery was apparently not an entirely new foundation. For details see TALBOT (1996), p. 332, n. 49 ; D. M. NICOL, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 202.

(83) It is also probable that she influenced her husband's decisions to build the monasteries of Galaxidi and Kato Panagia, whose foundation is ascribed to her by S. PETRIDES, pp. 40-48, especially pp. 42-43. For details on both as well as on the monastery in Arta see NICOL, pp. 200-203.

(84) J. A. MCNAMARA, *Imitatio Helenae : Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship*, in S. STICCA (ed.), *Saints in Hagiography*, New York, 1996, pp. 51-80, especially p. 51.

(85) THIELLET, p. 343.

sions and both western rulers were honored for such intervention. Why this was not the case with the Byzantine princess remains unclear.

Despite its closely observed limits, political activity often enhanced the female ruler's reputation and elevated her, in contrast to early MA ([86]), to the position of mother and upon her death a patroness of the land ([87]). Elisabeth, the least political of the four, was upon her canonization acclaimed as the latter, while Hedwig, who had more time and interest in impacting the rule of her husband ([88]), was granted both. Her political presence nevertheless conformed to the above criteria ; the hagiographer reminds us eagerly how she always acted with "humility according to the customs of women". In internal politics, she asked pardon for the condemned, advised her husband on matters concerning the church (support of religious orders and charitable institutions) and reminded administrators not to maltreat the people ([89]). As peacemaker, she entered the international scene mediating the release of her spouse ([90]), which, however, the vita ignores.

Of the four women, Isabella's political impact was most directly linked to her acclamation as a saint. Peacemaker both by nature and circumstances, she often mediated between her son and husband (and other family members ([91])). Knowing how to placate the king ([92]) and cooperate with the prelates and noblemen ([93]), she interceded for those who fell out

(86) *Ibidem*, pp. 375-376.

(87) REBER, p. 236.

(88) "Landesfürstin in einem Gebiet, das noch der Kolonisierung bedarf ; sie ruft zusammen mit ihrem Gemahl die alten Orden, um christliche Zentren auf dem Land zu schaffen, und die Bettelorden zur Belehrung der Bevölkerung. Sie stiftet in Trebnitz das erste Frauenkloster für Schlesien, als dessen alleinige Gründerin sie galt". REBER, p. 254.

(89) Hedwig conforming to the customs of women : *MPH*, p. 518, asking pardon for the condemned : *MPH*, p. 548, protecting her subjects from maltreatment by the court officials : *MPH*, p. 551.

(90) "aber Hedwig widersetzte sich einem Feldzug, reiste selbst zu Konrad von Masowien und erhielt den Gatten zurück. Zur Bekräftigung des Friedens verlobte sie zwei ihrer Enkeltöchter mit Söhnen Konrads", GOTTSCHALK, p. 179.

(91) Her mediations concern her husband's brother : *AASS*, p. 178, IV, 27 ; her brother Jacob of Aragon and Ferdinand of Castilia (Dionysius was the official judge in this case as Isabella was a close relative to one of the parties) : *ibidem*, 29 ; her son : *ibidem*, p. 180, V, 43.

(92) *AASS*, p. 178, IV, 28.

(93) *Ibidem*, 27.

of favor with the king (94). Well aware of the Arab danger, she promoted peace among the Christian kingdoms of Spain :

> "Realizing and fearing that if there was a long war between the said [Christian] kings, the Maurs and the infidels, enemies of the Catholic faith, could unite and fight against the Christians. In order to avoid discord and war, which arose and grew between the kings, the queen (...) attempted through her work and that of others to bring the kings of Aragon and Castalia together and have King Dionysius of Portugal be the mediator of their negotiations" (95).

Increase in power required higher responsibility in a saintly queen but despite her connections to other Spanish courts, high church officials and Portuguese nobility, Isabella never misused her influence. While in exile, she even refused military support by means of which she could return to the throne (96).

An heiress of a culture not unused to powerful women on the throne, Theodora was not afraid to take charge of the situation. Unlike St. Irene or St. Theodora wife of Theophilos, the defenders of Orthodoxy, she did not gain reputation for protecting the church. Rather, akin to Isabella, she was a peacemaker little in favor of uncertain war conflicts, a view which often made her opinions diverge from those of her husband (97). Describing Theodora's activities in international politics (98), Georgios Acropolites (and other historians) offered an image contrasting sharply with that painted by the vita. Instead of the docile empress of Job, his Theodora was an energetic and courageous lady traveling boldly to the court of her husband's enemy in order to secure peace and prevent unnecessary blood-

(94) On queen's political intervention : *AASS*, 178, IV, 28 ; interceding for the condemned : *AASS*, 180, V, 47.

(95) "Intelligens quique et timens, quod, si hoc bellum per multum tempus duraret inter dictos Reges, Mauri et infideles, Catholicae fidei inimici, possint inter se uniri, et arma sua Christianis inferre, (...) tantopere haec Regina laboravit per se et alios, ut dicti Reges Castellae et Aragoniae in eo convenirent et compromitterent, ut Rex Portugalliae Dionysius, judex esset super huismodi negotio". *AASS*, p. 178, IV, 29-30. See also : DE MOUCHERON, pp. 52-53.

(96) *AASS*, p. 179, V, 39-41.

(97) NICOL, p. 149.

(98) A. HEISENBERG - P. WIRTH (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, I (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1978², p. 88f, 133. NICOL, p. 128f.

shed (99). There are two possible explanations for why Job did not relate these events. Either they were unknown to him or he perceived female intervention (with unfortunate consequences for Epirus) as undesirable. In the vita itself, only one passage makes an allusion to Theodora's possible political influence : "the magnates and leading officials of Michael Doukas suddenly seized the malicious woman [Gangrene, Michael's mistress] (...) [and] suspended her in the air" (100). Although no further developed, the hagiographer may have indicated an association with the nobility especially as the fall of Gangrene was directly followed by restoration of Theodora to the throne.

III. The halo : ascetic practices and miracles

As faith and sainthood are difficult to quantify, late medieval western church required miracles of the candidate saints to be attested by witnesses, which gradually transformed sainthood into a highly elitist institution. The eastern notion of holiness developed differently depending less on miraculous occurrences. Necessity to distinguish themselves beyond the prescribed standards was nevertheless common to saints of both the Orthodox and the Catholic Church. In respect to the four princesses, differences existed mostly in the specific means and actions that created their reputation. Unlike the previous two (connected specifically to queenship), this final part focuses and emphasizes the features they shared with the "mainstream saint".

A form of *martyrdom* was essential to a saint's experience. In early MA, living martyrs gradually replaced the dead and saintly queens over-

(99) Georgios Akropolites, *Χρονική συγγραφή*, pp. 88-89, 133. Nicol, p. 159. The chronicles of other historians corroborate this information : Theodora accompanied her son Nikephoros to be married to emperor's daughter Maria, in : O. Lampsides, *Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica* (*CFHB*, 27), Athens, 1990, p. 307 (l. 8679-8686). Georgios Pachymeres writes that Michael actually sent Theodora with her son John [sic] to the emperor : A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérès : Relations historiques*, I (*CFHB*, 24/1), Paris, 1984, p. 151. Skutariotes, on the other hand, stressed the independent action of Theodora : *Σύνοψις χρονική*, in : K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII, Venedig, 1894 (= Hildesheim - New York, 1972), p. 500. Finally, Nikephoros Gregoras reports that Michael sent his wife and son to the emperor the first time, but the second time she approached the emperor herself : L. Schopen (ed.), *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, I (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1829, p. 47 and 57.

(100) Talbot (1996), p. 331.

coming adverse circumstances became models to the society drawing naturally the attention of the masses. Martyrdom presented by the three western legends takes mostly the following forms : (a) imitation of Christ's poverty and acts of mercy, (b) overcoming difficult circumstances and/or (c) severe asceticism.

(a) The ruler and his court often regarded the princess's assumption of poverty and extreme love of the poor as incompatible with her role and responded to it by ridicule, which was described by the hagiographers as part of the saint's suffering for faith. Two vitae evoke this theme stressing the equanimity with which Elisabeth in her simple clothes ministering to the poorest bore the maltreatment of her in-laws and courtiers ([101]), and depicting the persistence of Hedwig in her custom of walking barefoot. As the piety of Byzantine royal women took place outside the public sight, such direct promotion of faith was absent from Theodora's vita.

(b) The purpose of describing the saintly rulers' challenging lives was to manifest Christian approach to difficult circumstances and encourage the listeners. Martyrdom in this area was most often linked to family issues ([102]) depicting death of off-spring, adulterous husbands or exile Upon her husband's death, Elisabeth lost everything ; she had to leave the material background of the court and was gradually separated from her children and close friends. Yet it was in these difficult years that her love for the sick and poor found its richest expression as she built a hospital, distributed money to the needy and personally washed, dressed and served the disadvantaged. Facing premature deaths of her husband and all but one of her children, Hedwig demonstrated her faith by never doubting God's goodness. As martyrdom of the first type (a) was absent from the lives of both Isabella and Theodora, their hagiographers put double stress on their personal martyrdom. Isabella bore quietly the unfaithfulness of her spouse, showed kindness to his illegitimate children and through love and patience achieved a change in his behavior. When her daughter died, she had masses celebrated for her salvation, which (according to the vita) was granted. Protecting her son's life, she was labeled unreliable by her husband's advisors, exiled and deprived of her sources of income ([103]) (which she bore with constancy). Theodora, for

(101) HUYSKENS, p. 35, 45, 50.
(102) THIELLET, p. 184.
(103) *AASS*, p. 179, V, 38-42.

her part, endured adultery of her spouse and a long exile completely without provisions from her husband.

(c) Finally, the lives reflect the established patterns of ascetic practices followed and developed throughout the centuries. Desire of late medieval women for a deep spiritual experience featured strongly the actions of the saintly princesses, who engaged in various ascetic practices related to food ([104]) (fasting, especially from meat, drinking water and refusing food acquired in an unrighteous way), dress ([105]) (wearing simple clothes or walking barefoot), aspects of *imitatio Christi* (physical suffering ([106]), giving up their homes, children and friends, crying bloody tears ([107])), strict following of church rituals ([108]), acts of mercy and humility (healing ([109]) and care of the sick, poor and lepers, washing their feet ([110])) or handwork (serving in the kitchen ([111]) and weaving wool ([112])). Asceticism of the widowed Theodora although described in lesser detail, did not markedly differ from that of the western rulers.

In late Byzantium, martyrdom was rare and not always sanctified as the examples of anti-Palamite women demonstrate. The role of martyr death also diminished while the importance of perfection in saints increased (lapses were not easily forgiven as the fate of Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Michael VIII, suggests ([113])). Unlike some earlier martyrs, St. Anna of Constantinople who was flogged to death or Anthousa of Mantineion also flogged and tortured by burning ambers of

(104) Elisabeth : HUYSKENS, p. 18-19 ; Isabella : *AASS*, p. 181, VI ; Hedwig : *MPH*, pp. 526-527, 529.

(105) Compare THIELLET, p. 105f.

(106) Elisabeth : HUYSKENS, p. 23, 71 ; Hedwig : *MPH*, p. 526, 532-534.

(107) *MPH*, p. 537.

(108) Isabella : *AASS*, p. 181, VI, 54 ; Hedwig : *MPH*, p. 538.

(109) *AASS*, p. 181, VI, 52.

(110) Elisabeth : HUYSKENS, p. 120 ; Isabella : *AASS*, p. 181, VI, 52.

(111) HUYSKENS, p. 52.

(112) *Ibidem*, p. 4.

(113) Theodora Palaiologina's life bears many resemblances to that of the saintly Theodora of Arta complete with pious life within a difficult marriage. Due to her brief forced support of the Union of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, even though followed by penitence, she apparently could not become a saint. See : A.-M. TALBOT, *Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII*, in *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 295-303 (reprinted in A.-M. TALBOT [2001], article V).

icons ([114]), Theodora's afflictions were not directly connected to suffering for her beliefs. Her exile spent in the wilderness reflects the early Byzantine penitent saints who lived ascetic lives in the desert. But unlike a Mary of Egypt, the princess's conduct remained impeccable throughout her life. Her story thus combined the two earlier archetypes of Byzantine female saints : she had the purity of the holy martyrs but instead of martyr death went unwillingly through the desert trial of repentant sinners. The new goals of the church aimed at an improvement of the quality of Christian life mentioned above are probably the best explanation for this change.

In contrast to the western rulers whose sainthood was based on multiple activities beyond the familial sphere (such as charity or politics), Theodora's martyrdom centered on family, while her asceticism, miracles and care for others were dealt with rather succinctly. As mentioned above, in her widowhood activities she did not much differ from her western counterparts. With respect to the Byzantine hagiographic tradition, extreme ascetic lifestyle, much admired in early Byzantium, was apparently no longer indispensable to the make-up of the thirteenth-century saint and the stress on severe, freely chosen self-abnegation also remained secondary to her vita.

Faith of the western saints was often tested by *temptation* or possibility of avoiding suffering, ridicule and conflict. All three vitae affirm the repeated opportunity of the princesses to act freely and distinguish themselves by their choices. Each of them had to find means of negating the material comforts and honors due to their social position ; Elisabeth refused to eat food, which did not come from the domain of her husband, overcame temptation of her advisor to enter a convent, refused the invitation of her father to return to the Hungarian court as well as her aunt's bidding to re-marry ([115]). Hedwig's temptations concerned mostly the abundant table of her husband and wearing nice clothes and shoes, while

(114) A. P. KAZHDAN, A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Iconoclasm*, in *BZ*, 84-85 (1991-1992), pp. 391-408, especially pp. 393-394 (reprinted in A.-M. TALBOT [2001], article III).

(115) Elisabeth refusing to accept the unrighteously acquired food : HUYSKENS, p. 19, to enter a nunnery : *ibidem*, p. 47, 69, to return back to Hungary : *ibidem*, p. 56, to remarry : *ibidem*, pp. 37-38, 68.

Isabella, for her part, refused the offer of military support to regain the throne ([116]).

Theodora's vita says that the saint was tempted by Satan, who, however, was unable to bend her character. Despite the fact that the hagiographer did not further specify the nature of this temptation, the already quoted passage ([117]) suggests that youthful passions and pride were regarded as its chief means. On the other hand, lack of direct choice on the part of the young princess as described by the text is surprising. She was never portrayed making a decision and even at the end of her exile, she was not given the right to question whether she wanted to return to the man who abandoned her without provisions in her pregnancy. Although sources prove that under such circumstances a woman may have sued for a divorce ([118]), the issue was not even raised. The vita dryly comments the occasion : "Michael came to his sense (...) and took the blessed [Theodora] again [into his house]" ([119]). Although Akropolites (and other above noted historians) showed that the real princess was not afraid of making decisions, the saint of the vita reflecting social expectation of female conformity could not but diverge from her historical original.

Miracles performed both before and after death were an important attribute of the saints marking the divine confirmation of their special election. Describing supernatural occurrences surrounding the life and following the death of the saintly rulers both the western and eastern sources witness the late medieval intertwining of the holy and the miraculous. The measure and impact of visions and prophecies, however, rarely goes beyond the confines of the saints' households echoing perhaps the reluctance of the church authorities to exchange the traditional idea of a woman as mother and servant for a more public role of miracle-worker and prophetess.

Western princesses nevertheless had visions, prophesied and healed the diseased. This last aspect, of course, most prominently impacted their saintly reputation and promoted popular veneration. Taking place mostly

(116) DE MOUCHERON, pp. 68-69.

(117) *PG* 127, 905.

(118) H. N. ANGELOMATIS-TSOURAGAKIS, *Women in the Society of the Despotate of Epirus*, in *JÖB*, 32/2 (1982), pp. 472-480, especially, p. 475.

(119) TALBOT (1996), pp. 331-332.

upon their death ([120]), the lists numbering supernatural healings of various physical and psychological disorders follow the vitae ([121]). Among the cured were the blind, mute, and paralyzed but also people with specific diseases such as cancer or elephantiasis. A unique miracle, properly noted in her vita, even described Hedwig reviving a hanged man for whom she obtained mercy ([122]). Miracles, which occurred during the lives of the saints, were rare and although popular they sometimes do not appear in earlier vitae ; water turned into wine before the suspicious husband tasted it ([123]), roses became coins to pay workers building a new church ([124]) and conversely, coins carried to the poor changed into roses saving the queen from punishment ([125]).

From early MA, visions and prophecies of western princesses were viewed as suspicious ([126]). The fact that the three vitae allowed no doubts regarding these phenomena was due to their rather personal character of narrow or familial significance. While Elisabeth concealed her visions in order not to fall into pride ([127]), Hedwig became the most noteworthy prophetess of the three. Considering the content of her prophecies, it may have been a dubious gift. The saint predicted (among others) the death of her husband and son, her grandson's wicked reign and his bad relationship to his wife and servants ([128]).

In Byzantium, miracles were not as central to royal female sanctity as pious life, intercession or protection of Orthodoxy (St. Theodora, wife of Theophilos, for example worked no miracles). The Palaiologan period, which introduced a more official approach to the institution of sainthood, necessarily influenced the shaping of the new saints. According to the vita, Theodora did not accomplish any miracle during her life except for the prophecy predicting her death. On the other hand, reflecting the tra-

(120) Hedwig is rather an exception as she had worked quite a number of miracles already during her life, *MPH*, p. 552ff.
(121) *AASS*, p. 192, XII-XIII, 197 ; *Summarium*, DE MOUCHERON, pp. 127-132
(122) *MPH*, pp. 525-526.
(123) *Ibidem*, pp. 528-529
(124) DE MOUCHERON, p. 67.
(125) *Ibidem*, pp. 59-60.
(126) THIELLET, p. 155f, 157f.
(127) HUYSKENS, p. 37.
(128) *MPH*, pp. 570-572.

dition of later coenobitic nuns the miracles following her death were numerous and included both physical and spiritual healings ([129]).

CONCLUSION

Almost four centuries passed since Isabella, as the last of the four princesses, was counted among the saints in 1625. In the meantime, the legacy grew ; the vitae, rewritten and translated into the vernaculars and woven into secular literature inspired four generations of believers, churches were dedicated to the memory of the saints and pilgrims flocked to the places where their lives, historical and mythical, took place.

Although numerous similarities concerning the Byzantine and the western princesses surface in their roles as wives, mothers, widows and saints, the examination of their lives points out a crucial difference in what the two societies considered central to the role of a saintly female ruler. In late medieval West, queenship and sainthood intertwined. Beside common ascetic practices, a saintly female ruler was expected to demonstrate her piety by public service to the poor using her political influence to promote piety, justice and peace inside/ outside the country, initiate charitable and church foundations and intervene on behalf of her subjects with the powerful.

Theodora's vita, on the other hand, fails to present its heroine as endowed with any political power. Her surrender to the outside events is complete but she reemerges as a woman who cannot be harmed by external circumstances. She escapes the traps of power and as the author focuses on her personal and ascetic life, she differs little from the common Byzantine saintly women of the preceding centuries. Her crown lends her no authority ; it is a mere piece of jewelry, while the court of which she should be a mistress simply provides the setting to her story. The lack of interest in associating her with political power is further reinforced in that her historical peacemaking activity is denied and no attempt is made to distinguish her in this respect.

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Late medieval ships brought a number of highborn or royal women as perspective brides from Byzantium to the West and from western coun-

(129) TALBOT (1996), p. 333.

tries to the East. These women carried not only rich dowries, precious jewels and pieces of art, but sometimes also the above described models of royal female piety into their new homes. But how they lived them and reshaped them under the influences of the cultural sphere they entered is a story yet to be written.

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SUMMARY

The study of the personal, political and religious lives of four late medieval princesses, Hedwig of Silesia, Elisabeth of Thüringen, Isabella of Aragon and Theodora of Arta, reveals interesting differences in the concept of royal female sainthood in late medieval Byzantium and the West. Political activity (peace-making) and direct care of the poor became crucial to the sainthood of the three princesses who in order to reconcile the contradictory roles of a female ruler and saint developed a courtly and an ascetic identity allowing them to fulfill both their representative duties and live a saintly life. Ascetic lifestyle permeated already in course of their marriage their public actions as wives of rulers and unlike early medieval queens, they did not enter a monastery in their widowhood. Compared with the western vitae, Theodora's legend presents its heroine as a remarkably private lady, whose sainthood became manifest as she showed constancy, submission and perseverance in the difficult conditions of her personal life. She was strictly isolated from the public sight by her modesty and by the social expectations of the time, which apparently did not allow mixing the roles of a princess and a saint. Her ascetic lifestyle and care of her subjects intensified only upon the death of her husband, as she, according to the tradition of eastern female rulers, entered a monastery.

LES RÈGLES BYZANTINES DE LA DIVISION EN SYLLABES

Depuis toujours, celui qui écrit en grec et qui, par manque de place, doit mettre le début d'un mot sur une ligne et la fin sur la ligne suivante ne coupe pas son mot n'importe où, mais seulement à la césure entre deux syllabes (1). Cet usage remonterait-il à l'écriture syllabique ? Je le présume, sans être capable de le vérifier (2).

Quoi qu'il en soit, un tel usage demande qu'on suive les règles de la division en syllabes propres au grec. La division en syllabes, on le sait, diffère de langue à langue ; elle est même, dans chaque idiome, un élément assez caractéristique de la phonétique.

Or, la règle donnée de nos jours par les grammaires grecques, scolaires ou savantes, exprime mal ce qui a été l'usage réel des Byzantins. La voici, telle qu'on la lit dans une bonne grammaire scolaire du XXe siècle :

> Une *consonne seule* entre deux voyelles appartient à la seconde syllabe : θύ-ρα.
>
> Tout *groupe de consonnes* par lequel un mot grec peut commencer est réuni, dans la prononciation, à la voyelle ou à la diphtongue qui suit : ὅ-πλον, ἔ-στρο-φα, δε-σμός ; mais on sépare les groupes de consonnes qui ne peuvent pas se trouver au commencement d'un mot : ἅρ-μα, ἀν-δρός, ἐλ-πίζω.
>
> Dans la prononciation des mots composés, on sépare les différents éléments dont ils se composent : προσ-τίθημι, ὥσ-περ (3).

(1) Du grec, cette habitude est passée dans toutes les langues européennes, puisque ce sont les Grecs, en définitive, qui nous ont transmis l'écriture.

(2) Quelle que soit son origine, cette habitude a rapidement facilité la lecture : dès que ει s'est prononcé ι et que αι s'est prononcé ε il serait devenu vraiment gênant de couper, par ex., λέγε-ι ou λύσα-ιμι.

(3) Ch. Van de Vorst, *Grammaire grecque élémentaire*, Liège, 1977[13], p. 6, n° 7.

De cette règle, qui est appliquée telle quelle par la plupart des éditeurs de textes grecs depuis des décennies (4), le troisième alinéa est incomplet. Il aurait fallu dire :

Dans la prononciation des mots composés, si le second élément commence par une consonne, on sépare les différents éléments dont ils se composent (5) ; si par contre le second élément commence par une voyelle, c'est le premier principe («Une consonne seule entre deux voyelles appartient à la seconde syllabe») qui est d'application.

Je voudrais donc attirer ici l'attention sur le fait que, lorsque le second élément commence par une voyelle, les copistes byzantins, les médiocres autant que les bons, scindent, par ex., ἀ-νίημι, προ-σαγορεύω, εἰ-σέρχομαι. Et pour ne pas substituer un nouveau dogmatisme à un ancien, je me permets de renvoyer à des exemples ; je les ai pris principalement dans un album paléographique assez répandu, celui de Ruth Barbour (6). Pour ne pas déforcer ma démonstration, j'ai emprunté les exemples cités ci-dessous à des copistes dont on voit, sur la planche même, que leur orthographe était bonne, mais quiconque voudra lire les planches reproduisant des extraits de copistes moins érudits verra vite que ceux-ci suivent, sur le point qui nous occupe, le même usage. Je me suis aussi limité à des exemples en écriture minuscule.

On pourra donc voir :

εἰ-σελθών à la pl. 13 (ms. de l'an 835), ll. 8-9
πα-ρηγορίαν à la pl. 19 (ms. de 947-48), col. B, ll. 2-3

(4) Par ex. quelques noms illustres comme J.-P. MIGNE, *PG*. I (Paris, 1857). col. 717 A 6-7 et 12-13 ; I. BURNET dans les *Platonis Opera* (*Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*) : voir t. I (Oxford, 1900), 45a7-8 et 60e4-5 . H. DELEHAYE dans le *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*), Bruxelles, 1902 : voir col. 40, l. 17-18, et col 349, l. 29-30 ; G. MATHIEU et É. BRÉMOND, dans *Isocrate. Discours* (*Collection des Universités de France)* : voir t. I (Paris, 1929), p. 84, l. 19-20, et p. 131, l 23-24 ; E. SCHWARTZ, dans les *ACO* : voir t. III (1940), p. 33, l. 14-15, et p. 40, l 25-26. – I. BEKKER, par contre, suivait tantôt la même règle que les autres éditeurs, tantôt la coutume byzantine que nous allons exposer : voir *Aristoteles Graece*, t. I (Berlin, 1831), 615a17-18 et 617a26-27, mais par ailleurs 614a12-13 et 615b23-24.

(5) On remarquera que les deux exemples donnés par la grammaire citée ci-dessus sont exacts, puisque le second élément (τίθημι et περ respectivement) commence chaque fois par une consonne.

(6) *Greek Literary Hands A.D. 400-1600*, Oxford, 1981.

πα-ρέξειν à la pl. 50 (ms. de 1067), ll. 5-6
προ-σιέμενος à la pl. 83 (ms. de 1278-79), ll. 7-8
προ-σενεγκών à la pl. 99 (ms. de 1065), ll. 3-4.

Parallèlement avec cet usage de ne pas scinder entre d'une part la consonne finale du premier élément et d'autre part la voyelle initiale du second élément entrant en composition, on remarque que pendant plusieurs siècles après la translittération, les Grecs ne se permettaient pas de terminer une ligne sur une apostrophe, puisqu'en effet cela revenait à terminer la ligne en plein milieu d'une syllabe (7). On lit donc :

με-θ'οὗ à la pl. 53 (ms. de l'an 986), ll. 11-12, et
πα-ρεκείνοις à la pl. 73 (ms. de la même année 986), ll. 13-14, où l'apostrophe et l'esprit ne sont même pas indiqués (8).
Οὐχ étant le mot οὐχί élidé, on sépare de même οὐ-χ οὕτως, οὐ-χ'ό, et οὐκ n'étant qu'un οὐχ ayant perdu son aspiration finale, longtemps on a scindé οὐ-κ'ἐγώ, οὐ-κ ἔστιν, οὐ-κ ἔχων, οὐ-κ οἴδατε (9).

Toutefois, dès les manuscrits les plus anciens, une ligne peut se terminer sur δι' puisque dans ce cas la syllabe est complète (10). Nous avons là, typiquement, une exception qui confirme la règle.

(7) Cet usage a été repris par les deux langues européennes qui utilisent le plus l'élision, à savoir l'italien et le français. C'est ainsi qu'aujourd'hui encore, on scinde, par exemple, en italien, *del-l'abitudine*, et en français, *aujour-d'hui.*

(8) Dans les deux premiers siècles de l'écriture minuscule, il n'est pas rare que, dans les cas d'élision, les copistes omettent soit l'apostrophe, soit l'esprit, voire, comme ici, les deux.

(9) Voir, pour οὐχ K. et S. LAKE, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 portfolios, Boston, 1934-1939, fasc. 2, pl. 95 (ms. de 895), passage de l'antépénultième à l'avant-dernière ligne ; de même, A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 17), Washington, 1980, pl. 3 (ms. de 1228), l. 30-31. Pour οὐκ, voir K. et S. LAKE, *op. cit.*, fasc. 7, pl. 467 (ms. de 964), col. D, l. 33-34, et fasc. 8, pl. 598 (ms. de 1193 ?), col. A, l. 3-4 ; de même, A. TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi*, 28), Cité du Vatican, 1964, tab. 17 (ms. de 1258-59), 2e page, l. 1-2 ; de même encore, voir *Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIIIe et XIVe siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France*, I : *XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1989, pl. 33 (ms. de 1272-73), passage de la première à la seconde colonne.

(10) Voir K. et S. LAKE, *op. cit.*, fasc. 2, pl. 120 (ms. de 972), col. B, l. 25.

C'est relativement tard que les Byzantins ont commencé à se permettre de terminer une ligne sur une apostrophe autre que celle qu'on lit dans δι' (11).

Cette conception de la syllabe et de l'élision entraîne un corollaire. Puisque l'élision marque une unité de syllabe, il est évidemment impossible d'introduire une virgule entre le mot élidé et celui qui le suit. Jamais à ma connaissance un copiste byzantin n'a introduit un signe de ponctuation après un mot élidé (12). Par contre, pas mal d'éditeurs modernes ont commis et commettent cette «innocente absurdité» sans s'en rendre compte (13).

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(11) J'ai pris comme échantillon représentatif les planches des principaux répertoires de manuscrits grecs datés (K. et S. LAKE pour les manuscrits antérieurs à 1200 ; le volume cité à la note 9 rassemblant les manuscrits parisiens du XIIIe siècle ; les trois albums publiés par Turyn sur les manuscrits des XIIIe et XIVe siècles du Vatican, d'Italie et de Grande-Bretagne). On n'y voit apparaître les apostrophes en fin de ligne que durant le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle : cf. TURYN, *Codices...* (cité n. 9), pl. 26 (ms. de 1269-70), l. 11 ; ID., *Dated...* (cité n. 9), pl. 32 (ms. de 1286), l. 16, et pl. 41 (ms. de 1290), l. 17, où le mot élidé est οὐχ' ; ID., *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, II, *Plates*, Urbana, 1972, pl. 51 (ms. de 1290), l. 28 ; pl. 58 (ms. de 1293-94), l. 8 ; pl. 66 et 67 (ms. de 1294-95), l. 19 et l. 2. On voit qu'à partir de cette fin du XIIIe siècle l'orthographe «nouvelle» a fait sa percée, sans évidemment que l'ancienne ait disparu ; celle-ci reste encore majoritaire pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle. – Notons en passant l'intérêt du détail ici étudié quand il faut dater un manuscrit : il faudra désormais de sérieux arguments pour prétendre qu'un manuscrit est antérieur à 1250 s'il termine régulièrement ses lignes sur ἀλλ', δ', κατ' etc. (δι' étant, comme nous l'avons dit, excepté).

(12) Il en va encore de même dans le français actuel où on écrira, soit «alors qu'encore enfant il était gros», soit «alors que, encore enfant, il était gros», mais jamais «alors qu', encore enfant, il était gros». Notre langue n'a pas perdu le sens profond de l'élision.

(13) Voir p. ex. P. MAZON et collab., *Homère, Iliade* (*Collection des Universités de France*), t. I (Paris, 1937), chant IV, 191 et 193 ; J. H. VINCE, *Demosthenes* (*The Loeb Classical Library*), t. I (Londres, 1962), On the Chersonese, 13, l. 1, et 18, l. 3 ; A.-L. REY, *Patricius, Eudocie, Optimus, Côme de Jérusalem, Centons homériques (Homerocentra)* (*SC*, 437), Paris, 1998, XIV, 37 (p. 226) et XXI, 18 (p. 272).

LE RÉCIT DE L'ŒDIPODIE CHEZ JEAN MALALAS (1)

A. Introduction

La *Chronique* (2) de Jean Malalas, auteur du sixième siècle (3) se compose de 18 livres et couvre la période qui s'étend de la création d'Adam à l'année 563, là où l'unique manuscrit dans lequel la *Chronique* nous est préservée en grec s'arrête (4). Dans le livre 10, un important passage est

(1) Le présent article n'aurait pu être publié sans le concours de M. le Professeur J. Schamp et celui des Dr. M. Steinrück et E. Amato, qui par leur aide et leur soutien ont largement contribué à améliorer la qualité de mon travail. Qu'ils trouvent ici l'expression de ma gratitude.

(2) Principales éditions du texte : L. Dindorf (éd.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1831 (dorénavant Bo.). I. Thurn (éd.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (*CFHB*, 35), Berlin, 2000 (dorénavant Th.). Les mots en italiques dans notre texte français traduisent les modification de l'édition de I. Thurn par rapport à celle du corpus de Bonn. Pour une traduction, voir E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 4), Melbourne, 1986 (dorénavant Jeff.).

(3) Pour faire un tour de la question de l'identité du personnage : K. Wolf, art. Ioannes Malalas, dans *RE* IX (1916), cols 1795-1799 ; A. Berger, art. *I. Malalas*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998), cols 1063-1064 ; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII, 5), Munich, 1978, pp. 319-325 ; B. Croke, *Malalas, the Man and his Work*, dans E. Jeffreys *e.a.* (éd.), *Studies in John Malalas* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 6), Canberra, 1990, pp. 1-25 ; B. Barry, art. *Malalas, John*, dans *ODB*, p. 1275. Sur la signification du nom Malalas : M. Débié, *Jean Malalas et la tradition chronographique de langue syriaque*, dans *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas*, I, *Actes du colloque «la Chronique de Jean Malalas : genèse et transmission»* (*Association des Amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies*, 15), Paris, 2004, pp. 147-149 ; W. Witakowski, *Malalas in Syriac*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 305-306.

(4) Il s'agit de l'*Oxford, Baroccianus* 182, abrégé *Ba* dans toutes les éditions critiques. Elle continuait originellement jusqu'à l'année 565, date de la mort de Justinien, ou peut-être même jusqu'en 574.

consacré à la naissance du Christ, que Jean Malalas situe en l'an 5967 (5). Quant aux premiers livres, ils présentent les différentes royautés mythiques de la Grèce. Afin de les intégrer au mieux dans le cadre historique qu'il leur donne, Malalas en fait des histoires tout à fait plausibles. On parle alors d'Évhémérisme, en rapport avec l'auteur du 4ème siècle av. J.-C., Évhémère, qui est le chef de file et le prototype de l'exégèse dite historique (6). «Il s'agit de réduire les mythes à un fait historique, voire à un simple fait divers, que la tradition aurait développé et amplifié (7)». À son point de départ, cette exégèse prenait le contre-pied d'un courant de pensée qui voyait des explications philosophiques derrière les mythes. Mais ici le but est tout autre. De manière générale, il s'agit devant un public chrétien de démontrer le caractère infondé des mythes non en leur donnant une explicitation de quelque nature qu'elle soit, mais de les présenter de manière factuelle en supprimant toute référence au caractère merveilleux et fantastique. Dans notre exposé nous allons examiner comment ces procédés sont mis en œuvre dans le cas de l'Œdipodie. Comme l'expose S. W. Reinert, la royauté de Thèbes commence aux alentours de l'année 3000 (8) et se termine dans l'année 3369 environ (9). Nous savons

(5) Sa crucifixion date donc de l'an 6000. Toutes les dates dans la *Chronique* s'entendent depuis la création d'Adam. Nous utiliserons cette technique dans tout le travail.

(6) Lecture 3 : Theories of Myth & "Enuma Elish" : http://www.pitt.edu/~ggfst/lecture_3.htm.

(7) A. Smeesters, *Mythes d'Homère, mythe d'Orphée : Les méandres de l'interprétation, FEC* 4 (2002), adresse internet : http://bcs.fltr.ucl.ac.be/FE/04/buffiere.html.

(8) S. W. Reinert, *Greek Myth in Johannes Malalas' Account of Ancient History before the Trojan War,* Los Angeles, 1981, p. 331. Cf. également E. Jeffreys, *Chronological Structures in the Chronicle,* dans *Studies in John Malalas*, p. 126, arrive à la même conclusion ; selon elle, il apparaît clairement que le cycle thébain se termine avant l'apparition d'Abraham en 3445. Cf. également notre tableau en annexe i. Sur les structures chronologiques de la *Chronique*, on consultera également l'article très récent d'E. Caire, *La Chronologie de l'histoire grecque jusqu'à Alexandre dans la Chronique de Malalas*, dans *Recherches sur la chronique de Jean Malalas*, II, *Actes du colloque «Jean Malalas et l'histoire»* (*Association des Amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies*, 24), Paris, 2006, pp. 36-37, 43.

(9) Cf. l'indication de durée donnée à la fin de notre passage ; Mal., 53 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 42 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐλύθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Θηβῶν, ἤτοι Βοιωτῶν. κατασχοῦσα ἔτη τξθ΄.

en outre que le règne d'Œdipe dura 19 ans ([10]), ce qui place le sujet de notre exposé aux alentours de 3350 ou en 2617 av. J.-C. dans notre datation. Notre événement est donc insérable de manière plausible sur une échelle du temps ([11]).

Mais tournons-nous vers notre épisode : nous allons démontrer que Jean Malalas a construit son texte en faisant appel à divers procédés, ceci en vue de rendre historique sa version de L'Œdipodie. Il y va tout d'abord d'un remaniement des sources classiques que sont les mythographes. Nous utiliserons, afin de ne pas prolonger la discussion, la *Bibliothèque* du Ps.-Apollodore ([12]), et nous verrons comment s'opère la reconstruction du récit à l'aide de procédés divers. Dans une deuxième phase, nous examinerons le traitement qu'a connu le récit dans d'autres chroniques, dans la *Souda*, et dans un choix de scholies.

B. Traduction de : Mal., 49-54 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 36-42 Jeff.

Après le règne d'Amphion et Zéthos, leur descendance gouverna sur Thèbes jusqu'au règne d'Œdipe, fils de Laïos et de Jocaste ; lequel Laïos, roi de Thèbes, avait un fils appelé Iokkas, dont le nom fut changé en Œdipe, comme mentionné ci-dessus. Ayant reçu un oracle que ce dernier coucherait avec sa propre mère, Laïos ordonna à sa garde personnelle d'emporter Œdipe dans les bois, de lui fixer les pieds dans une pièce de bois qu'on aurait percée de trous et d'y clouer ses pieds ; c'est là qu'on trouve l'origine de ce qu'on appelle encore aujourd'hui dans le vocabulaire militaire un «carcan». Les soldats firent donc ce qui leur avait été ordonné et conduirent Œdipe dans les bois pour le laisser en pâture aux bêtes sauvages.

Un paysan du nom de Mélibée qui était venu dans la forêt pour y couper du bois trouva Œdipe en train de se traîner sur le sol, les pieds enflés. Il alla chercher sa hache, la leva et d'un coup brisa la pièce de bois qui entravait ses pieds. Il emporta l'enfant pour l'élever et l'appela Œdipe,

(10) Mal., 53 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 42 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Θηβῶν ὁ Οἰδίπους ἔτη ιθ'.

(11) Naturellement, cette datation est fort imprécise mais cet exercice a une valeur qualitative, non la prétention d'être exact, surtout vu le sujet dont nous traitons. Pour un avis différent sur la question, cf. plus loin le chapitre consacré à Jules Africain.

(12) En cela, nous suivrons la méthode de S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*.

car cela signifie aux pieds enflés. Adulte, il devint un jeune homme fort courageux.

Dans la région apparut une femme veuve du nom de Sphinx ; elle était difforme, avec une poitrine énorme, une campagnarde ; à la mort de son mari, elle avait amené avec elle un groupe de paysans, des brigands, ses complices dans son propre village nommé Moabé, situé entre deux montagnes n'ayant entre elles qu'un seul et unique passage étroit ; avec sa poignée de brigands, elle prit position sur la cime de la montagne et se mit à tuer tous ceux qui étaient de passage, qu'ils fussent voyageurs ou marchands, et à dérober leurs biens. Elle devint tristement célèbre à Thèbes ; beaucoup de chefs de guerre firent expédition contre elle, dont une constituée d'une grande armée envoyée par Laïos ; mais aucun n'arrivait à triompher d'elle car ces montagnes étaient difficiles ; qui plus est, les paysans brigands étaient nombreux qui partageaient avec elle les biens des passants, étrangers ou citoyens.

Quand Œdipe fut parvenu à l'âge adulte, il apprit qu'il était originaire de la ville de Thèbes ; il entendit dire qu'une femme, prénommée Sphinx, vivant de brigandage, tuait tous ceux qui allaient à Thèbes et opprimait cette ville. Avec un plan habile qu'il avait ourdi pour faire périr Sphinx, il emmena du village où il avait été élevé un groupe de paysans valeureux pour, comme il dit, aller brigander avec elle. Il se rendit auprès d'elle et lui demanda de pouvoir brigander avec elle. Quand elle eut regardé l'allure du jeune homme et de ses compagnons, elle lui fit bon accueil à lui et aux autres. Œdipe lui-même se mit donc à attaquer les gens de passage ! Quand il eut trouvé un moment où elle n'avait pas avec elle de troupe de brigands, il prit une lance, la tua, emporta tout son bien, après avoir tué en même temps beaucoup de ses compagnons. Il emmena les restes de Sphinx en ville parce que lui et ses compagnons devaient recevoir de l'argent du roi Laïos. Avec admiration, tous les citoyens de Thèbes se mirent à le célébrer et à crier qu'ils le voulaient comme roi de Thèbes. Fâché contre les Thébains, le roi envoya aussi son armée contre la ville. Une guerre civile éclata, et Laïos dut sortir pour se défendre contre les critiques. Une flèche lancée contre lui le tua. Et Jocaste, qui ne voulait pas être chassée du trône, épousa donc directement Œdipe et le fit roi, car elle avait appris qu'il n'avait pas de femme ; elle l'avait épousé pour le bien de la cité et du sénat.

Œdipe régna sur Thèbes pendant 19 ans, alors que Jocaste ignorait, de même qu'Œdipe, qu'elle était sa mère. D'elle, il eut deux fils, Étéocle et Polynice, et deux filles, Ismène et Antigone. Après un certain temps, ce

fut la même Jocaste qui demanda à Œdipe d'où il venait et qui était son père. Il répondit qu'il avait été élevé par Mélibée. Jocaste envoya donc chercher ce Mélibée qui l'avait élevé et elle apprit de lui qu'Œdipe n'était pas son fils, mais qu'il l'avait trouvé dans les bois. Elle lui demanda alors quand cela s'était-il passé, et, à sa réponse, elle comprit qu'il était son propre fils et elle le lui dit. Quand Œdipe l'eut appris, il prit des clous, se les planta dans les yeux et mourut : il laissait le royaume à ses deux fils, à qui il avait ordonné de régner à tour de rôle chaque année. Mais ceux-ci en vinrent à se haïr à cause du royaume et se firent la guerre l'un contre l'autre ; les deux frères s'entretuèrent en combat singulier.

Expulsé du royaume et chassé du trône par Étéocle, son frère, Polynice, se rendit à Argos. Il y prit pour femme la fille d'Adraste, le roi d'Argos. Et, quand il eut gagné à sa cause le roi Adraste et d'autres rois avec des armées très nombreuses contre son propre frère, il vint à Thèbes pour l'attaquer. Ceux qui avaient adopté sa cause et fait l'expédition avec lui étaient Adraste, Capanée, *Tydée*, Amphiaraos, Parthénopée, Hippomédon ([13]). Comme on l'a dit, à la mort des deux frères, les rois se retirèrent avec leurs armées sur leurs territoires ; le royaume de Thèbes ou des Béotiens se désagrégea, après une domination de 369 ans.

Tout ce qui est susmentionné, le très érudit Palaiphatos l'a exposé en termes véritables ; le très érudit Euripide l'a exposé en une pièce de théâtre, mais sous le mode poétique, avec pour sujets, Œdipe, Jocaste, et la Sphinge. Le chronographe et *érudit* Africanos, a fait un exposé sur les faits du royaume de Thèbes ([14]).

C. Jean Malalas et les sources classiques ([15])

Le premier point que nous allons examiner est la manière dont Malalas traite le sujet en rapport avec la version mythologique. S. W. Reinert ([16])

(13) Mal., II, 17 Th. : Οἱ δὲ προτραπέντες καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἦσαν αὐτοί, Ἄδραστος, Καπανεύς, Τυδεύς, Ἀμφιάραος, Παρθενοπεύς, Ἱππομέδων.

(14) Mal., II, 17 Th. : Τὰ γὰρ τῶν Θηβῶν βασίλεια Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ σοφὸς χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο.

(15) Nous utiliserons dans tout notre exposé cette terminologie, quand il s'agira de comparer la version de Malalas à celles des tragiques et des mythographes, des époques classiques et hellénistiques, par opposition aux textes plus tardifs.

(16) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-413 pour le chapitre sur Œdipe.

pose comme point de départ la façon dont les mythes sont traités. S'agit-il d'une version moralisante, ou d'une exégèse historique ? ([17]) Comme nous l'avons dit en introduction, il s'agit clairement d'une version historicisante du mythe, comme on peut l'attendre d'une chronique. Le savant pose ensuite la question de l'utilisation des sources faite par Malalas, mais ne conclut pas que Malalas n'a pas eu accès aux sources qu'il cite ([18]), ce que nous allons pouvoir mettre en doute dans la suite de notre exposé ([19]). Le principal point de comparaison est tiré du texte de la *Bibliothèque* du Ps.-Apollodore ([20]), qui fournit une matière suffisante pour comparer les deux trames du mythe ([21]).

a. La naissance d'Œdipe

Notre histoire commence donc à Thèbes, qui n'est pas classiquement la Thèbes aux sept portes, mais aux douze ([22]), et est fondée par Amphion.

(17) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

(18) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 23 dit en effet que Malalas n'a que des réminiscences d'un écolier en ce qui concerne la mythologie classique.

(19) Cf. notamment ci-après notre chapitre sur Palaiphatos dont la trame est bien différente de celle de Malalas.

(20) Pour les citations du grec, nous nous servirons de l'édition italienne : P. Scarpi, *Apollodoro, I Miti Greci (Biblioteca)* (*Scrittori greci e latini*), Milano, 1997, III, 5, 7 - 7, 4 [= III, 48-85 dans l'édition parue chez Teubner]. Pour la traduction française : P. Schubert *e.a.*, *Apollodore, La Bibliothèque, Un manuel antique de mythologie*, Lausanne, 2003, dont la numérotation reprend celle du texte grec de l'édition italienne. On trouvera entre crochets la numérotation de l'édition Teubner.

(21) Les divers textes traitant d'Œdipe sont très nombreux, et c'est pour des raisons pratiques que nous avons suivi Apollodore. Pour l'Œdipodie en général on se référera à l'édition des fragments dans A. Bernabé (éd.), *Poetarum Graecorum Testimonia et Fragmenta*, I, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1996 éd. corr., pp. 17-20 Oedipodea et la bibliographie jointe. Pour une synthèse sur le cycle Thébain, cf. également Rachel Aélion, *Quelques grands mythes héroïques dans l'œuvre d'Euripide* (*Collection d'études mythologiques*), Paris, 1986, pp. 13-118. On se référera également à l'excellente étude de Marie Delcourt, *Œdipe ou la légende du Conquérant*, Liège, 1944.

(22) Mal., 49 Bo.; II, 16 Th. ; II, 35 Jeff. : Καὶ εὐθέως Ἀμφίων ὁ λυρικὸς κτίζει πόλιν μεγάλην πάνυ, δωδεκάπυλον, τὴν πρώην μὲν οὖσαν κώμην λεγομένην Ἐνχιλίαν· ἣν ὠνόμασαν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀδελφοὶ πόλιν Θήβας εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ αὐτῶν πατρὸς κατὰ κέλευσιν τῆς αὐτῶν μητρός, τῆς Ἀντιόπης·

La ville n'est pas éponyme de la femme de Zéthos, Thébé comme chez Ps.-Apollodore, mais porte le nom de Théoboon, le père des jumeaux ([23]).

À la naissance d'Œdipe, Laïos reçoit un oracle d'après lequel son fils couchera avec sa mère. Laïos décide alors de faire exposer son enfant. La version du Ps-Apollodore est un peu plus compliquée : l'oracle d'Apollon y tient le premier rôle ; il annonce à Laïos que le fils qui naîtra de son union avec Jocaste le tuera. C'est ensuite que Laïos et Jocaste conçoivent leur enfant alors que le roi a trop bu ([24]). Malalas a donc simplifié et inversé deux éléments du récit ; du même coup il a supprimé toute une série d'éléments sur la malédiction qui pesait sur Œdipe, et toute référence à une divinité païenne.

b. L'exposition

Alors que la version du Ps.-Apollodore fait exposer l'enfant sur le Cithéron, et le fait recueillir par Polybe puis adopter par l'épouse du roi de Corinthe, Périboea, le récit de Malalas suit une autre logique. Laïos se conduit en empereur et ordonne à sa garde personnelle d'exposer l'enfant dans les bois. Malalas ne nous livre pas d'indications précises sur la nature exacte du lieu ; il s'agit d'une forêt. L'homme qui le recueille est Mélibée et c'est lui qui élève l'enfant. S. W. Reinert relève avec justesse ([25]) la truculence du récit de Malalas. Le chroniqueur ajoute à cet effet toute une série de détails qui rendent le récit encore plus pittoresque. La scène où Mélibée retrouve l'enfant est peut-être le meilleur exemple : «Un paysan du nom de Mélibée qui était venu dans la forêt pour y couper du bois trouva Œdipe en train de se traîner sur le sol, les pieds enflés.

(23) O. Höfer, dans W. H. Roscher (éd.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (= *Myth. Lex.*), V (1916-1924), art. *Theoboon*, col. 610. S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-390, pour l'analyse concernant Amphion, Zéthos, et leur père Theoboon. Le père de Theoboon est Bronton, un descendant de Zeus, ce qui pourrait révéler le fait que Zeus, dans la version classique, s'unit à Antiope sous la forme d'une chèvre. Le nom serait alors formé à l'image de Zeus, mi-animal, mi-dieu, cf. notre arbre généalogique, annexe i.

(24) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 7 [III, 48]. Cf. également : Eur., *Ph.*, 21-22 ; Argum. II, III, V, VI à Eschl., *Sept.* Selon certains, Laïos aurait eu un moment d'oubli de l'oracle dans lequel il aurait conçu Œdipe. Cf. Diod. Sic., IV, 64, 1 ; Zenob., II, 68.

(25) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 398 : «Malalas' identification of him as a farmer named Meliboeus adds a note of rural realism to the story».

Il alla chercher sa hache, la leva et d'un coup il brisa la pièce de bois qui entravait ses pieds [26]». On a là une description pittoresque du bûcheron qui lève sa hache et brise le carcan de bois, tandis que pour certains éléments du récit, la simplification est évidente. Le seul point que Malalas ne transforme guère est la raison pour laquelle Œdipe reçoit son nom. Chez le mythographe, Œdipe est nommé ainsi à cause de ses pieds enflés [27]. Chez Malalas, Œdipe reçoit d'abord le nom de Iokkas, ce qui, selon S. W. Reinert fait référence à une coutume dans la mythologie tardive qui voulait que l'enfant soit nommé d'après le nom de sa mère [28]. C'est seulement suite à sa découverte par Mélibée que le nom d'Œdipe lui est donné [29]. Par volonté de réalisme, Malalas a donc donné un premier nom à Œdipe, *i.e.* Iokkas, car l'oracle intervient après la naissance de l'enfant.

c. Le Cuspus

Malalas ajoute au sujet de l'exposition un point de détail qui constitue une nouveauté. Œdipe a, comme dans la version classique, les pieds entravés. Mais l'auteur profite de ce passage pour créer l'étiologie d'un mot peu usité : «c'est là qu'on trouve l'origine de ce qu'on appelle encore aujourd'hui dans le vocabulaire militaire un "carcan" [30]». Selon S. W. Reinert [31], le «carcan» est un mot latin qui apparaît tardivement, et le texte de Malalas serait le premier témoignage du mot *κοῦσπος*, *cuspus*

(26) Mal., 50 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 36 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐλθών τις ἄγροικος ὀνόματι Μελίβοιος ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην κόψαι ξύλα, εὗρεν αὐτὸν συρόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὀγκωθέντας. Καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ᾗ ἐβάσταζεν ἀξίνῃ ἔκλασε τὸ ξύλον ὅπου ἐσφάληντο οἱ αὐτοῦ πόδες.

(27) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 7 [III,49]. Les textes nous relatant cette étymologie sont nombreux. Cf. Zenob., II, 68 ; Nic. Dam., dans F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (= *FGrHist.*), Vol. 2 A, *Universalgeschichte und Hellenika* : N° 64-105, Berlin, puis Leiden, 1926, n° 90 F8 ; Eur., *Ph.* 27 et Schol. MTA *ad loc.* Hygin, *Fab.* LXVI, 2. Sén., *Œdipe*, 812-813.

(28) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 397. cf également O. Höfer, art. *Oidipous.* dans *Myth. Lex.* III, 1 (1897-1909), col. 705.

(29) On retrouve cette idée chez Diod. IV, 64, 1, où Œdipe ne reçoit son nom que plus tard : Ἐξέθηκε τὸ βρέφος διαπερονήσας αὐτοῦ τὰ σφυρὰ σιδήρῳ· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν Οἰδίπους ὕστερον ὠνομάσθη.

(30) Mal., 50 Bo., II, 17 Th. ; II, 36 Jeff. : Ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν ἐπινενόηται ὁ λεγόμενος παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἕως τῆς νῦν κοῦσπος.

(31) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

en latin ; or, l'entrée du *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (= *ThLL*) ([32]) renvoie à des utilisations toutes grecques du mot, par ailleurs tirées des *Glossae* ([33]). L'origine du mot semble latine et renvoyer au mot latin *cuspis* ([34]) qui signifie de manière générale un objet pointu ou une pointe ([35]). Or, il est possible de trouver d'autres occurrences du mot *cuspus* en latin. Le dictionnaire de Charles du Fresne ([36]) nous donne comme définition *ligneum sandalium,* d'ailleurs citée en grec ci-dessus ([37]), et une occurrence du mot, dans la *Regula Magistri* ([38]), texte repris dans la *Concordia Regularum* ([39]). Mais le sens n'est pas le même dans ces deux textes ; le terme κοῦσπος semble être plus vraisemblablement la traduction du latin *cippus* dont Charles du Fresne donne la définition suivante ([40]) : «Joan. De Janua, *Cippus, instrumentum quo reorum pedes constringuntur, quasi capiens pede*». Les nombreux exemples cités dans cet article renforcent notre hypothèse de l'utilisation du mot latin *cippus* comme équivalent du mot grec κοῦσπος ([41]).

(32) Le *ThLL* IV (1906-1909), art. *cuspus*, col. 1554, nous donne comme définition du mot ξύλινον σανδάλιον. Il nous renvoie au mot *cuspator*, col. 1552, dont l'occurrence citée se trouve chez Jean le Lydien. Cf. également Lyd., *Mag.*, I, 46 : Κούσπους γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ξυλοπέδας καλοῦσιν. Pour cette dernière glose, on consultera avec profit l'édition récente de Jean le Lydien. Cf. M. Dubuisson, J. Schamp, *Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures de l'Etat Romain*, I, 1 (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 2006, pp. CDXI-CDXV, n° 18.

(33) G. Goetz, G. Gungermann, *Glossae Latinograecae et Graecolatinae (Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, II*)*, Amsterdam, 1965², art. *cuspus*, p. 119.

(34) E. A. Sophocles, art. *Κοῦσπος,* dans *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Londres, 1914, p. 687.

(35) G. Goetz, *Thesaurus glossarum emendatarum, (Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, VI*)*, Amsterdam, 1965², art. *cuspis*, p. 299 : on a les gloses ἐπιδορατίς, σαυρωτήρ qui désignent toutes deux la partie en fer de la lance qui permet de la ficher en terre.

(36) Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, II, Niort, 1883, art. *Cuspus*, p. 678.

(37) Cf. notre note 32.

(38) A. De Vogüé, *La Règle du Maître*, II, Paris, 1964, LXXXI, 29, pp. 334-337.

(39) Cf. P. Bonnepierre, *Benedicti Anianensis, Concordia Regularum* (*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 168 + 168A), Turnhout, 1999, cap. LXVIII, p. 544, ligne 484.

(40) Ch. du Fresne, *op. cit.*, art. *Cippus*, p. 334. Dans le *ThLL* III (1906-1912), art. *cippus*, p. 1078, on retrouve comme sens particulier du mot, celui du carcan, notamment utilisé par Grégoire de Tours.

(41) Pour étayer cette affirmation, notons que dans E.A. Sophocles, *op. cit.*, art. *Κοῦσπος*, p. 687 le mot est défini comme l'équivalent de κῦπτος, et de

d. La rencontre avec Sphinx et sa mort

Dans la suite du récit, Malalas dit qu' Œdipe «adulte, devint un jeune homme fort courageux» ([42]), ce qui reprend l'image du Ps.-Apollodore ([43]). Mais, à ce moment-là, apparaît le point le plus étrange du récit ; Œdipe se décide à aller à Thèbes, dans le seul but d'y faire périr Sphinx, personnage tristement célèbre. Comme S. W. Reinert le souligne, la visite à l'oracle de Delphes ne figure pas dans le récit de Malalas alors que chez les classiques, c'est suite à cette visite qu'Œdipe se détourne sur Thèbes ([44]).

La figure de Sphinx est le point le plus imaginatif de toute la narration. Vient d'abord sa description haute en couleurs : «Dans la région apparut une femme veuve du nom de Sphinx ; elle était difforme, avec une poitrine énorme ; c'était une campagnarde ([45])». Ce passage souligne encore le côté pittoresque et trivial de l'histoire. De plus elle est le chef d'une bande de paysans s'adonnant au brigandage. C'est là que l'exégèse historique atteint son paroxysme. Dans sa version qui se veut historique, Malalas a transformé le monstre mythologique en une femme repoussante. Or, celui-ci a gardé quelques traits de caractère du mythe original ([46]). Ainsi Euripide, cité comme source dans notre passage ([47]), définit la

ποδοκάκκη ; le premier équivalent n'est autre que la translittération grecque de *cippus*. Dans le *Thesaurus graecae linguae* VI (1842-1847), art. *Ποδοκάκκη*, p. 1279, la traduction latine du mot est également *cippus*.

(42) Mal., 50 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 36 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐγένετο γενναῖος αὐξηθείς.

(43) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5,7 [III, 50]. Pour cette image, cf. également le récit de Zenob., II, 68 ; Hygin, *Fab.* LXVII, 1.

(44) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 398-399. Cette visite à l'oracle de Delphes est également relatée par le Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 7 [III, 50] ; cf. Soph., *O.R.*, 787-797 ; Eur., *Ph.*, 31-45 ; Zenob., II, 68 ; Hygin, *Fab.*, LXVII, 2-3. Androtion, dans *FGrHist.*, Vol. 3 B, n° 324, F62 ; Argum. II, III, V, VI à Eschl., *Sept.*

(45) Mal., 50 Bo. ; II, 17 Th.; II, 37 Jeff. : Γυνή τις χήρα ὀνόματι Σφίγξ. δυσειδής, κατάμασθος, χωρική.

(46) Sur la Sphinge, son énigme, cf. H. Demisch, *Die Sphinx, Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von den Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1977 ; L. Edmunds, *The Sphinx in the Oedipus Legend* (*Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, 127), Königstein, 1981. J.-M. Moret, *Œdipe, la Sphinx et les Thébains. Essai de mythologie iconographique* (*Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*, 23), Rome, 1984.

(47) Mal., 53 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 42 Jeff. : Ὁ γὰρ σοφώτατος Εὐριπίδης ποιητικῶς ἐξέθετο δρᾶμα περὶ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ τῆς Ἰοκάστης καὶ τῆς Σφιγγός.

Sphinge ([48]) comme une : «Vierge ailée, monstre des montagnes venue apporter le deuil au pays avec des chants sinistres ([49])». Ailleurs : «Au temps où la Sphinge désolait la cité par ses ravages ([50])». Elle est aussi la criminelle : «[...] le pouvoir de la Sphinge meurtrière ([51])». Malalas n'a donc pas totalement réinventé la figure, mais il l'a recréée sur un mode historique. Les éléments principaux, tels que le meurtre, le rapt, la montagne ([52]) et un être monstrueux inspirant la crainte sont conservés. Selon les termes de S. W. Reinert, il s'agit là d'une reconstruction en parallèle ([53]). La méthode est la suivante : elle consiste à rendre un motif mythologique comme l'apparition d'un dieu ([54]) ou d'un monstre, historiquement plausible ([55]). À n'en pas douter, Malalas veut caricaturer le personnage de Sphinx. Le reste de la description n'est pas moins burlesque :

(48) C'est volontairement que nous utilisons ce vocable pour le monstre mythologique grec qui est féminin ; sur l'usage de ce terme cf. P. ROBERT (éd.), art. *Sphinge, Sphinx,* dans *Le Grand Robert de la Langue française,* VIII, Paris, 1985, pp. 926-927.

(49) H. GRÉGOIRE et L. MÉRIDIER, *Euripide, Phéniciennes* (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 1950, v. 806-810 :

Μηδὲ τὸ παρθένιον πτερόν, οὔρειον τέρας ἐλθεῖν,
Πένθεα γαίας,
Σφίγγ' ἀπομουσοτάταισι σὺν ᾠδαῖς,

Cf. également le chœur v. 1018-1042 qui reprend les mêmes éléments.

(50) Eur., *Phéniciennes*, v. 45-46 : [...] ὡς δ' ἐπεζάρει
Σφὶγξ ἁρπαγαῖσι πόλιν [...]

(51) Eur., *Phéniciennes*, v. 1760 : Σφιγγὸς [...] τῆς μιαιφόνου κράτη.

(52) Cf. Mal., 50 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 37 Jeff. : Καὶ καθημένη ἐν τῇ μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους : «elle prit position sur l'unique cime de montagne». Cf. E. BETHE, *Thebanische Heldenlieder*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 19, qui fait remarquer que dès les origines, la Sphinge était représentée comme un monstre des montagnes, une horrible créature, figure de l'ancien monde ennemie des dieux et des hommes, qui par ses rapines apportait désolation aux enfants et aux hommes de Thèbes.

(53) S. W. REINERT, *op. cit.*, p. 744. Dans tout un long chapitre (pp. 733-768), S. W. Reinert explicite une liste des différents procédés que Malalas a utilisés pour écrire son exégèse historique des mythes. La première catégorie est la réduction simpliste, la deuxième est la construction parallèle, la troisième la reconstruction parallèle et la dernière est la pure invention ou le glissement d'un motif à un autre.

(54) S. W. REINERT, *op. cit.*, pp. 741-742. L'apparition de Theoboon comme éponyme de la ville et comme père d'Amphion et de Zéthos, à la place de l'intervention de Zeus, en est un bon exemple.

(55) S. W. REINERT, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

«elle avait amené avec elle un groupe de paysans, des brigands, ses complices dans son propre village nommé Moabé, situé entre deux montagnes n'ayant entre elles qu'un seul et unique passage étroit ([56])». L'apparition du village de Moabé est pour le moins surprenante car il nous a été impossible d'en retrouver la trace si ce n'est dans une scholie traitant du même sujet attribuée à Jean Tzetzes ([57]). Contre l'avis de S. W. Reinert ([58]), nous ne pensons pas que le nom du village ne soit qu'un ajout pour accentuer le côté pittoresque de l'histoire. Donner au nom du village de Sphinx celui de Moabé ne peut relever du hasard. Nous savons que le pays de Moab fut un des opposants d'Israël et les mentions des châtiments réservés aux Moabites sont nombreuses ([59]). Y a-t-il volonté d'associer le royaume de Moab, sa destruction par Dieu, et le caractère de Sphinx, femme pernicieuse, menant une troupe de brigands, et détruite par le valeureux Œdipe ?

De plus, la Thèbes de Malalas comporte douze portes, chiffre hautement symbolique dans les écrits bibliques ; faut-il voir une reconstruction parallèle entre les «Moabiens» attaquant les douze portes thébaines et les Moabites, ennemis des douze tribus d'Israël ? Laissons au lecteur le soin de se forger une opinion à ce sujet car nous ne connaissons pas d'autre exemple semblable propre à confirmer notre argumentation ([60]).

Le motif de l'énigme est lui complètement retravaillé. Dans la littérature «classique», la confrontation entre Œdipe et La Sphinge consiste en

(56) Mal., 50 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 37 Jeff. : Συναγαγοῦσα πλῆθος ἀγροίκων λῃστῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῆς κώμῃ τῇ λεγομένῃ Μωάβῃ, κειμένῃ δὲ μεταξὺ δύο ὀρέων, ἐχόντων ἐν μέσῳ στενὴν ὁδὸν μίαν μόνην. Il est intéressant de noter que le motif du chemin étroit et unique apparaît également chez le Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 7 [III, 51], mais en relation avec la mort de Laïos. Cette route est décrite par Paus., IX, 2, 4 et plus longuement en X, 5, 3-4. On peut alors se poser la question d'un éventuel glissement de motif visant à décharger Œdipe de la mort de Laïos, tout en conservant la notion d'escarpement du lieu.

(57) Cf. ci-après.

(58) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 400 ; selon S. W. Reinert, le nom de Moabé ne fait que rationaliser le nom du mont *Phicion*. Le nom n'apparaît pour aucun village béotien. En outre, il lui est difficile de comprendre pourquoi il y aurait une quelconque allusion à la tribu biblique de Moab.

(59) Principalement : *Nombres* 22-24 ; *Isaïe* 15-16 ; 25,10, *Jérémie* 48. Le royaume a aussi été un lieu d'exil pour le peuple d'Israël : *Jérémie* 40, 11 ; cf. La *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible : Ancien Testament*, Paris, 1975, p. 983, n. *w*.

(60) Il reste cependant tout à fait plausible que ce nom de Moabé ne soit que le résultat d'une confusion entre la Thèbes Egyptienne et la Thèbes grecque.

une énigme à laquelle le héros doit répondre, sous peine d'y perdre la vie, énigme qui constitue par ailleurs un texte célèbre ([61]). Et si la solution de l'énigme est moins attestée en revanche nous en connaissons la réponse qui est l'homme ([62]). Rien de cela chez Malalas mais plutôt une histoire d'infiltration et d'espionnage, dont le but est de faire périr Sphinx, après que de nombreuses expéditions dont une organisée par Laïos lui-même, se sont mal terminées ([63]). L'infiltration se fait donc à l'aide d'une poignée de paysans et Œdipe tue Sphinx et ses compagnons dans un moment où celle-ci et sa troupe ne sont plus sur leurs gardes. S. W. Reinert nous dit en outre que cette version rappelle les plus anciennes traditions mythologiques où Œdipe ne résout pas l'énigme mais tue le monstre, comme il est possible de le voir dans certaines représentations sur vases ([64]).

e. Le retour triomphal et la mort de Laïos

Après avoir assassiné Sphinx, Œdipe ramène sa dépouille en ville comme trophée car il doit recevoir une récompense ([65]). C'est à la suite de

(61) Argument à Euripide, *Phéniciennes*. Une autre version de l'énigme est attribuée à Asclépiade de Tragilos, disciple d'Isocrate dans la scholie au vers 50 ; cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, L. MÉRIDIER, *Euripide, Phéniciennes*, Paris, 1950, p. 151, n. 1. D'autres versions versifiées comportant quelques différences nous sont parvenues dans l'*Anthologie Palatine* XIV, 64, dans Athénée, X, 456b, où est faite mention des *Tragodoumena* d'Asclépiade, et dans le 2e fragment de *l'Œdipe* d'Euripide. Il existe aussi des versions en prose, chez Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 8 et Diod. Sic., IV, 64, 3.

(62) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 8, et Diod. Sic., IV, 64, 4.

(63) Mal., 50-51 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 37 Jeff. : ἥτις περιβόητος ἐγένετο εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ πολλῶν ἐξελθόντων στρατηγῶν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν στρατὸς πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ Λαΐου βασιλέως, καὶ ταύτης οὐδεὶς ἠδυνήθη περιγενέσθαι διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν τῶν ὀρέων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγροίκων λῃστῶν τῶν μετ' αὐτῆς συμμεριζομένων τὰ τῶν παριόντων ξένων καὶ πολιτῶν.

(64) Pour les représentations d'Œdipe : I. KRAUSKOPF, art. *Oedipous*, dans *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VIII, 1-2 (Zürich - Munich, 1994), pp. 1-15. Les n°s 75-77 montrent la version dans laquelle le héros tue la Sphinge d'un coup de lance. Cependant, Ingrid Krauskopf ne pense pas qu'il s'agisse là de la version la plus ancienne du mythe, et ceci autant en iconographie qu'en littérature. Pour la Sphinge : N. KOUROU, art. *Sphinx*, dans *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* Supplementum 1-2 (Zürich - Munich, 1997), pp. 1149-1165.

(65) Mal., 51 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 38 Jeff. : Καὶ εἰσήγαγε τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῶν Θηβῶν πόλει, ὡς ὀφείλων κομίσασθαι ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρήματα ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Λαΐου.

cet épisode seulement qu'intervient la mort du roi Laïos, touché par une flèche, lors d'une émeute qui survient à l'arrivée d'Œdipe dans Thèbes (66). Comme le note S. W. Reinert, le motif du parricide est totalement absent de toute l'Œdipodie de Malalas (67) ; c'est le fait d'un anonyme qui décoche sa flèche accidentellement contre le roi (68). Suite à cela, Jocaste va épouser Œdipe, «pour le bien de la cité et du sénat (69)». Dans la version de Malalas, le mariage avec Jocaste n'est pas la récompense que Créon offre à celui qui résoudra l'énigme, ce personnage étant d'ailleurs absent de toute la geste thébaine, mais l'union apparaît comme un fait politique, ce qui en quelque sorte rend le crime acceptable, le but unique étant de calmer la foule qui «le proclamait roi de Thèbes (70)».

f. La mort d'Œdipe

Œdipe règne 19 ans sur Thèbes et a deux fils et deux filles comme dans la version classique. Le récit prend ensuite une tournure différente lors de la prise de connaissance d'Œdipe de l'identité réelle de sa mère et de sa mort. Dans la *Chronographie*, comme le souligne S. W. Reinert (71), c'est bien la mère d'Œdipe, Jocaste, qui prend le rôle actif sur l'origine de son mari, tandis que dans les tragédies, c'est Œdipe qui recherche qui est la cause de la peste sur Thèbes (72). Le rappel du berger Mélibée chargé de dévoiler les circonstances de la découverte du petit enfant exposé ajoute une pointe de vérisme. À la découverte de la réalité survient le suicide du protagoniste. Mais Malalas se focalise uniquement sur Œdipe, alors que, dans la version du Ps.-Apollodore, Jocaste se suicide elle aussi, rongée par le désespoir (73). Chez Malalas, c'est son propre aveuglement

(66) Mal., 52 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 39 Jeff. : Καὶ γενομένου ἐμφυλίου πολέμου ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Λάϊος ἀπολογήσασθαι αὐτοῖς. Καὶ ῥιφείσης κατ' αὐτοῦ σαγίττας ἐφονεύθη ὁ Λάϊος.

(67) Cf. également plus haut note 58 *in fine*.

(68) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

(69) Mal., 52 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 39 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐγαμήθη αὐτῷ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου.

(70) Mal., 51 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 38 Jeff. : Καὶ ἔκραζον αὐτὸν βασιλέα τῶν Θηβῶν γενέσθαι.

(71) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

(72) C'est le sujet de l'*Œdipe Roi* de Sophocle.

(73) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 9 [III, 56]. C'est également le cas dans l'*Œdipe Roi* de Soph., 1235-1267. Outre cela, le motif est bien attesté, cf. Zenob., II, 68 *in fine* :

qui tue Œdipe. À nouveau, il y a la volonté d'un réalisme (74) crûment exprimé.

Chez les classiques, l'histoire ne se termine pas là. Chez le Ps.-Apollodore, Œdipe, exilé de Thèbes, va au sanctuaire des Euménides à Colone et y est accueilli par Thésée (75). Malalas n'inscrit pas seulement la mort d'Œdipe dans une optique réaliste. il y a aussi volonté d'éviter l'apparition de Thésée, et du sanctuaire des Euménides.

g. Étéocle et Polynice, ou l'histoire des «six» contre Thèbes

La geste thébaine se termine par le combat fratricide entre les deux fils d'Œdipe et de Jocaste, Étéocle et Polynice. Dans cette partie du récit, Malalas a usé, comme le nomme S. W. Reinert, du procédé de réduction simpliste (76). Le concept ne requiert pas de longues explications. Œdipe, avant sa mort, arrange sa succession (77) : «il laissait le royaume à ses deux fils, à qui il avait ordonné de régner à tour de rôle chaque année (78)». On le sait, tout ne se passe pas comme prévu. Étéocle refuse de rendre le royaume à son frère au terme de son année de règne et une guerre fratricide se déclare : «Mais ceux-ci en vinrent à se haïr à cause du royaume et se firent la guerre l'un contre l'autre ; les deux frères s'entretuèrent en combat singulier (79)». À ce moment-là, pense-t-on, le récit est terminé, ceci d'autant plus que la simplification est extrême, en comparaison du récit donné chez Euripide (80). Malalas opère alors un retour en

Androtion, dans *FGrHist.*, Vol. 3 B, n° 324, F62. Notons que si chez Euripide la notion de suicide est également présente, Jocaste ne se pend pas mais s'enfonce une épée dans la gorge (Eur., *Ph.* 1454-1459).

(74) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

(75) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 9 [III, 56].

(76) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 733.

(77) Il y a là un net glissement du motif, puisque dans la version classique, les deux frères trouvent un arrangement pour régner tour à tour ; Malalas a détourné ce motif pour en faire le testament d'Œdipe, sa dernière volonté. Cf. S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 406. Cf. Ps.-Apoll., III, 6, 1 [III, 57].

(78) Mal., 52 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 40 Jeff. : [...] ἐάσας τὸ βασίλειον τοῖς δυσὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς, ἐνιαυτὸν παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν βασιλεύειν κελεύσας.

(79) Mal., 52 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 41 Jeff. : Οἵτινες εἰς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντες διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπολέμησαν μετ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔσφαξαν μονομαχήσαντες.

(80) Eur., *Ph.* 1359-1424 ; cf. également Zenob., IV, 45 ; Diod., IV, 65, 8 ; Paus., IX, 5, 12-13, IX, 25, 2 ; Argum. à Eur., *Ph.*

arrière sur les circonstances de ce double fratricide. Polynice, chassé de Thèbes, cherche asile à Argos ; il y épouse la fille d'Adraste.

Un élément important dans le récit des Épigones est la lutte qu'engagent Polynice et Tydée et sa conséquence. Dans la version du Ps. Apollodore Tydée épouse Déipyle, et Polynice, Argia ; Adraste promet à tous deux de les ramener dans leur patrie ([81]). Aucune mention de Tydée n'est faite chez Malalas, sauf dans l'expédition des sept contre Thèbes où Tydée est réintroduit dans la version slave, et dont J. Thurn a repris la leçon ([82]). Nous n'en voyons absolument pas la justification. L'une des raisons est la simplification extrême à laquelle cette partie est sujette. Comme dit S. W. Reinert, Malalas «a simplifié la nature de l'expédition ; il représente Polynice comme prenant l'initiative de convaincre Adraste d'entreprendre l'expédition contre son frère ([83])». L'ajout de Tydée, à notre avis, est inutile. Il est erroné de penser que Malalas compile une exégèse des mythes et que par conséquent il doit y avoir corrélation entre sa version et sa source. Malalas présente les faits selon un ordre qui lui semble véridique ou, tout au moins, c'est l'impression qu'il veut donner au lecteur. Dans cette optique, certaines réalités sont retravaillées en fonction d'un public chrétien. Thèbes n'a donc pas sept portes mais douze. Le village d'où est originaire son ennemie jurée, Sphinx, s'appelle Moabé, nom choisi pour sa consonance avec le pays de Moab. Dans ce cadre, que feraient sept chefs face à douze portes ? Les deux nombres doivent être en corrélation. En définitive, dans ce passage, l'édition de Bonn est correcte. À la suite de cette guerre civile, selon Malalas, se situe la fin du royaume de Thèbes après une durée de 369 ans.

h. Malalas et «ses» sources

À la fin du passage, Malalas, en bon scientifique cite ses sources. Un peu à la manière de nos notes de bas de page, il dit que «Tout ce qui est susmentionné, le très érudit Palaiphatos l'a exposé en termes véritables : le très érudit Euripide a composé une pièce de théâtre, mais sur un mode

(81) Ps.-Apoll., III, 6, 1 [III, 59].

(82) Pour rappel, les ajouts de l'édition de Thurn sont en italique dans le texte grec et dans notre traduction française.

(83) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

poétique, avec pour sujets, Œdipe, Jocaste, et la Sphinge. Le chronographe *érudit* Africanos a aussi écrit sur le royaume de Thèbes ([84])».

i. *Le dépositaire de la Vérité, Palaiphatos*

Les deux premiers auteurs cités sont Palaiphatos ([85]) et Euripide. Du premier des deux, le «spécialiste d'Antiquités ([86])» selon l'expression de F. Buffière, nous est parvenu un petit opuscule qui donne des explications rationnelles à la mythologie grecque. Le quatrième chapitre nous concerne directement ([87]) : «[La Sphinge de la Cadmée]». De la Sphinge de la Cadmée, on raconte que c'était une bête avec un corps de chien, une tête et une figure de jeune fille, qu'elle avait des ailes d'oiseaux et une voix humaine. Elle demeurait sur le mont Phicion et proposait des énigmes à chacun des citoyens. Si l'un d'eux se révélait incapable d'en donner la solution, elle le tuait. Quand Œdipe résolut l'énigme, elle se suicida en se précipitant au bas de la montagne.

Cette histoire est incroyable et impossible. En effet, une telle créature, ne peut pas exister ; de plus, le fait que celui qui se montrait incapable de résoudre les énigmes était dévoré par elle, est puéril ; que les Cadméens ne l'aient pas tuée en la frappant de loin avec leurs flèches, mais qu'ils

(84) Mal., 53 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 42 Jeff. : Τὰ δὲ προγεγραμμένα ταῦτα πάντα ὁ σοφώτατος Παλαίφατος ἀληθῆ ἐξέθετο. Ὁ γὰρ σοφώτατος Εὐριπίδης ποιητικῶς ἐξέθετο δρᾶμα περὶ τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ τῆς Ἰοκάστης καὶ τῆς Σφιγγός. Τὰ γὰρ τῶν Θηβῶν βασίλεια Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ σοφὸς χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο.

(85) W. von Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte, Nachklassische Periode*, I (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, VII, 2), Munich, 1924, pp. 233-234. Von Blumenthal, art. *Palaiphatos*[2 4], dans *RE* XVIII, 1 (1942), cols 2451-2455. S. Fornaro, art. *Palaiphatos*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* IX (2000), cols 163-164. Pour l'identité du personnage, cf. A. Santoni (éd.), *Palefato, Storie incredibili*, Pise, 2000, pp. 37-42. On situe généralement Palaiphatos dans la deuxième moitié du IVe siècle avant J.-C.

(86) F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*, Paris, 1956, p. 231.

(87) Pour l'édition du texte cf. N. Festa, *De incredibilibus, Palaephati περὶ ἀπίστων*, IV (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1902. Nous nous sommes aidé de la traduction de U. Bratelli, disponible à l'adresse Internet : http://ugo.bratelli.free.fr/Palaiphatos/Palaiphatos HistoiresIncroyables.htm. On se référera également à l'ouvrage de A. Santoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-61, § 4, dont le texte grec reprend pour notre chapitre celui de N. Festa. Afin de ne pas alourdir nos notes, le texte grec constitue notre annexe ii.

aient vu leurs propres concitoyens dévorés, tels des ennemis, cela n'a pas de sens. La vérité est la suivante : Cadmos arriva à Thèbes en compagnie de son épouse, une Amazone nommée Sphinx ; ayant tué Dracon, il s'empara de ses richesses, du trône et, plus tard, il enleva sa sœur prénommée Harmonie. Quand elle apprit qu'il épousait une autre femme, Sphinx persuada de nombreux citoyens de la suivre ; elle déroba la plus grande partie des richesses, prit le chien aux pattes rapides que Cadmos avait emmené avec lui et, en leur compagnie, elle gagna le mont Phicion. De là, elle faisait la guerre à Cadmos. Dressant des embuscades au moment opportun, elle tuait ceux qu'elle capturait, puis disparaissait.

Les Cadméens appellent une embuscade "une ruse". Ainsi les citoyens avaient-ils coutume de dire : "La farouche Sphinx, cantonnée sur la montagne, nous dépouille en nous tendant des pièges. Nul n'est en mesure de déjouer sa ruse et il est impossible de la combattre à découvert. Car elle ne court pas, elle vole ! Chienne et femme, [tant elle est rapide !]". Cadmos annonça qu'il couvrirait de richesses celui qui tuerait Sphinx. Ainsi arriva Œdipe, le Corinthien, expert dans l'art de la guerre, avec son cheval rapide. Postant des troupes de Cadméens, il sortit de nuit et lui tendit une embuscade, découvrant ainsi sa ruse (*i.e.* son embuscade) et il tua Sphinx. Voilà ce qui est arrivé ; tout le reste a été imaginé.

Comme on le dit souvent à leur sujet, les «*Apista* ne brillent pas par leur finesse de langage ([88])». Sa manière de procéder est invariablement la même. En premier lieu, il nous présente la version traditionnelle du mythe. Dans une deuxième phase, il en fait la critique en arguant qu'elle est puérile. Vient ensuite la démonstration qui est parfois plus ambiguë que le mythe lui-même ([89]). Dans notre cas la confusion proviendrait du fait que pour les Béotiens, les mots ἐνέδρα et αἴνιγμα sont synonymes. Palaiphatos se rapproche donc de la tradition d'Évhémère dont nous avons parlé en introduction. Cependant, J. Pépin fait remarquer une différence notable à propos des deux auteurs : «Cette conviction que les légendes les plus incroyables comportaient un point de départ dans la

(88) F. BUFFIÈRE, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234. C'est également le jugement d'U. Bratelli, cf. note 87, qui ne mâche pas ses mots : «Disons-le tout de suite : Palaiphatos ne sait pas écrire. Sa prose, tordue, pullule de répétitions, fourmille d'impropriétés». Cf. également W. VON CHRIST, *op. cit.*, p. 233 : «Die Sprache ist schlicht und einformig, der Ton trocken, die Begründung flach und verfehlt».

(89) Pour le schéma standard de l'exposé de Palaiphatos, cf. A. SANTONI, *op cit.*, pp. 13-14.

réalité apparentait Palaiphatos à Évhémère ; seulement, alors que, pour celui-ci, cette base concrète concernait l'histoire des grands personnages, celui-là la voyait au niveau de la vie quotidienne ; l'allégorie de Palaiphatos teintée d'une nuance cynique, correspond bien à ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui le vérisme (90)». Elsa Hörling n'hésite pas, quant à elle, à utiliser de terme de «Palaiphatisme» (91). C'est justement ce qui caractérise notre passage dans Malalas, à l'exception qu'en aucun endroit il ne nous livre sa méthode pour passer du mythe à l'histoire, ce qui constitue pour S. W. Reinert un problème méthodologique majeur (92). Nous ne pouvons tomber d'accord avec ces propos, car il y va de tout l'enjeu de la *Chronique*. L'œuvre de Malalas a des vertus sans conteste éducatives. Le seul but des premiers livres est, comme le dit Elsa Hörling, de présenter aussi précisément que possible le développement historique d'avant l'ère chrétienne, et non de rendre compte d'un quelconque passé mythologique grec. On ne saurait accuser Malalas d'avoir manqué de perspective au regard de la mythologie grecque, de ne pas connaître la mythologie ou de l'«approcher d'une manière extraordinairement arbitraire (93)». Notre point de vue doit se situer aux antipodes de cette vision réductrice des choses, et cela en plaçant le récit dans son contexte, non en le traitant avec des critères modernes. Malalas n'a jamais voulu, comme naguère Palaiphatos, expliciter d'où, selon lui, provient l'erreur qui a amené les anciens à croire à la Sphinge sous sa version mythologique. Ce n'est pas de sa part de la désinformation, mais bien une volonté d'exposer ces faits devant un large public chrétien. Or, si S. W. Reinert livre également ce jugement en début de son ouvrage (94), il semble à notre avis en oublier les conséquences sur la composition du texte.

Le texte de Palaiphatos recèle ceci d'intéressant qu'il donne une version pour le moins différente de celle de Malalas, alors que ce dernier le

(90) J. Pépin, *Mythe et Allégorie, les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes*, Paris, 1976², p. 150. On notera l'interrogation de Palaiphatos sur l'inaction des citoyens devant cette bête qui dévore des personnes sans que personne ne pense à décocher une flèche et à l'attaquer ainsi à distance. Ce procédé est d'ailleurs fréquent dans le récit. A. Santoni, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

(91) Elsa Hörling, *Mythos und Pistis, zur Deutung der heidnischen Mythen in der christlichen Chronik des Johannes Malalas*, Lund, 1980, pp. 31-35, 106-107.

(92) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

(93) *Ibidem.*

(94) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. xii, 13.

cite comme sa source et comme le dépositaire de la vérité. De plus le texte de Palaiphatos a été lu par les chroniqueurs et il est possible d'en retrouver la trace chez Eusèbe dans ses canons ([95]), dont le texte a d'ailleurs été repris dans le premier fragment attribué à Jean d'Antioche ([96]), mais dont la paternité est douteuse ([97]). Au 8ème siècle, Georges le Syncelle ([98]) reprit le texte d'Eusèbe à son compte ([99]) pour l'insérer dans une rubrique peu glorieuse de ses *Extraits Chronographiques* ([100]) que nous qualifierions volontiers de brèves ou de divers ([101]). Le style se situe aux antipo-

(95) A. SCHOENE, *Eusebii Chronicorum Canonum quae supersunt*, II, Dublin-Zurich, 1967², pp. 46-47. Pour un résumé des plus édifiants sur la transmission de la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe, on se référera à A. A. MOSSHAMMER, *The* Chronicle *of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition*, Londres, 1979, pp. 29-83, The Text of the *Chronicle*.

(96) K. MÜLLER (éd.), *Johannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, dans *FHG* IV (1885), fragm. 1, 12, p. 538 ; on se référera également à la dernière édition du texte, U. ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia chronica* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 154), Berlin - New York, 2005, p. 562, *Excerpta Salmasiana* 12 : Ἡ Σφὶγξ γυνὴ οὖσα Κάδμου διὰ ζῆλον Ἁρμονίας ἀπέστη, καὶ Θηβαίοις ἐπολέμει· Οἰδίπους δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσας, εἶλεν αὐτήν. Cf. également, H. GELZER, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, I, Leipzig, 1898 (= 1978), p. 132.

(97) Cf. E. PATZIG, *Die ἑτέρα ἀρχαιολογία der Excerpta Salmasiana*, dans *BZ* 9 (1900), pp. 357-369 ; E. PATZIG, *Die Abhängigkeit des Jo. Antiochenus von Jo. Malalas*, dans *ibid.* 10 (1901), pp. 40-53. Le premier fragment n'est probablement pas de Jean d'Antioche.

(98) R. LAQUEUR, art. *Georgos Synkellos*, dans *RE* IV, 2 (1932), coll. 1388-1410. H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 331-332 ; A. BERGER, art. *Synkellos, Georgios*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* XI (2001), coll. 1150-1151 ; E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas in Greek*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, p. 259 ; A. KAZHDAN, art. *George the Synkellos*, dans *ODB*, p. 839 ; W. ADLER, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellos* (*DOS*, 26), Washington, D.C., 1989, pp. 4-8, 132. Aucune mention de notre épisode dans cette monographie dont le sujet ne concerne pas le traitement des mythes et des royautés grecques.

(99) A. A. MOSSHAMMER (éd.), *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1984, p. XXVII.

(100) Notre expression traduit le grec : ΕΚΛΟΓΗ ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ.

(101) A. A. MOSSHAMMER (éd.), *op. cit.*, p. 183, 296 Bo., l. 25-27 : ΣΠΟΡΑΔΗΝ [...] Τὰ κατὰ Ὑψιπύλην ἐν Λήμνῳ καὶ Σφίγγα, ἣν Παλαίφατος Κάδμου γυναῖκά φησι γενομένην διὰ ζῆλον Ἁρμονίας ἀποστᾶσαν Καδμείοις πολεμεῖν. Τά τε περὶ Οἰδίπου, ὡς εἶλεν αὐτήν. Pour la traduction

des de celui des auteurs que nous avons évoqués jusqu'à présent. Le récit adopte le mode d'expression le plus simple.

Or, il se fait que ce ne sont pas là les seules ([102]). Dès le premier siècle, Pausanias expose une autre variante contenant une note «évhémérisante» ou «palaiphatisante» : «D'autres disent que (Sphinx) errait avec sa flotte en quête de brigandage, occupant la mer dans la région du mont Anthédon, et qu'ayant pris cette montagne elle y pratiquait ses rapines jusqu'à ce qu'Œdipe, revenant de Corinthe avec une armée plus nombreuse, l'emporta.

On raconte également que la Sphinge était une fille bâtarde de Laïos ; ce dernier lui avait fait connaître par bienveillance l'oracle de Delphes donné à Cadmos ; hormis les rois personne d'autre ne connaissait l'oracle. Ainsi, lorsque quelqu'un arrivait et réclamait le pouvoir – Laïos avait en effet eu des enfants de ses concubines mais l'oracle ne s'appliquait qu'à Épicaste et à ses enfants –, on dit qu'elle se servait de ruses envers ses frères, car s'ils étaient les fils de Laïos, ils seraient censés connaître l'oracle fait à Cadmos. Ceux qui ne savaient pas répondre étaient punis de mort, car ils ne pouvaient prétendre légitimement appartenir à sa lignée et donc obtenir le pouvoir. Œdipe arriva donc en connaissant l'oracle, qui lui avait été révélé en rêve ([103])».

Cette troisième version démontre que des variantes parallèles circulaient ([104]). Il est intéressant de constater que cette version est, du moins dans sa première partie, beaucoup plus proche de Malalas que celle de Palaiphatos. Or jamais à notre connaissance, Pausanias n'a été reconnu comme source, même éventuelle, de Malalas ([105]).

anglaise, W. Adler et P. Tuffin (trad.), *The Chronography of George Synkellos, a Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, Oxford, 2002.

(102) On se référera au commentaire à de A. Santoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

(103) M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1989, pp. 48-49 (IX, 26, 2). Ce texte constitue notre Annexe iii.

(104) Cf. H. Hitzig et H. Bluemer, *Pausaniae Graecae descriptio* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1907, pp. 471-472 (*ad* IX, 26, 2). Le commentaire remarque que la version que nous lisons ici n'a plus grand chose à voir avec la version mythologique. Cette version est également reprise dans la schol. à Eur., *Phoen.* 26 : Τινὲς δὲ καὶ Λαΐου τὴν Σφίγγα παραδιδόασιν ὡς Λυσίμαχος. Cf. également notre chapitre sur le traitement des scholies.

(105) E. Jeffreys, *Malalas' Sources*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, p. 188 cite Pausanias comme source, mais il ne s'agit pas du même personnage.

ii. *Euripide le Poète*

La notation d'Euripide comme source de notre passage est plus intéressante qu'il n'y paraît de prime abord ([106]). La mention de réminiscences d'un garçon d'école primaire, comme le dit S. W. Reinert, est à notre avis beaucoup trop réductrice. Il convient de donner en premier lieu une identification de la pièce de théâtre citée par Malalas. F. Jouan et H. van Looy supposent que cette assertion de Malalas concerne les divers fragments que nous possédons de l'*Œdipe* d'Euripide ([107]). Dans un des deux fragments, on peut voir l'importance que revêt la Sphinge ([108]). En deuxième lieu, Euripide aurait écrit une pièce de théâtre à la façon des poètes. Les apparences sont à nouveau trompeuses. Il ne s'agit pas d'un lieu commun sur un des plus grands tragiques de l'Antiquité, mais d'une opposition à la vérité dont Palaiphatos est le garant. Euripide n'est pas le seul à écrire sous forme poétique chez Malalas. D'autres auteurs sont qualifiés de poètes tels Homère et Sophocle ([109]). Cette volonté s'inscrit

(106) Nous n'avons malheureusement pas pu consulter l'ouvrage paru récemment sur la question : F. D'Alfonso, *Euripide in Giovanni Malala* (*Hellenica*, 19), Alessandria, 2006.

(107) De manière générale pour l'ensemble des fragments, cf. F. Jouan - H. van Looy, *Euripide, Fragments* VIII, 2 (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 2000, pp. 429-456 (*Œdipe*). Cf. également R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, V, Göttingen, 2004, pp. 569-583 (Οἰδίπους). Nombreux sont ceux qui se sont essayés à une reconstitution du drame; citons principalement C. Robert, *Oidipous, Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffes im griechischen Altertum*, I, Berlin, 1915, pp. 305-331 ; E. G. Turner, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 27, Londres, 1962, pp. 81-83, n° 2459 ; J. Vaio, *The New Fragments of Euripides' Oedipous*, dans *GRBS* 5 (1964), pp. 43-55 ; L. Séchan, *Sept légendes grecques : suivies de l'étude des sources* (*Collection d'études anciennes*), Paris, 1967 ; T. B. L. Webster, *The Tragedies of Euripides*, Londres, 1967, pp. 241-246 ; J. Dingel, *Der Sohn des Polybios und die Sphinx, zu den Ödipustragödien des Euripides und des Seneca*, dans *Museum Helveticum*, 27 (1970), pp. 90-96 ; L. di Gregorio, *L'*Edipo *di Euripide*, dans *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 1 (1980), pp. 49-94 ; R. Aélion, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-61 ; M. Hose, *Überlegungen zum Oedipous des Euripides*, dans *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 81 (1990), pp. 9-15.

(108) Cf. F. Jouan - H. van Looy, *op. cit.*, p. 449 fragment 2 ; cf. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 27, n° 2459 ; cf. également R. Kannicht, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 570-574, fr. 540, 540a, 540b. Noter que l'ordre adopté pour les fragments est inversé.

(109) Mal., 24 Bo. ; II,1 Th. ; II, 2 Jeff. : Περὶ οὗ ἱστορεῖ ποιητικῶς Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς [...]. Mal., 40 Bo. ; II, 14 Th. ; II, 23 Jeff. : ὁ γὰρ σοφώτατος Σοφοκλῆς δρᾶμα ἐξέθετο καὶ ποιητικῶς εἶπεν [...].

dans la valeur que Malalas accorde à la poésie, idée que nous pouvons trouver chez Platon dans sa *République* ([110]). L'idée que les fables ne sauraient représenter la réalité convient tout à fait à notre passage. Cette citation résume bien la conception que Malalas devait se faire de la mythologie classique : «Ce sont, répondis-je, [les fables] d'Hésiode et d'Homère, et des autres poètes ; car ce sont eux qui, en quelque sorte, ont composé les fables mensongères que l'on racontait alors et que l'on raconte encore ([111])».

iii. *Jules Africain*

Le dernier auteur que Malalas cite, Africanos, est identifiable à Sextus Julius Africanus, ou Jules Africain ([112]), auteur qui a vécu dans le courant du deuxième siècle. On le considère souvent comme le père de la chronographie. Son point de départ se situe lors de la création d'Adam et son œuvre s'étend jusqu'en l'an 221 environ. La naissance du Christ tombe en l'an 5500, à la différence de Malalas qui situe la crucifixion en l'année 6000 ([113]). Jules Africain était un chrétien accompli ([114]) et il accordait la plus haute importance aux textes bibliques. Ainsi, son histoire durait 6000 ans, représentant les 6 premiers jours de la création et, suite à cette période commençait le grand règne de mille ans. Comme nous le voyons, une caractéristique de son œuvre est le chiliadisme ([115]), c'est-à-dire la division de l'espace temporel en sept périodes de mille ans.

(110) Platon, *Rép.* II, 17 - III, 5, 377a-392c.

(111) Platon, *Rép.* II, 17, 377d4 : Οὐς Ἡσίοδός τε, εἶπον, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἡμῖν ἐλεγέτην καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί. οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδεῖς συντιθέντες ἔλεγόν τε καὶ λέγουσι.

(112) J. SICKENBERGER, art. *Iulius Africanus*, dans *RE* X, 1 (1917), coll. 116-125. W. VON CHRIST, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1346-1348, n. 991. J.-R. VIEILLEFOND, *Les «Cestes» de Julius Africanus, Etude sur l'ensemble des fragments avec édition, traduction et commentaires* (*Publications de l'Institut Français de Florence*), Florence - Paris, 1970, pp. 13-39. B. BARRY, art. *Africanus, Sextus Julius*, dans *ODB*, p. 33. J. RIST, art. *Sextus Julius Africanus*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* XI (2001), coll. 494-495. WINKELMANN, F., art. *Iulius Africanus*, dans *RAC* XIX (2001), coll. 508-518.

(113) Cf. notre introduction.

(114) H. GELZER, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26.

(115) A. A. MOSSHAMMER, *The* Chronicle, p. 146.

Jules Africain est nommé comme source, mais son passage ne nous est pas parvenu ([116]). Cependant, pour G. Huxley ([117]), il est vraisemblable que la liste des rois de Thèbes utilisée par Malalas provenait de Jules Africain, qui lui-même avait puisé chez Castor de Rhodes, l'historien du 1er siècle avant J.-C., mais dont l'œuvre est perdue ([118]). Son analyse est fort différente : selon lui, les 369 ans ne sauraient se rattacher à Étéocle et Polynice, étant donné que chez Pausanias, par exemple, la liste ne s'arrête pas là et descend jusqu'à Xanthos, qui a régné quatre générations après le sac de Troie situé en 1184/3 av. J.-C. Il place donc Xanthos en 1055/4 av. J.-C. et Cadmos 369 ans avant, ce qui constitue une différence de 1300 ans environ avec la datation de S. W. Reinert que nous admettons ([119]).

D. La réception de l'Œdipodie «malalasienne» chez les auteurs byzantins

Comme nous l'avons vu dans notre premier chapitre, Malalas présente une *Œdipodie* qui se veut en quelque sorte un fait divers de brigandage. Ce texte n'est pas unique en son genre et il est possible d'en retrouver d'autres témoignages dans les siècles qui ont suivi. De manière générale, ces écrits présentent tous le même thème. Nous effectuerons donc un tour d'horizon chronologique des différentes réceptions du texte. Le but est, selon les propos de P. Courcelle, de «montrer comment les chrétiens reprirent volontiers à leur compte la méthode d'Évhémère qui consistait à démythiser, comme on dit aujourd'hui, les divinités en général [...], comme s'il s'agissait de simples humains ou de personnages historiques du plus mauvais aloi ([120])».

(116) Le passage n'est pas conservé dans les fragments des *Cestes*, cf. J.-R. Vieillefond, *op. cit.* Pour les fragments de la *Chronique*, cf. H. Gelzer, *op. cit.*

(117) G. Huxley, *A Theban Kinglist in Malalas*, dans *Philologus*, 131 (1987), pp. 159-161.

(118) E. Jeffreys dans son analyse des différentes listes de rois ne semble pas réfuter cette idée, à condition d'accepter le fait que ces listes aient filtré au travers de nombreux intermédiaires. Cf. E. Jeffreys, *Chronological Structures*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, p. 126.

(119) G. Huxley ne tient pas compte du fait que nous connaissons la date de la naissance de Cadmos, 3000 ans environ après Adam.

(120) P. Courcelle, *L'interprétation des Sirènes-courtisanes jusqu'au 12e siècle*, dans *Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 11 (1975), pp. 33-48.

a. Jean d'Antioche

Le premier auteur que nous rencontrons dans notre progression chronologique est Jean d'Antioche au 7ème siècle ([121]). Le fragment no 8 ([122]) relate un récit de l'Œdipodie qui est sensiblement le même que dans l'original. Le plus grand changement intervient non pas dans la suite des événements mais dans le mode de narration. Les expressions ne concordent que rarement et les champs lexicaux sont différents. L'impression que le texte a subi un grand remaniement est forte, d'autant plus que certains éléments narratifs ont été transformés. Ainsi l'épisode de l'exposition d'Œdipe a été fortement simplifié : «Parmi leur descendance figurait Laïos, dont Œdipe était le fils ; ce dernier fut exposé et ses pieds entravés dans un morceau de bois, et il a été appelé Œdipe car il avait les pieds enflés. Il devint courageux et fit métier de brigand ([123])». On ne donne pas de raison pour l'exposition ; de plus, nous ne sommes informés sur l'identité de la personne qui a recueilli et élevé Œdipe qu'à la fin du récit, lorsque Jocaste se renseigne sur l'identité des parents de celui qui est devenu son mari : «Après quelques temps, Jocaste interrogea Œdipe sur l'identité de ses parents. Celui-ci répondit que Mélibée l'avait élevé».

La personnalité de Sphinx semble en revanche être une constante. Dans le texte de Jean d'Antioche, elle nous est présentée comme une «femme difforme, à la nature sauvage, qui avait perdu son mari ([124])». Il

(121) H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 326-328 ; E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas in Greek,* dans *Studies in John Malalas,* pp. 251-252 ; A. BERGER, art. *I. von Antiocheia,* dans *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998), col. 1065 ; B. BARRY, art. *John of Antioch,* dans *ODB*, p. 1062.

(122) K. MÜLLER (éd.), *Johannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, dans *FHG* IV (1885), fragm. 8, p. 545 (*Cod. Par.* 1630) ; on se référera également à la toute dernière édition des fragments de ROBERTO, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n° 16b, avec une tradition italienne. Le texte grec complet constitue notre annexe iv.

(123) Joannes Antiochenus, fragm. 8 : Τούτων ἀπόγονος Λάϊος, ἀφ' οὗ Οἰδίπους γεννηθεὶς ἐξετέθη ξύλῳ τοὺς πόδας περικλεισθεὶς, καὶ Οἰδίπους ὠνομάσθη διότι ὠγκωμένους εἶχε τοὺς πόδας. Γέγονε δὲ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλήστευε.

(124) *Ibidem* : Ἡ λεγομένη Σφὶγξ ἐφάνη, γυνὴ δυσειδὴς καὶ θηριώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἥτις [ἀποβαλοῦσα] τὸν ἄνδρα. Dans cette portion du texte nous avons choisi de conserver le passage entre crochets ; en les refusant, ce texte serait le seul à ne pas contenir le motif du veuvage de Sphinx et ferait du mari de Sphinx un compagnon de brigandage. Cf. la suite du texte : ἥτις [ἀποβαλοῦσα] τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ληστρικὴν συναγαγοῦσα χεῖρα.

est intéressant de constater que les caractéristiques des seins énormes, et de la femme campagnarde ont été transformées, peut-être parce que Jean n'avait pas compris le sens du κατάμασθος ([125]).

L'arrivée du protagoniste dans la ville n'est pas motivée, comme chez Malalas, par la récompense. Pour qui connaît le récit de Malalas, le verbe προάγει sous-entend un mot comme τὸ λείψανον ([126]). Or, rien n'empêche de traduire par «il se dirige vers Thèbes ([127])», ce qui transforme le motif de l'arrivée en ville, sa proclamation par la foule et la mort de Laïos ([128]), qui apparaissent comme un enchaînement de faits incongrus. Autre divergence, dans le récit de Malalas, Jocaste épouse Œdipe pour le bien de la cité et du sénat ([129]), alors que pour Jean d'Antioche, Jocaste «proclame Œdipe roi ([130])» et ce dernier «calme la foule ([131])».

Les deux fils et filles de Jocaste et d'Œdipe ne sont nommés que par leur nombre. Enfin, Jean d'Antioche termine son chapitre avec la mort du protagoniste, et plus important encore, celle de Jocaste, ce qui est une nouveauté par rapport à Malalas ([132]). Il s'agit là peut-être d'une influence d'un texte de la tradition du Ps. Apollodore dans laquelle Jocaste se pend ([133]). La narration des Sept contre Thèbes est par contre totalement absente.

(125) En affirmant cette thèse, nous cautionnons l'hypothèse que Jean d'Antioche a utilisé très directement le texte de Jean Malalas comme modèle et que son texte constitue donc un abrégé. Or, si le thème est le même, le traitement ne l'est manifestement pas.

(126) Mal., 51 Bo. ; II, 17 Th. ; II, 38 Jeff. : Καὶ εἰσήγαγε τὸ λείψανον αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῶν Θηβῶν πόλει, ὡς ὀφείλων κομίσασθαι ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρήματα ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Λαΐου.

(127) Joannes Antiochenus, fragm. 8 : Καὶ προάγει εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

(128) Laïos est tué par une pierre et non par une flèche comme chez Malalas, qui a utilisé le terme latin de *sagitta*, qui n'a probablement pas été compris par Jean d'Antioche.

(129) Cf. plus haut : e. Le retour triomphal et la mort de Laïos.

(130) Joannes Antiochenus, fragm. 8, *op. cit.* : Ἰοκάστη [...] τὸν Οἰδίποδα καὶ χειροτονεῖ βασιλέα.

(131) *Ibidem* : Καὶ θεραπεύει τὸ πλῆθος.

(132) *Ibidem* : Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλαβεν ἥλους καὶ πήξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπέθανεν ἅμα μητρὶ Ἰοκάστῃ.

(133) Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 9 [III, 56].

b. Jean de Nikiou

À la fin du 7ème siècle Jean de Nikiou ([134]) se fit également l'auteur d'une *Chronique*. De manière générale, celle-ci est dépendante de l'œuvre de Malalas, mais elle ne nous est malheureusement parvenue que dans un état mutilé, si bien que certains passages dont celui que nous allons présenter sont difficiles à interpréter. Ainsi au chapitre XXV ([135]) : «Un homme nommé Laïus, † père d'Iokka †, voyant que son fils avait eu commerce avec sa mère, ordonna à ses soldats de le suspendre à un arbre dont ils auraient coupé les branches, pour que les pieds de l'homme suspendu y fussent attachés». Comme H. Zotenberg le note, le récit primitif est ici totalement défiguré. L'éditeur propose de lire Iokka *i.e.* Iokastos, selon l'explication que nous avons donnée plus haut, d'après laquelle le fils, dans la tradition tardive, portait le nom de sa mère ([136]). La traduction de R. H. Charles est sur ce point totalement différente de notre texte ; au *locus desperatus,* il lit «his father was Waikâ ([137])», ce qui, à notre avis ne donne pas sens, même si selon R. H. Charles, cela semble se justifier sous l'angle paléographique. Ce dernier nous propose comme alternative, «son of Labdacus». Notons également que la narration a subi une transformation très importante, de sorte que le récit est à peine reconnaissable.

c. La *Souda*

En poursuivant notre avancée dans le temps, nous trouvons une glose de la *Souda* ([138]) qui, si elle reprend certains éléments du texte de Malalas,

(134) R. H. Charles (trad.), *The Chronicle of John Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. from Zotenbergs Ethiopic, Oxford, 1916, p. i à xii (introduction) ; E. Jeffreys, *Malalas in Greek,* dans *Studies in John Malalas,* pp. 254-255 ; P. M. Fraser, art. *John of Nikiou*, dans *The Coptic Encyclopedia* V (1991), pp. 1366-1367 ; J. Rist, art. *I. von Nikiu*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998), col. 1070 ; D. W. Johnson, art. *John of Nikiu*, dans *ODB*, p. 1066 ; il s'agit d'un évêque copte dont on situe la mort aux alentours de l'année 700.

(135) Nous reproduisons ici la traduction de H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean Evêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien publié et traduit,* dans *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibiothèque nationale*, XXIV, 1, Paris, 1935², p. 372, XXV.

(136) Le mot 'Ιοκάστος est repris de la *Souda*, α 2689 : Ζῆθος δὲ καὶ 'Αμφίων κτίζουσι Θήβας καὶ βασιλεύουσι, καὶ τούτων οἱ ἀπόγονοι μέχρι Λαΐου καὶ 'Ιοκάστου, τοῦ μετακληθέντος Οἰδίποδος.

(137) R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 25, XXV et note 2.

(138) A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, IV, Leipzig, 1938, Οι 34, p. 616 : cf. notre annexe v.

nous semble également très proche du texte de Jean d'Antioche. Considérons un premier passage chez nos trois auteurs :

Mal, Bo. 50, Th. II, 17, Jeff. II, 36 ([139])	*Souda*, Οι 34 Adler	Jean d'Antioche, fragm. 8
Καὶ ἐλθών τις ἄγροικος ὀνόματι Μελίβοιος [...]	ὃν εὑρηκὼς γεωργὸς ὀνόματι Μελίβοιος	*La scène est absente.*
Καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ᾗ ἐβάσταζεν ἀξίνῃ ἔκλασε τὸ ξύλον ὅπου ἐσφάληντο οἱ αὐτοῦ πόδες, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο, καλέσας αὐτὸν Οἰδίποδα διὰ τὸ οἰδάνειν τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.	ἀνεθρέψατο καὶ Οἰδίποδα ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ ὠγκωμένους ἔχειν τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, τοῦ καλουμένου κούσπου.	Οἰδίπους ὠνομάσθη διότι ὠγκωμένους εἶχε τοὺς πόδας. [...] Εἶπε Μελίβοιον τὸν θρεψάμενον ([140]).

Ce qui ressort de ce tableau comparatif est la présence du mot κούσπος dans la glose de la *Souda*, mot qui, comme nous l'avons vu, n'apparaît que dans les textes relatifs à Œdipe et dans les différents lexiques. Le texte de la *Souda* est ici une refonte du passage de Malalas, à ceci près qu'il n'en conserve que l'essentiel, écartant la description pittoresque de la découverte de l'enfant. On a l'impression que la définition du κούσπος est un ajout que le compilateur a cru nécessaire. La définition pourrait tout aussi bien s'accoler à la première occurrence du mot ξύλον cité plus haut dans le texte, ce qui aurait été le reflet exact du texte de Malalas. La fabrication du récit de Jean d'Antioche est différente. Si les principaux éléments y figurent (dénomination d'Œdipe à cause de ses pieds enflés, et présence de Mélibée), la composition est différente. Pour un même type d'information, nos deux premiers textes sont plus proches. Or, ceci n'est vrai que dans une certaine mesure.

Considérons maintenant un deuxième passage :

(139) Dans la suite nous ne répétons pas les indications de pages attendu que le texte de Malalas figure intégralement en tête de travail.

(140) Ce n'est qu'à la fin du texte de Jean qu'apparaît le nom de Mélibée.

Malalas	*Souda*, Οι 34	Jean d'Antioche, fragm. 8
Καὶ ἐγένετο γενναῖος αὐξηθείς.	Γεγονὼς δὲ ἀνδρεῖος ἐλήστευε·	Γέγονε δὲ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλήστευε.
Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀνεφάνη γυνή τις χήρα ὀνόματι Σφίγξ, δυσειδής, κατάμασθος, χωρική· ἥτις μετὰ τὴν ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς συναγαγοῦσα πλῆθος ἀγροίκων λῃστῶν ὁμοφρόνων αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτῆς κώμῃ τῇ λεγομένῃ Μωάβῃ, κειμένῃ δὲ μεταξὺ δύο ὀρέων, ἐχόντων ἐν μέσῳ στενὴν ὁδὸν μίαν μόνην, καὶ καθημένη ἐν τῇ μιᾷ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους, ἔχουσα τὴν ἅμα αὐτῇ **λῃστρικὴν χεῖρα, καὶ πάντας** τοὺς παριόντας ὁδοιπόρους καὶ πραγματευτὰς **ἐφόνευσε** καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πάντα ἐκομίζετο.	καθ' ὃν χρόνον καὶ ἡ λεγομένη Σφὶγξ ἀνεφάνη, γυνὴ δυσειδὴς καὶ θηριώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἀποβαλοῦσα γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγοῦσα χεῖρα καὶ τόπον καταλαβοῦσα δύσβατον τοὺς παριόντας ἐφόνευεν.	Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ ἡ λεγομένη Σφὶγξ ἐφάνη, γυνὴ δυσειδὴς καὶ θηριώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἥτις [ἀποβαλοῦσα] τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ λῃστρικὴν συναγαγοῦσα χεῖρα καὶ τόπον καταλαβοῦσα δύσβατον τοὺς [παριόντας] ἐφόνευε, [...]

Il convient de remarquer que le texte de Jean d'Antioche est ici mutilé et que les morceaux entre crochets sont des ajouts et non des retranchements ([141]). Comme nous l'avons noté plus haut ([142]), sans ces premiers, Sphinx briganderait avec son mari et une troupe de villageois ! Cependant, même amputé des ajouts de l'éditeur, le texte de Jean d'Antioche correspond beaucoup plus à celui de la *Souda* qu'à celui de Malalas. Ceci est d'autant plus frappant dans le passage descriptif de Sphinx, où le

(141) K. MÜLLER (éd.), *Johannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, dans *FHG* IV (1885), fragm. 8, p. 545, note critique 3 : «Inclusa, h.l., ut passim, Malalae et Cedreni ope resarcire studui. Quamquam hoc loco codex nonnisi unius vocabuli spatium habet».

(142) Cf. notre note 124.

vocabulaire plus complexe de Malalas n'a pas été repris. Dans cette portion, le texte de la *Souda* est une copie presque conforme du texte de Jean d'Antioche, et ceci non seulement dans le vocabulaire, mais aussi dans le style et surtout dans la longueur du récit.

Mais à la fin du texte de la *Souda*, apparaît un élément qui ne figure pas chez Jean d'Antioche mais chez Malalas, l'épisode des Sept contre Thèbes.

Malalas

Καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Οἰδίπους ἔλαβεν ἥλους, καὶ πήξας τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ ὀφθαλμοῖς τελευτᾷ, ἐάσας τὸ βασίλειον τοῖς δυσὶν αὐτοῦ υἱοῖς, ἐνιαυτὸν παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν βασιλεύειν κελεύσας· οἵτινες εἰς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντες διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἐπολέμησαν μετ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἔσφαξαν μονομαχήσαντες. Ὁ γὰρ Πολυνείκης, ἐκβληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ διωχθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους, ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἄργος [...]

ἀνεχώρησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατευμάτων ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν χώρας.

Souda, Οι 34

Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλαβεν ἥλους καὶ πήξας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτα,

ἐάσας τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς δύο υἱέσιν, οἳ ἐβασίλευον παρ' ἐνιαυτόν· καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντες ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις

καὶ ἐδιώχθη ὑπὸ Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ ἀπελθὼν Πολυνείκης εἰς τὸ Ἄργος,

ἔγημε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀδράστου τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ στρατεύσας ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἐτεοκλεῖ ἀναιρεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνῃρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι ἀνεστράφησαν οἴκοι.

Les deux passages contiennent à nouveau un parallélisme frappant. Le premier élément est la mort d'Œdipe, qui dans les deux textes, n'est pas accompagnée de celle de Jocaste, comme chez Jean d'Antioche. Le vocabulaire employé est le même ; seules quelques règles d'usage changent. Là où Malalas emploie le présent, la *Souda* utilise l'imparfait. Dans la suite du texte, là où la *Souda* préfère une relative pour exprimer l'alternance des règnes, le texte de Malalas insiste sur le vœu d'Œdipe, ce qui constitue une différence dans la perception des événements.

Si Malalas est d'ordinaire plus ampoulé que le texte de la *Souda*, pour la mort que se donnèrent les deux princes, c'est le contraire. Alors que la phrase de Malalas est simple et élégante, le texte de la *Souda* comporte une paraphrase pour le moins ampoulée : «Polynice tua Étéocle en combat singulier, et fut lui-même tué par son frère ([143])».

(143) *Souda*, Οι 34.

Nous pourrions encore tirer d'autres éléments de ce parallélisme, mais cela allongerait inutilement notre propos. Nous avons exposé les similitudes les plus importantes, qui à notre avis suffisent à démontrer que la glose de la *Souda* dépend tout autant du texte de Malalas que de celui de Jean d'Antioche et que par conséquent, elle pourrait bien être une compilation des deux textes.

d. Georges le Cédrène

Georges le Cédrène ([144]) est l'auteur d'une *Chronique*, ou d'une *Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν* s'étendant jusqu'en l'an 1057. Son œuvre se présente comme une compilation de différents auteurs. Pour notre partie il s'agit du Ps.-Syméon ([145]). Les emprunts faits à Malalas par ce dernier sont, selon Elizabeth Jeffreys, repris assez fidèlement par le Cédrène. Le passage relatant l'Œdipodie est d'un haut intérêt ([146]), car il s'agit pour certaines portions de quasi-citations du texte de Malalas. Nous nous limiterons donc aux citations les plus frappantes.

Malalas	Georges le Cédrène, p. 45-46
Μετὰ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος καὶ τοῦ Ζήθου ἐβασίλευσαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν τῶν Θηβῶν ἕως τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Οἰδίποδος, υἱοῦ Λαΐου καὶ τῆς Ἰοκάστης.	Μετὰ τούτους τοὺς μουσικοὺς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευον Θηβαίων ἕως Οἰδίποδος, υἱοῦ Ἰοκάστης καὶ Λαΐου.

Ce premier extrait aura déjà suffi pour nous convaincre. À quelques détails près, le deuxième texte est pour ainsi dire une citation du premier.

(144) H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 393-394 ; E. JEFFREYS, *Malalas in Greek*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 265-266 ; A. BERGER, art. *Kedrenos Georgios*, dans *Der Neue Pauly* VI (1999), coll. 374-375 ; A. KAZHDAN, art. *Kedrenos, George*, dans *ODB*, p. 1118.

(145) Le seul manuscrit du Pseudo-Syméon se trouve à la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, *Par. Gr.* 1712, f. 18^{v}-272^{r} ; notre épisode se trouve au folio 30^{rv}. Nous n'avons malheureusement pas eu accès au texte, mais au vu des tableaux comparatifs entre le Cédrène et Malalas, le Pseudo-Syméon devait être très proche de ce-dernier. Sur la relation entre le Cédrène et de Pseudo-Syméon, cf. K. SCHWEINBURG, *Die ursprüngliche Form der Kedrenchronik*, dans *BZ*, 30 (1929-1930), pp. 68-77.

(146) I. BEKKER, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, I (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1838, pp. 45-46. cf. notre annexe vi.

Seuls Amphion et Zéthos sont désignés par le Cédrène par leur qualificatif usuel depuis Malalas, c'est-à-dire «musiciens» (147).

Cependant, d'autres éléments méritent notre attention. Le κοῦσπος est présent, preuve supplémentaire que le texte appartient bien à la même tradition. Le texte du Cédrène est néanmoins plus court et plus ramassé. Tout ce qui dans le texte de Malalas apportait sa touche triviale et sa saveur au texte a presque totalement disparu au profit de l'efficacité de la narration. On soulignera cependant la description de Sphinx qui suit le même schéma chez les deux auteurs, quelques variantes de graphie mises à part (148).

Malalas

Γυνή τις χήρα ὀνόματι Σφίγξ, δυσειδής, κατάμασθος, χωρική· ἥτις μετὰ τὴν ἀποβολὴν τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῆς ἀνδρὸς συναγαγοῦσα πλῆθος ἀγροίκων λῃστῶν

Cédrène, *op. cit.*

Μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή τις ὀνόματι Σφίγξ, δυσειδής, κατάμαστος, χωριτική, μετὰ πλήθους ἀγροίκων

La raison pour laquelle Jocaste épouse Œdipe en solution de dernier recours trouve ici un équivalent sans pareil :

Malalas

Καὶ λοιπὸν ἡ Ἰοκάστη, μὴ θέλουσα ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς βασιλείας, εὐθέως ἀγαγοῦσα τὸν Οἰδίποδα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, μαθοῦσα ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει γυναῖκα. Καὶ ἐγαμήθη αὐτῷ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου·

Cédrène, *op. cit.*

Ἡ τοίνυν Ἰοκάστη τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπεσεῖν οὐ θέλουσα, καὶ ὡς υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὁ Οἰδίπους οὐκ εἰδυῖα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως σπουδάζουσα, προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον.

Suite à ces comparaisons, la tentation est forte de penser que les deux textes sont identiques, hormis la refonte exigée par l'abrègement du texte du Cédrène. Or, à la fin du passage, survient un élément dont nous avions déjà parlé au sujet des textes précédents, l'épisode des «Sept contre

(147) Mal., 49 Bo., II, 16 Th., II, 34 Jeff. : Καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ὁ Ἀμφίων καὶ ὁ Ζῆθος τῆς Βοιωτίας χώρας οἱ μουσικοί. Dans la version du Pseudo-Apollodore, seul Amphion est le joueur de Lyre ; Zéthos est un bouvier. Cf. Ps.-Apoll., III, 5, 5 [III, 43].

(148) On trouve d'autres exemples où la graphie a changé, notamment en raison de l'iotacisme. On a ainsi Μελίβιος pour Μελίβοιος.

Thèbes». Le récit en est si court que nous allons l'exposer en entier : «Œdipe, assuré que Jocaste se trouvait être en même temps sa mère et son épouse, ordonna à ses deux fils de régner alternativement sur Thèbes ; quant à lui, il se frappa les yeux avec deux clous et il mourut. Ses deux fils s'opposèrent chacun à la royauté de l'autre, et en arrivèrent à un conflit singulier, d'où chacun fut tué par l'autre. Ainsi, le royaume des Thébains ou des Béotiens arriva à son terme, après une durée de 369 ans ([149])». Cette partie du récit est réduite à sa plus simple expression, c'est-à-dire au combat singulier des deux frères et à la mort qu'ils s'infligèrent l'un à l'autre. Malalas est donc le seul auteur qui ait exposé leur combat en détail. Nous avions remarqué plus haut que le passage des Sept contre Thèbes formait comme une parenthèse dans le récit, parenthèse qu'aucun auteur plus tardif n'a reprise. Une question nous vient à l'esprit : est-il possible que cette parenthèse chez Malalas soit un ajout tardif, une interpolation dont les citations postérieures seraient une preuve indirecte ? Nous laissons la question ouverte.

e. Divers

Dans la section qui va suivre, nous allons quitter l'ordre chronologique suivi dès le départ de ce chapitre, pour présenter quelques scholies qui sont dignes d'intérêt, car elles présentent de nouveaux éléments, ou sont en rapport étroit avec le texte de Malalas.

Le premier texte est une scholie à Hésiode ([150]) : «Dans une autre version, Sphinx était en fait une femme vivant de son brigandage, et elle avait avec elle nombre de complices ; de là on parle d'un caractère hypo-

(149) Cedr., p. 46 BEKKER, l. 11-18. cf. annexe vi *in fine*.

(150) Au sujet des scholies d'Hésiode, voir l'introduction dans L. DI GREGORIO, *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, Milan, 1975, pp. VII-XVII. Cf. également, pour une description précise des manuscrits R^2 WLZ et de leur tradition : L. DI GREGORIO, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli scholia vetera alla* Teogonia *di Esiodo*, II, dans *Aevum* 45 (1971), pp. 187-207. Pour la conclusion générale se rapporter à L. DI GREGORIO, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta degli scholia vetera alla* Teogonia *di Esiodo*, IV, dans *Aevum*, 46 (1972), pp. 1-15 : «I codici che devono costruire il fondamento della "recensio" [...] sono R^2 WLZVB*, in particolare i primi quattro. Sebbene discedano tutti, [...] da un medesimo esemplare andato perduto». L. di Gregorio ne présente pas de date pour cet archétype mais le place avant le 12e siècle ce qui donne un terminus *post quem*, cf. notre tableau.

crite, singulier, sournois ([151])». L'innovation de ce texte se situe dans sa deuxième phrase. Sphinx porte ici la trace de toutes sortes d'infamies, mais exprimées ici dans un cadre très réduit et portant sur des lieux communs ([152]).

Le deuxième texte est une scholie dont le compilateur est Jean Tzetzes ([153]) : «On raconte que la Sphinge avait un arrière-train de lion, un avant-train d'être humain, les ailes d'un griffon, et les serres d'un aigle et encore autant de prodiges. Voilà la vérité ; c'était une femme vivant de brigandage, qui agissait dans la région de Moabé aux alentours de Thèbes et sur le mont Phicion ; elle faisait périr ceux qui passaient sur son chemin [...]. On a fait de la Sphinge un être mythologique à corps de lion à cause de ses meurtres, à serres d'aigle en raison de ses rapines, aux ailes de griffon, parce que toute une horde de brigands courait rapidement autour d'elle, et tuait ceux qu'elle croisait. Œdipe la fit périr alors qu'il l'avait abordée avec d'autres, sous prétexte de vouloir mener des actions de brigandage avec elle et posant son corps sur un âne, il la rapporta à Thèbes et la montra aux Thébains ; en cadeau, il reçut le trône et sa mère comme épouse, sans le savoir ([154])». Ce deuxième texte est nettement plus

(151) L. DI GREGORIO (éd.), *Scholia vetera*, p. 63. Schol. R2WLZ à Hésiode, *Théogonie*, v. 326, *in fine* : Ἄλλως. Ἡ δὲ Σφὶγξ πραγματικῶς μὲν γυνὴ ἦν λῃστρὶς καὶ εἶχε πολλοὺς τοὺς συναρπάζοντας σὺν αὐτῇ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν κρυψίνουν καὶ μερικὴν καὶ κεκρυμμένην κακίαν λέγει.

(152) On retrouve ce trait de trait de caractère dans tous nos textes d'une manière ou d'une autre. Cf. outre Malalas, les textes de Jean d'Antioche, de la *Souda*, de Georges le Cédrène.

(153) H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62. Pour la méthode d'édition des scholies, nous renvoyons à E. SCHEER (éd.), *Lycophronis Alexandra*, II, Berlin, 1968, pp. V-LIX ; N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Londres, 1983, pp. 190-195. Cf. également P. CECARELLI, M. STEINRÜCK, *À propos de* Schol. *in Lycophronis Alexandram 1226*, dans *Museum Helveticum*, 52 (1995), p. 77, n. 3.

(154) Afin de ne pas allonger le débat, nous n'avons gardé que la partie qui concernait très directement notre exposé, en principe les *scholia recentiora* de Tzetzes : E. SCHEER, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12. Schol. T à Lycophron, *Alexandra* 7 : Τὴν δὲ Σφίγγα λέγουσιν ἔχειν εἶδος ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λέοντος, ὄπισθεν δὲ ἀνθρώπου γρυπὸς πτέρυγας, ὄνυχας ἀετοῦ καὶ τοιαῦτα τεράστια. Τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει· αὕτη λῃστρὶς ἦν περὶ τὴν Μωάβην, χώραν Θηβῶν καὶ τὸ Φίκιον ὄρος καὶ ἀνῄρει τοὺς παριόντας [...]. Ἐμυθεύσαντο γοῦν αὐτὴν λέαιναν διὰ τὸ φονικόν, ὄνυχας ἀετοῦ ἔχειν διὰ τὸ ἁρπακτικόν, πτέρυγας δὲ γρυπὸς διὰ τὸ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῇ ληστεύοντας πάντας περιτρέχειν συντόμως καὶ ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς ὁδεύοντας. Ταύτην Οἰδίπους ἀνεῖλεν ἐλθὼν μεθ' ἑτέρων ὡς δῆθεν χρῄζων συλληστεύειν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς ὄνῳ θεὶς κατήγαγεν ἐς Θήβας

intéressant, et ceci à plusieurs titres. Le premier élément réside dans sa structure qui est en quelque sorte semblable à celle des récits de Palaiphatos : un bref rappel des éléments classiques permet au lecteur de trouver ses marques ; vient ensuite, l'exposition de la vérité. Ici, la notion d'évhémérisme prend tout son sens : la morphologie de la Sphinge s'explique par des faits tout à fait plausibles que la tradition a augmentés. Mais, les éléments qui constituent la narration de la scholie se rapprochent fortement du texte de Malalas ; le village de Moabé connaît ici sa deuxième et dernière occurrence, ce qui rattache la scholie directement à Malalas. La suite du récit est simplifiée, mais la trame de base est reconnaissable. Manquent l'émeute et le meurtre de Laïos, tandis que la dépouille de Sphinx est transportée à dos d'âne, ce qui constitue une petite touche de vérisme.

Une scholie aux Phéniciennes d'Euripide ([155]) apporte quelques éléments inédits : «D'autres racontent que Sphinx était l'épouse de Macarée, et la fille d'Oucalégon, qui était un voisin. À la mort de celui-ci, elle prit position sur le Phicion et fut tuée par Œdipe qui était son compagnon de route. Certains, comme Lysimaque, transmettaient une Sphinx de Laios ([156])». L'intérêt de cette scholie est de d'ajouter une touche de vérisme et de vouloir donner une filiation au personnage de Sphinx.

Le dernier texte que nous allons traiter a pour auteur Eustathe ([157]). Son commentaire en λ 271 traite d'Œdipe ([158]), mais la refonte du passage est

καὶ ἔδειξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις καὶ δῶρον εἰλήφει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν μητέρα γυναῖκα ὡς ἀγνοῶν.

(155) Sur la datation des scholies, voir l'introduction dans E. SCHWARTZ (éd.), *Scholia in Euripidem*, I, Berlin, 1887-1891, p. IX : «Eam igitur philologis praebuisse recensionem mihi videor quae cum codicis saeculo XI antiquioribus tradita esset, per quattuor illos [codices] supra indicatos quamvis mutata et varia tamen si omnia spectaveris una eademque conservata est».

(156) E. SCHWARTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252. Schol. MTA *ad* Eur. *Phoen.* 26, *in fine* : Οἱ δὲ τὴν Σφίγγα Μακαρέως μὲν γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, θυγατέρα δὲ Οὐκαλέγοντος ἑνὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων· οὗ τελευτήσαντος κατασχεῖν τὸ Φίκειον, εἶτ' ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπό τινος Οἰδίποδος συνελθόντος αὐτῇ. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ Λαΐου τὴν Σφίγγα παραδιδόασιν ὡς Λυσίμαχος.

(157) H. HUNGER, *op. cit.*, II, p. 64. N. G. WILSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-203. Rappelons que l'auteur écrit au 12e siècle.

(158) G. STALLBAUM (éd.), *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I, Leipzig, 1825 (= Hildesheim, 1970), p. 413, λ, 271. Le texte se trouve en annexe vii.

assez importante : «Œdipe, également nommé Οἰδιπόδης (159) dans la langue poétique, a été appelé de la sorte à cause de son inflammation, parce qu'il a subi le châtiment d'avoir les pieds percés, quand, enfant, il fut exposé, comme le racontent les tragiques. Il est évident que les récits à propos d'Œdipe et de Laïos sont composés de diverses manières, et parmi ceux-ci, en particulier celui qui expose que Sphinx était une femme laide, originaire de quelque lieu en Béotie, que c'était une femme vivant de brigandage, une meurtrière, comme cela semble le cas chez Palaiphatos. Œdipe la fit périr, après avoir scellé un traité d'amitié et d'alliance avec elle. C'est pour cette raison qu'il fut très adulé par les Thébains, dont Laïos fut jaloux. Il marcha contre eux et fut tué au combat, et à ce moment-là, la mère d'Œdipe le prit pour époux. Quand Œdipe apprit que l'oracle donné alors à Laïos s'était accompli, il s'aveugla». Eustathe a un regard assez critique sur le texte et sur l'Œdipodie en général. La version «palaiphatisante» ne nous est pas donnée comme véridique, mais comme une variante *particulière* des autres. La trame est à nouveau plus dépendante de Malalas que de Palaiphatos. Le récit de ce dernier ne comporte en effet ni le motif de l'exposition, ni celui de la guerre civile ou encore de l'oracle.

E. Conclusion

Après avoir étudié le traitement du mythe de l'Œdipodie par Malalas, il nous semble important de revenir sur quelques points. Malalas a transformé le récit de manière à le rendre compatible avec la pensée chrétienne qui était la sienne. Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, le texte ne s'adresse pas à un public cultivé mais est plutôt une œuvre populaire. Les nombreux détails triviaux de la narration le démontrent. Tantôt l'action se focalise sur une action précise, tantôt la description ajoute une touche triviale, voire comique : c'est le cas quand vient la présentation de Sphinx. Le texte regorge également de précisions que nous qualifierions volontiers d'inutiles : impossible de trouver la moindre trace du petit village de Moabé. Notons également deux éléments particuliers du point de vue lexicologique : la présence du κοῦσπος, dont les seules occurrences sont cantonnées aux lexiques postérieurs et aux textes relatifs à Œdipe et la présence du mot σαγίττα, elle aussi assez surprenante.

(159) Nous conservons le texte grec, car dans la suite de la scholie que nous avons laissée de côté, sont faites des considérations linguistiques sur cette forme dialectale.

L'abandon de certains éléments narratifs permet la suppression des références aux dieux, qui sont habilement détournées par un glissement du motif ([160]). Ainsi l'oracle reste présent mais aucune mention du dieu n'est faite. Tout le sujet de la pièce de Sophocle, *Antigone*, si souvent repris, a été écarté afin de ne pas présenter un aspect de la religion païenne grecque qui voulait que l'on donnât une sépulture aux morts et que l'on respectât les lois divines.

Tous ces éléments nous permettent de déduire que Malalas n'a pas de la mythologie classique les réminiscences d'un écolier, comme le prétend S. W. Reinert ([161]). La reconstruction du mythe se fait de manière calculée, en connaissance du sujet donné. Thèbes a ainsi 12 portes et non des sept, afin de mieux préparer le futur combat des six contre Thèbes et de la sorte la suppression du personnage de Tydée : la volonté de Malalas s'inscrit ici dans le seul but d'abréger le récit. Sphinx conserve le caractère hideux, repoussant et meurtrier qui était son apanage chez les tragiques et les mythographes. Œdipe reste le valeureux homme décrit chez Ps.-Apollodore.

Le passage du combat contre Sphinx et son histoire de brigandage reste la section la plus remodelée en rapport avec le mythe classique. La question des sources du texte, Palaiphatos et Jules Africain reste ouverte. Le seul élément du texte réellement «palaiphatisant» est le motif du brigandage. Or, comme nous l'avons dit, Palaiphatos ne parle pas de brigandage mais bien d'une guerre menée contre Cadmos ([162]). En ce sens, le texte le plus proche de Malalas est celui de Pausanias, qui dit que Sphinx errait avec sa flotte en quête de brigandage ([163]), et qu'ayant pris le mont Anthédon elle y pratiquait ses rapines ([164]). Brigandage, rapine, petite armée, montagne, tout y est. Le seul élément qui le différencie est la mer, sans laquelle, le récit de Pausanias ressemblerait pour la trame de très près au récit de Malalas ([165]). L'anecdote a-t-elle alors circulé d'une certaine manière au travers de Jules Africain, et Malalas, sans avoir accès ou sans avoir lu le texte de Palaiphatos, a-t-il considéré que la version du «spécialiste d'antiquités» était véridique ?

(160) Pour cette notion, cf. S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 733-768.
(161) S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Cf. ci-dessus notre introduction.
(162) N. Festa, *Palaiphatos*, IV : Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπολέμει τῷ Κάδμῳ.
(163) M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Paus.* IX, 26, 2, p. 48.
(164) M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Paus.* IX, 26, 2, p. 48.
(165) On tiendra compte du fait que la narration de Pausanias est très brève.

La réception du texte est quant à elle diverse, et l'on peut dire que le texte a connu une postérité plus ou moins fidèle (166). En guise de remarque générale, nous pouvons remarquer qu'aucun des auteurs postérieurs à Malalas n'a eu plus de faconde ; tous les textes nous semblent être des abrégés de l'épisode original. Toutefois, ce qui faisait le caractère trivial et vériste du récit de Malalas a pratiquement disparu. La seule constante inébranlable est la description de Sphinx. Parmi les auteurs que nous avons relevés, nous pouvons dégager deux branches principales : certains chroniqueurs sont restés fidèles au texte de Malalas. Citons pour exemple Georges le Cédrène, dont l'extrait chronographique en est extraordinairement proche tant par le vocabulaire que par la structure même du récit. Le fragm. 8 de Jean d'Antioche et la glose Ot 34 Adler de la *Souda* se réclament eux-aussi de la chronique de Malalas, mais le bois est différent. La langue choisie, le vocabulaire ne sont pas les mêmes ; ils se différencient également par la structure de leur récit, si l'on pense par exemple à l'apparition de Mélibée chez Jean d'Antioche et le κοῦσπος dans la glose de la *Souda*.

Le deuxième groupe se caractérise par sa dépendance plus directe par rapport au texte de Palaiphatos. Il en va ainsi du premier fragment attribué à Jean d'Antioche et de la rubrique des divers de Georges le Syncelle. Les deux textes se caractérisent par la brièveté de leur propos. Leur intérêt réside dans le fait qu'ils apportent une preuve que le récit de Palaiphtos était encore connu de manière soit directe soit indirecte (167).

Notons encore que le texte de Malalas est le seul a narrer en détails les Sept contre Thèbes. L'article de la *Souda* est sur ce point le plus proche du texte de Malalas puisque avec lui, elle est la seule à présenter l'exil de Polynice et son expédition militaire ; Georges le Cédrène narre brièvement la mort simultanée des deux frères ; quant à Jean d'Antioche, il s'arrête à la mort d'Œdipe.

Nous avons donc pu constater tout au long de notre exposé que le récit sous sa forme évhéméristе a connu une longue postérité. Son aspect didactique a intéressé les chroniqueurs car, avec les autres récits mythologiques, il montrait aux chrétiens comment considérer la mythologie : un épisode sur lequel la tradition a brodé et qu'elle a amplifié. Il n'est

(166) Pour tout ce paragraphe, nous avons compilé un tableau récapitulatif de la transmission du texte, telle que nous la concevons, Annexe viii.

(167) Le motif du veuvage de Sphinx n'y apparaît pas ; c'est sa jalousie vis-à-vis d'Harmonie qui la pousse à s'attaquer aux Thébains.

donc pas étonnant que Malalas ne nous livre pas sa méthode pour passer d'un texte qui pouvait ressembler à celui du Ps.-Apollodore au sien ([168]). Force est malheureusement de constater que le récit de Malalas est resté dans l'ombre de La Sphinge, vierge ailée dégageant plus de mystère qu'une histoire de brigandage dont on méprise peut-être trop souvent le côté trivial et humoristique qui en fait la force. Le récit de Malalas a cependant connu une postérité assez remarquable chez Natale Conti ([169]), auteur du 16ème siècle dont le texte est placé sous l'autorité de Philochore ([170]) et Phanodème ([171]), mais dont la trame nous semble clairement tirée de Malalas ([172]).

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SUMMARY

This article offers a close analysis of Oedipus' narrative in John Malalas' chronicle. The study is divided into two parts. It deals, first, with the genesis of the text, its sources and origins. Transposition of motives, reduction of the plot and, above all, historicisation of both myths of Oedipus and of the Sphinx in an evhemeristic or rather palaiphatistic way, such are the key techniques which Malalas produces to convert a pagan legend to the Christian doctrine. The second part focuses then on the transmission of the text. In this section, the article draws a comparison with other works of the same kind, such as the chronicles by John of Antioch, John of Nikiu or George Cedrenus. It does also refer to the Oedipus entry in the *Suda*, to various scholia and commentaries, such as the one by Eustathius.

(168) En ceci, nous nous inscrivons en faux par rapport aux affirmations de S. W. Reinert. Cf. ci-dessus p. 366 et la note 92.

(169) Cf. J. IJSEWIJN, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies,* I, *History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, Louvain, 1990², pp. 20-21.

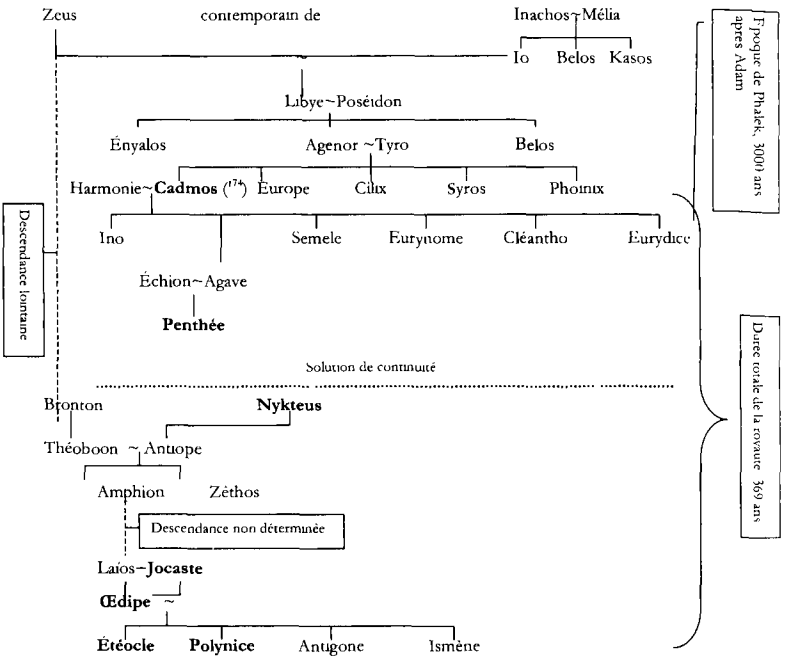
(170) *FGrHist.*, Vol. 3 B, n° 328, F. 82.

(171) *FGrHist.*, Vol. 3 B, n° 325, F. 5bis.

(172) Cf. F. JACOBY, dans *FGrHist.*, Vol. 3 B suppl., comm. *ad* n° 328, F. 82, p. 361 et F. 5bis, p. 180 où l'auteur démontre bien la parenté des deux récits.

j. Annexes

i. Tableau généalogique relatif aux rois de Thèbes selon Malalas ([173]) :



ii. N. Festa, *De incredibilibus, Palaephati περὶ ἀπίστων* IV, Leipzig, 1902 = A. Santoni, *Palefato, Storie incredibili*, Pise, 2000, pp. 58-61, § 4

[Περὶ τῆς Καδμείας Σφιγγός.] Περὶ τῆς Καδμείας Σφιγγὸς λέγεται ὡς θηρίον ἐγένετο σῶμα μὲν κυνὸς ἔχον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον κόρης, πτέρυγας δὲ ὄρνιθος, φωνὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπου. Καθίζουσα δὲ ἐπὶ Φικίου ὄρους αἴνιγμά τι ἑκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἤδεν· ὃν δ' ἂν εὗρε διαλύσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενον, τοῦτον ἀνῄρει. Διαλυσαμένου δὲ τὸ αἴνιγμα Οἰδίποδος, ῥίψασα ἑαυτὴν ἀνεῖλεν.

(173) D'après Mal., 28-54 Bo. ; II, 6-II, 17 Th. ; II,7-II, 42 Jeff. Cf. E. Jeffreys, *Chronological Structures*, dans *Studies in John Malalas*, p. 126. et S. W. Reinert, *op. cit.*, p. 333 qui a également dressé un tableau généalogique.

(174) Les noms en gras sont les rois de Thèbes selon Malalas ; noter l'absence de Créon.

Ἔστι δὲ ἄπιστος καὶ ἀδύνατος ὁ λόγος. Οὔτε γὰρ ἰδέα τοιαύτη δύναται γενέσθαι, τό τε τοὺς μὴ δυναμένους διαλύεσθαι [τὰ] αἰνίγματα κατεσθίεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, παιδαριῶδες, τό τε τοὺς Καδμείους μὴ κατατοξεῦσαι τὸ θηρίον, ἀλλὰ περιορᾶν τοὺς πολίτας ὡς πολεμίους κατεσθιομένους, μάταιον. Ἔχει οὖν ἡ ἀλήθεια ὧδε. Κάδμος ἔχων γυναῖκα Ἀμαζονίδα, ᾗ ὄνομα Σφίγξ, ἦλθεν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ ἀποκτείνας Δράκοντα τήν τε οὐσίαν καὶ βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, μετὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Δράκοντος, ᾗ ὄνομα Ἁρμονία. Αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ Σφὶγξ ὅτι ἄλλην ἐπέγημε, πείσασα πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν συναπᾶραι αὐτῇ, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ἁρπάσασα, καὶ τὸν ποδώκη κύνα, ὃν ἦκεν ὁ Κάδμος ἄγων, λαβοῦσα, μετὰ τούτων ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Φίκιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπολέμει τῷ Κάδμῳ· ἐνέδρας δὲ ποιουμένη κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἀνῄρει οὓς διαρπάζουσα ᾤχετο. Καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Καδμεῖοι τὴν ἐνέδραν αἴνιγμα. Ἐθρύλλουν οὖν οἱ πολῖται λέγοντες «Σφὶγξ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἀγρία αἰνίγματι ὑφισταμένη διαρπάζει, καὶ καθίζει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους. Ἐξευρεῖν δὲ τὸ αἴνιγμα οὐδεὶς δύναται, ἔκ τε τοῦ προφανοῦς μάχεσθαι ἀδύνατον· οὐ γὰρ τρέχει, ἀλλὰ πέτεται καὶ κύων καὶ γυνή[, οὕτω ποδώκης ἐστί]». Κηρύττει δὲ ὁ Κάδμος τῷ ἀποκτενοῦντι τὴν Σφίγγα χρήματα δώσειν πολλά. Ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Οἰδίπους, ἀνὴρ Κορίνθιος τά τε πολεμικὰ ἀγαθός, ἵππον ἔχων ποδώκη, καὶ λόχους τῶν Καδμείων ποιήσας καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξιὼν καὶ ἐνεδρεύσας αὐτήν, εὗρε τὸ αἴνιγμα [τουτέστι τὴν ἐνέδραν] καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν τὴν Σφίγγα. Τούτων γενομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐμυθεύθη.

iii. M. H. Rocha-Pereira, *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*, IX, 26, 2, Leipzig, 1989, pp. 48-49.

Οἱ δὲ κατὰ λῃστείαν σὺν δυνάμει ναυτικῇ πλανωμένην φασὶν αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πρὸς Ἀνθηδόνι σχεῖν θάλασσαν, καταλαβοῦσαν δὲ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἁρπαγαῖς χρῆσθαι, πρὶν ἐξελεῖν Οἰδίπους αὐτὴν ὑπερβαλόμενος πλήθει στρατιᾶς ἣν ἀφίκετο ἔχων ἐκ Κορίνθου. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς νόθη Λαΐου θυγάτηρ εἴη, καὶ ὡς τὸν χρησμὸν τὸν Κάδμῳ δοθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν διδάξειεν αὐτὴν κατὰ εὔνοιαν ὁ Λάϊος· ἐπίστασθαι δὲ πλὴν τοὺς βασιλέας οὐδένα ἄλλον τὸ μάντευμα. Ὁπότε οὖν τῇ Σφιγγὶ ἀμφισβητήσων τις ἀφίκοιτο τῆς ἀρχῆς – γενέσθαι γὰρ τῷ Λαΐῳ ἐκ παλλακῶν υἱοὺς καὶ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἐς Ἐπικάστην μόνην καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔχειν παῖδας –, τὴν οὖν Σφίγγα χρῆσθαι σοφίσμασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς τὸν Κάδμῳ γενόμενον χρησμὸν εἰδεῖεν ἂν Λαΐου γε ὄντες· οὐκ ἔχοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνασθαι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ἅτε οὐ προσηκόντως ἀμφισβητοῦν-

τας γένους τε καὶ ἀρχῆς. Οἰδίπους δὲ ἄρα ἀφίκετο ὑπὸ ὀνείρατος δεδιδαγμένος τὸν χρησμόν.

iv. K. MÜLLER, *Johannis Antiocheni Fragmenta*, dans *FHG* IV (1885), fragm. 8, p. 545 (*Cod. Par.* 1630) = U. ROBERTO, *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta ex Historia chronica* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 154), Berlin - New York, 2005, pp. 38-40, n° 16b.

(2) Τούτων ἀπόγονος Λάϊος, ἀφ' οὗ Οἰδίπους γεννηθεὶς ἐξετέθη ξύλῳ τοὺς πόδας περικλεισθείς, καὶ Οἰδίπους ὠνομάσθη διότι ὠγκωμένους εἶχε τοὺς πόδας. Γέγονε δὲ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐλῄστευε. Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ ἡ λεγομένη Σφὶγξ ἐφάνη, γυνὴ δυσειδὴς καὶ θηριώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἥτις [ἀποβαλοῦσα] τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ λῃστρικὴν συναγαγοῦσα χεῖρα καὶ τόπον καταλαβοῦσα δύσβατον τοὺς [παριόντας] ἐφόνευε καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐστένου. (3) Ὁ οὖν Οἰδίπους δεινότατον [τι] βουλευσάμενος [ἐς τὸ ἀναιρεῖν τὴν Σφίγγα, ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ κτήματος ὅπου ἀνετράφη ἀγροίκους γενναίους, προσποιούμενος θέλειν] [175] ἑαυτὸν μετ' αὐτῆς λῃστεύειν καὶ ἐπιτηρήσας καιρὸν λόγχῃ ἀναιρεῖται ταύτην, καὶ προάγει εἰς τὴν πόλιν [176]. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι θαυμάσαντες ἀναβοῶσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. (4) Μάχης δὲ γενομένης Λάϊος λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν βληθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται· Ἰοκάστη δὲ φοβουμένη τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπεσεῖν ἄγει τὸν Οἰδίποδα, καὶ χειροτονεῖ βασιλέα. Καὶ θεραπεύει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ βασιλεύει χρόνους ιθ', καὶ τίκτει μετ' Ἰοκάστης υἱοὺς β' καὶ θυγατέρας β'. (5) Μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ἐρωτησάσης Ἰοκάστης περὶ τῶν γονέων αὐτοῦ, εἶπε Μελίβοιον τὸν θρεψάμενον· ἡ δὲ μετεστείλατο αὐτόν· καὶ εἶπε μὴ εἶναι τούτου υἱόν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ εὑρεῖν· καὶ μαθοῦσα χρόνον εὗρεν ὅτι υἱὸς αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχε, καὶ εἶπε τῷ Οἰδίποδι. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλαβεν ἥλους καὶ πήξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπέθανεν [177] ἅμα μητρὶ Ἰοκάστῃ.

(175) Pour ce passage entre crochets, l'édition de ROBERTO, *op. cit.*, p. 38 n° 16b donne uniquement le mot [δίδωσιν]. K. MÜLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 545 note au fragm. 8 avait d'ailleurs noté à ce sujet qu' il s'est efforcé de restituer le texte à l'aide des textes de Malalas et du Cédrène, bien que l'espace vide ne pût contenir plus d'un mot.

(176) Εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Dans l'édition de ROBERTO : τῇ πόλει.

(177) Ἀπέθανεν. Dans l'édition de ROBERTO : τελευτᾷ ἀφεὶς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς τούτου υἱοῖς Διοκλεῖ καὶ Πολυνείκῃ· οἳ πολεμοῦντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀπέθανον ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ Ἰοκάστῃ.

v. A. ADLER, *Suidae Lexicon*, IV, Leipzig, 1938, Οι 34, p. 616, l. 2-26.

Οἰδίπους· Λάϊος, ὁ Θηβῶν βασιλεύς, ἔσχε γυναῖκα Ἰοκάστην, ἐξ ἧς γέγονεν αὐτῷ παῖς Οἰδίπους. Τούτου γεννηθέντος, χρησμὸν ἔλαβεν ὁ πατήρ, ὅτι τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ μιγήσεται ὁ παῖς· καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν εἰς ὄρος ῥιφῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ περικλεισθῆναι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ· ὃν εὑρηκὼς γεωργὸς ὀνόματι Μελίβοιος ἀνεθρέψατο καὶ Οἰδίποδα ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ ὠγκωμένους ἔχειν τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, τοῦ καλουμένου κούσπου. Γεγονὼς δὲ ἀνδρεῖος ἐλήστευε· καθ' ὃν χρόνον καὶ ἡ λεγομένη Σφὶγξ ἀνεφάνη, γυνὴ δυσειδὴς καὶ θηριώδης τὴν φύσιν, ἀποβαλοῦσα γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγοῦσα χεῖρα καὶ τόπον καταλαβοῦσα δύσβατον τοὺς παριόντας ἐφόνευεν. Ὁ οὖν Οἰδίπους δεινόν τι βουλευσάμενος δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν μετ' αὐτῆς λῃστεύειν· καὶ ἐπιτηρήσας καιρὸν ὃν ἠβούλετο, λόγχῃ ἀναιρεῖ αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῆς. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι θαυμάσαντες ἀναβοῶσιν αὐτὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ γοῦν Λάϊος ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτῶν τούτοις ἐπάγει πόλεμον καὶ λίθῳ βληθεὶς τὴν κεφαλὴν τελευτᾷ. Ἡ δὲ Ἰοκάστη φοβουμένη τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπεσεῖν ἄγει τὸν Οἰδίποδα καὶ χειροτονεῖ βασιλέα· καὶ γίνεται τούτου γυνή, ἀγνοοῦσα ὅτι μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἐστιν. Ἔσχε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ υἱοὺς δύο, Ἐτεοκλέα καὶ Πολυνείκην· ὕστερον δὲ τοῦτο μαθοῦσα, ὅτι υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐστιν, εἶπεν αὐτὸ τῷ παιδί. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλαβεν ἥλους καὶ πήξας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτα, ἐάσας τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς δύο υἱέσιν, οἳ ἐβασίλευον παρ' ἐνιαυτόν· καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν ἐλθόντες ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐδιώχθη ὑπὸ Ἐτεοκλέους καὶ ἀπελθὼν Πολυνείκης εἰς τὸ Ἄργος ἔγημε τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀδράστου τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ στρατεύσας ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ μονομαχήσας Ἐτεοκλεῖ ἀναιρεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνῃρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι ἀνεστράφησαν οἴκοι.

vi. I. BEKKER, *Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, I (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1838, pp. 45-46.

Μετὰ τούτους τοὺς μουσικοὺς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευον Θηβαίων ἕως Οἰδίποδος υἱοῦ Ἰοκάστης καὶ Λαΐου. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Λάϊος βασιλεὺς ὢν Θηβαίων μετὰ Ἰοκάστης ἔσχεν υἱὸν πρῶτον Ἰοκᾶν· χρησμὸν δὲ λαβὼν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ συναφθήσεται, ἐν ξύλῳ τοὺς πόδας καθηλώσας, ὃ δὴ καὶ κοῦσπος λέγεται, εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἔρριψεν. Ἄγροικος δέ τις ὀνόματι Μελίβιος τοῦτον εὑρὼν ἀνεθρέψατο, Οἰδίποδα μετονομάσας διὰ τὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ διῳδηκότας ὀγκωθῆναι. Μετὰ ταῦτα γυνή τις ὀνόματι Σφίγξ, δυσειδής, κατάμαστος, χωριτική, μετὰ πλή-

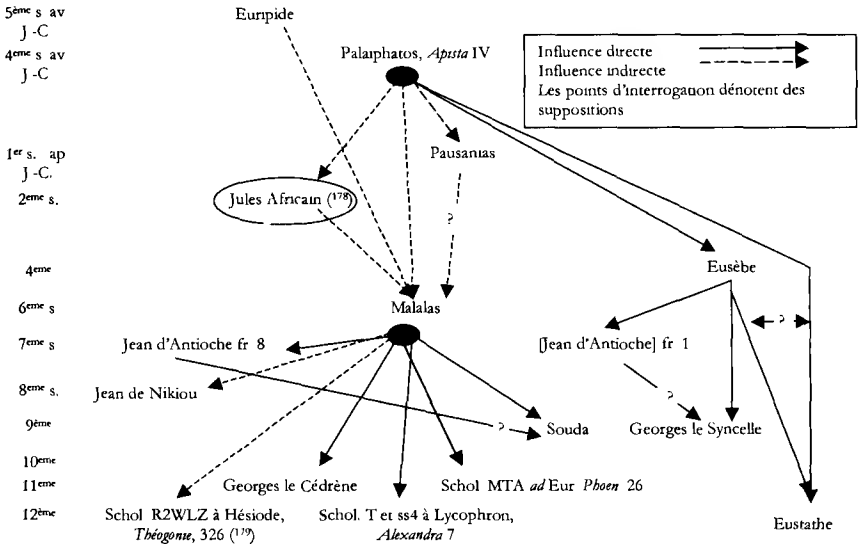
θους ἀγροίκων εἰς κορυφὴν μίαν μόνην εἴσοδον καὶ ταύτην στενωτάτην ἔχουσαν καθίσασα, λῃστρικῶς τοὺς παράγοντας δι' ἐκείνης ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ὑπάρξεις ἀφῃρεῖτο, ὡς ἀποστενοῦσθαι τὰς Θήβας δι' αὐτῆς μήτε στρατοῦ μήτ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Λαΐου ἰσχύοντος κατ' αὐτῆς διὰ τὸ δύσβατον τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ὀχυρόν. Ταῦτ' οὖν Οἰδίπους ἀκούσας σοφόν τι καὶ γενναῖον ποιεῖ· καὶ ὀλίγους ἐπιλεξάμενος καὶ τὴν Σφίγγα ἐλθὼν ἠτεῖτο σὺν αὐτῇ εἶναι καὶ συλληστρεύειν αὐτῇ. Ἡ δὲ τῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ γενναιότητι τούτου τερφθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰσδέχεται. ὁ δὲ καιρὸν ἐσχηκὼς αὐτὴν μὲν λόγχῃ ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετ' αὐτῆς, λαβὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὅσα χρήματα εὗρε πρὸς Λάϊον εἰς Θήβας ἤνεγκε, μισθὸν τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας κομιούμενος. Θηβαῖοι δὲ τοῦτον ὡς βασιλέα ἀνύμνουν. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤρεσε ταῦτα τῷ Λαΐῳ, ἀλλὰ στρατὸν ἐφοπλίσας κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῄει, καὶ πληγεὶς τελευτᾷ. Ἡ τοίνυν Ἰοκάστη τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπεσεῖν οὐ θέλουσα, καὶ ὡς υἱὸς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὁ Οἰδίπους οὐκ εἰδυῖα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως σπουδάζουσα, προσκαλεῖται τοῦτον· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ποιεῖ δύο υἱούς, τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα καὶ τὸν Πολυνείκην, καὶ θυγατέρας δύο, Ἰσμήνην καὶ Ἀντιγόνην. Καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ ἔτη ιθ′ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐβασίλευσαν, ἀγνοοῦντες ἑαυτούς. Μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς Ἰοκάστης τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος πυθομένης, ἐπεὶ Μελίβιος αὐτὸν ἀνεθρέψατο ἤκουσε, παρ' αὐτοῦ τε ἔμαθε τὸν τρόπον τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνευρέσεως καὶ βεβαιωθεῖσα ἀνεβόησε. Οἰδίπους δὲ πληροφορηθεὶς ὡς καὶ μήτηρ Ἰοκάστη καὶ γυνὴ τυγχάνει, τοῖς μὲν υἱοῖς Ἐτεοκλεῖ καὶ Πολυνείκει ἐνιαυτὸν παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν βασιλεύειν ἐκέλευσε τῶν Θηβῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ παραυτὰ δύο ἥλους κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐμπήξας ὀφθαλμῶν τελευτᾷ. Οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάτερος τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιποιούμενοι εἰς πόλεμον ἦλθον μονομαχήσαντες, καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἅμφω κατελύθησαν. Καὶ οὕτως ἡ τῶν Θηβῶν ἤτοι Βοιωτῶν κατελύθη βασιλεία, διαρκέσασα ἔτη τριακόσια ἑξηκονταεννέα.

vii. G. Stallbaum, *Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*, I. Leipzig, 1825 (= Hildesheim 1970), p. 413, λ, 270.

Ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους καὶ Οἰδιπόδης λέγεται ποιητικῶς, κληθεὶς οὕτω διὰ τὸ οἴδημα, ὃ ἔπαθε τρυπηθεὶς τοὺς ἀστραγάλους τῶν ποδῶν, ὅτε βρέφος ὢν ἐξετέθη ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν οἱ τραγικοί. Ὅτι δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ἄλλως τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οἰδίποδα καὶ τὸν Λάϊον λέγεται, δῆλον μὲν ἐξ ἄλλων, οὐχήκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱστορήσαντος ὅτι Σφὶγξ γυνή τις ἦν εἰδεχθὴς περί που Βοιωτίαν, λῃστρικὴ καὶ φονία, ὡς Παλαιφάτῳ δοκεῖ. Οἰδίπους δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτήν, προσποιησάμενος φιλίαν καὶ συμ-

μαχίαν. Ὅθεν ἐτιμήθη ἄγαν ὑπὸ Θηβαίων. Ἐφ' οἷς φθονήσας Λάϊος ἐπέξεισι καὶ θνήσκει ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τότε ἡ μήτηρ λαμβάνει αὐτόν. Ὡς δὲ ἔγνω ἀποβάντα τὸν πάλαι τῷ Λαΐῳ δεδομένον χρησμόν, ἐξετύφλωσεν ἑαυτόν.

viii. Schéma de la dynamique de la transmission du mythe :



(178) Le texte de Jules Africain étant perdu dans cette partie, nous ne pouvons statuer sur son interaction avec les autres auteurs. A-t-il servi d'intermédiaire pour le texte dont Malalas s'est servi ? Présentait-il une version très proche de la version de Malalas ?

(179) Comme nous l'avons dit ci-dessus, cette datation est un *terminus post quem.*

EINE INSCHRIFT AUF EINEM SARKOPHAGDECKEL AUS BEROIA IN DER CHRONIK DES GEORGIOS SPHRANTZES

Während seines Besuches in Beroia im Jahr 1855 gelangte der französische Gelehrte A. Delacoulonche auch auf das Areal eines bereits zerstörten Klosters des heiligen Georgios. Dort entdeckte er u.a. zwei Relieffragmente aus Marmor, auf denen Reste einer Inschrift und von Figuren zu sehen waren (1). Während das eine Fragment offenbar wieder verloren ging, kam das andere später in der Nähe der Kirche des heiligen Antonios zum Vorschein, wenngleich es in zwei Stücke zerbrochen war und einen Teil der Inschrift verloren hatte. Durch A. Xyngopoulos wissen wir, dass sich dieses Fragment in den 30er-Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts im Verwaltungsgebäude dieser Antonios-Kirche befand (2). Später wurden unweit dieser Kirche zwei weitere Fragmente mit Inschriften gefunden (3). Heute befinden sich die drei erhaltenen Relieffragmente in der Συλλογὴ γλυπτῶν in den alten türkischen Bädern von Beroia. Th. Pazaras (4) entdeckte schließlich, dass die drei erhaltenen Fragmente – ergänzt mit dem von Delacoulonche aufgenommenen, heute verschollenen Teil – die Überreste eines Sarkophagdeckels bilden. Die auf dem

(1) A. Delacoulonche, *Mémoire sur le berceau de la puissance macédonienne des bords de l'Haliakmon et ceux de l'Axius*, in *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (prem. ser.), 7 (1858), S. 273-275. Ich danke Fr. Despina Ariantzi für die Beschaffung einer Kopie der genannten Seiten des Aufsatzes aus der Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck.

(2) A. Xyngopoulos, *Βυζαντινὰ εἰκονογραφικὰ γλυπτά*, in *EEBS*, 15 (1939), S. 256-279, hier S. 257.

(3) Vgl. Th. Papazotos, *Ἡ Βέροια καὶ οἱ ναοί της (11ος - 18ος αἰ.). Ἱστορικὴ καὶ ἀρχαιολογικὴ σπουδὴ τῶν μνημείων τῆς πόλης*, Athen, 1994, S. 95.

(4) Th. Pazaras, *Ἀνάγλυφες σαρκοφάγοι καὶ ἐπιτάφιες πλάκες τῆς μέσης καὶ ὑστερῆς βυζαντινῆς περιόδου στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, Dissertation, Thessalonike, 1984, S. 39 (Nr. 11).

rechten erhaltenen Teil noch sichtbaren Figuren identifizierte Xyngopoulos als David, Johannes Prodromos und Jesaia und die damit verbundene Szene als Darstellung des Abstiegs Christi in den Hades (5).

Pazaras stellte auch fest, dass die Reste der Inschrift auf dem oberen Rand des Sarkophagdeckels ein Epigramm bilden, das folgendermaßen wiedergegeben werden kann (6) :

Ἄνθρωπε, δ[εῦρο στῆθι καὶ σκόπει τάδε
καὶ τοῦ βίου θαύμασε τὰς μεταβολ]ὰς
κ(αὶ) τὴν κατ' ἐχθρῶν τῆς ψυχῆς εὐανδ[ρίαν]
καὶ τὴν [.....
καὶ τῆς τιμῆς .....
.....]
κ(αὶ) τὸν πολυτά[λαντον ἐκχέας βίον
τῇ παραγωγῇ τῆς μονῆς τῆς ἐνθάδε
καὶ] τοῦ δὲ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ξέει
τὴν τοῦ [γένους ἔγε]ρσιν εὐθὺς ἐλπίσα[ς]
ὁ πρὶν ἀριστεὺς κ(αὶ) μέ[γας .....
.....]

Das Epigramm besteht aus 12 Zwölfsilbern, die insgesamt von recht guter prosodischer Qualität sind. Dass der anonyme Dichter recht gebildet gewesen sein dürfte, beweist auch die Tatsache, dass das Gedicht stark von Manuel Philes (ca. 1275-ca. 1345) beeinflusst ist. Vers 1 ist direkt aus einem Grabgedicht des Philes übernommen, die Verse 3 und 10 imitieren das Original des Philes (7) :

Vers 1 : = *Man. Phil. carm.* CCXLIII, 1 (ed. E. Miller, *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II, Paris, 1857, S. 263).

(5) Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.*, S. 258ff.

(6) Die in eckige Klammern [...] gesetzten Passagen können heute nicht mehr gelesen werden, sie sind jedoch im Großen und Ganzen auf den von Delacoulonche angefertigten Skizzen verzeichnet. Das Epigramm wurde bislang von Pazaras (*op. cit.*, S. 39) und Papazotos (*op. cit.*, S. 96) ediert. Eine Neuedition wird im Rahmen des vom Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung finanzierten Projekts mit dem Titel *Corpus der byzantinischen Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* am Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien und am Institut für Byzanzforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften erstellt.

(7) Weitere Parallelen werden in der in Anm. 6 genannten Neuedition zu finden sein.

Vers 3 : cf. *Man. Phil. carm.* (ed. M. GEDEON, in : *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 3 [1882/1883], S. 658) : τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ψυχῆς εὐανδρίαν.

Vers 10 : cf. *Man. Phil. carm.* (ed. F. DÜBNER, in : *Poetae bucolici et didactici*, Paris, 1862, S. 66, 63) : τὴν τοῦ γένους ἔγερσιν ἡμῖν δεικνύει.

Der Sarkophag ist aufgrund folgender Überlegungen in das 14. Jahrhundert zu datieren : 1) Aufgrund der Philes-Imitation ist eine Datierung vor dem 14. Jahrhundert nicht möglich. 2) Xyngopoulos stellte bei der Analyse der drei erwähnten Figuren auf dem rechten erhaltenen Teil fest, dass diese aufgrund stilistischer Elemente höchstwahrscheinlich in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts gehören ([8]).

Links unterhalb des Epigramms ist auf dem Sarkophagdeckel eine weitere, fragmentarisch erhaltene Inschrift angebracht, die von Pazaras und Papazotos als Teil des Epigramms (nach Vers 12) angesehen wurde. In Wahrheit handelt es sich aber um einen Prosatext, der folgendermaßen lautet ([9]) : Οὐ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ [βίῳ ἁμάρ]τημα οὐδὲ πρᾶξι[ς οὐδὲ κακία] ἣν ἐγ[ὼ ... Gegen die Annahme von Pazaras und Papazotos, dass es sich bei dem erhaltenen Text um zwei weitere Verse des Epigramms handelt – die Teilung der angeblichen Verse wurden von ihnen nach ἁμάρ]τημα vorgenommen –, sprechen die Prosodielosigkeit, die fehlenden Binnenschlüsse und die oxytone Betonung am Ende des zweiten „Verses".

Die Feststellung, dass sich um Prosa handelt, wird dadurch untermauert, dass man in der Chronik des Georgios Sphrantzes auf eine vollständige Version des Satzes trifft. Sphrantzes berichtet gegen Ende seiner Chronik von einer schweren Rheumaattacke am 1. Oktober 1476 und gesteht dabei seine Sünden mit den Worten οὐδὲν γὰρ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἁμάρτημα οὐδὲ πρᾶξις οὐδὲ κακία, ἣν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπλημμέλησα ὁ ἄθλιος κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λόγον καὶ προαίρεσεν, καὶ θέσει καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ πράξει ἐξαμαρτήσας ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε ([10]). Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass auch auf dem Sarkophagdeckel ursprünglich der ganze Satz wiedergegeben war.

(8) XYNGOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, S. 266.

(9) Die in Klammern gesetzten Passagen befinden sich auf dem Teil des Sarkophagdeckels, der von Delacoulonche aufgezeichnet wurde, heute aber nicht mehr vorhanden ist.

(10) Georgios Sphrantzes, *Chronicon* XLVIII, 1 (S. 194, 10-13, ed. R. MAISANO, *Giorgio Sfranze. Cronaca* [*CFHB*, 29], Roma, 1990).

Wie lässt sich jedoch ein Zusammenhang zwischen dem Sarkophag in Beroia und Georgios Sphrantzes herstellen ? Sphrantzes berichtet in seiner Chronik zum 2. August 1460 von seinem Vorhaben, nach Beroia in der Nähe von Thessalonike zu reisen, da er dort ein sehr schönes Kloster des heiligen Nikolaos besitze, das sein Großvater mütterlicherseits gegründet habe ([11]). Dieses Kloster des heiligen Nikolaos in Beroia ist heute nicht mehr vorhanden, war jedoch bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts intakt ([12]). Wer Sphrantzes' Großvater war, ist unbekannt. Aufgrund der frühen Datierung kann man wohl ausschließen, dass dieser mit dem Senator (συγκλητικός) Sphrantzes Palaiologos ([13]), der bei Nikephoros Gregoras und Johannes Kantakuzenos erwähnt wird, identisch ist. Dieser Sphrantzes ermordet im August 1334 im Auftrag von Kaiser Andronikos III. in der Nähe von Thessalonike den Opportunisten und Überläufer Syrgiannes ([14]). Nachdem ihm bereits die Leitung einiger Festungen in Westmakedonien übergeben worden ist ([15]), wird er nach der Ermorderung des Syrgiannes von Kaiser Andronikos zum Megas Stratopedarches ernannt ([16]). Er stirbt im Jahr 1339 bei der Belagerung von Arta an einer Durchfallerkrankung ([17]). Obwohl es, wie bereits erwähnt, sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass dieser Sphrantzes Palaiologos der Großvater des Historikers Sphrantzes ist, ist dennoch die geographische Nähe des Wirkens des ersteren zu Beroia auffallend. Der Großvaters des Historikers Sphrantzes, der das Kloster in Beroia gegründet hat, könnte somit ein Nachkomme des Sphrantzes Palaiologos und vielleicht sogar die Person sein, die im Sarkophag bestattet ist.

(11) Georgios Sphrantzes, *Chronicon* XL, 13 (S. 164, 20-23 ed. Maisano) : ... ἔχοντός μου σκοπόν, ἵνα εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἀπέλθω ἢ εἰς τὴν περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Βέρροιαν, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐκεῖ καλλίστην μονὴν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου, ἥνπερ τῆς μητρός μου ὁ πατὴρ ἀνήγειρεν ἐκ βάθρων.

(12) Vgl. Papazotos, *op. cit.*, S. 214f.

(13) *PLP* 27282; sein Geburtsdatum ist wohl an den Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts zu setzen, also rund hundert Jahre vor dem des Historikers (geboren im Jahr 1401, vgl. *PLP* 27278).

(14) *PLP* 27167.

(15) *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV, cura* L. Schopen, I (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1828, S. 454.

(16) Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historiae* I, S. 457, 12f.

(17) Ioannes Kantakuzenos, *Historiae* I, S. 525 ; Gregoras berichtet, dass Sphrantzes Palaiologos im Gefängnis starb, nachdem er sich vor Arta gegen Andronikos gestellt hatte (*Nicephori Gregorae byzantina historia*, cura L. Schopen, I [*CSHB*], Bonn, 1829, S. 553).

Da es sich bei dem Satz in der Chronik des Sphrantzes wohl kaum um eine Spontanparallele handeln wird und der Satz auch nicht als sprichwörtliche Wendung bekannt ist, scheint es eine direkte Verbindung zwischen dem Sarkophagdeckel und dem Historiker Sphrantzes gegeben zu heben. Ob Sphrantzes den Satz selbst kopierte – wenn er jemals in Beroia war ([18]) – oder ob er ihn von jemandem aus Beroia übermittelt bekam, ist nicht zu eruieren.

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SUMMARY

The different pieces of a cover of a sarcophagus found in Beroia contain the fragments of an epigram with twelve verses. As is obvious from different quotes, the author of this epigram must have been familiar with the poems of Manuel Philes. Besides the epigram the fragmentary cover of the sarcophagus also contains the beginning of a sentence written in prose. This sentence is also to be found in the chronicle of Georgios Sphrantzes. It is not unlikely that this sentence was copied from the sarcophagus by Sphrantzes himself, because he was the owner of a monastery at Beroia which was founded by his grandfather.

(18) Georgios Sphrantzes, *Chronicon* XL, 13 (S. 164, 20-23 ed. MAISANO) spricht er ja nur von der Absicht, dorthin zu reisen.

THEMISTIOS UND PALLADAS

In den meisten seiner sogenannten Privatreden setzt sich der Philosoph und Redner Themistios mit Kritikern und Gegnern auseinander, die Anstoß an seiner Stellung im öffentlichen Leben Konstantinopels nahmen (1). Zum einen wurde ihm vorgeworfen, daß er der Philosophie Schaden zufüge, indem er zu einem größeren Publikum spreche, statt sich nur an einen kleinen Kreis ausgewählter Hörer zu richten. Dadurch rückte er in die Nähe der Sophisten, als deren Kennzeichen eben das öffentliche Auftreten galt. Zum anderen sah sich Themistios mit der Kritik konfrontiert, er verrate oder erniedrige die Philosophie durch sein politisches Engagement. Seine langjährige Tätigkeit im Senat in herausgehobener Stellung (2), seine zahlreichen Reden für die Kaiser und schließlich die

(1) Zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Themistios und seinen Gegnern siehe L. MÉRIDIER, *Le philosophe Thémistios devant l'opinion de ses contemporains*, Rennes, 1906 ; G. DAGRON, *L'Empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme. Le témoignage de Thémistios*, in *TM* 3 (1968), S. 1-242, hier 42-54, sowie die Einleitung in R. J. PENELLA, *The Private Orations of Themistius*, Berkeley - Los Angeles - London, 2000. Zur Biographie des Themistios vgl. auch J. VANDERSPOEL, *Themistius and the Imperial Court. Oratory, Civic Duty, and Paideia from Constantius to Theodosius*, Ann Arbor, 1995.

(2) Themistios wurde unter Kaiser Constantius 355 in den Senat von Konstantinopel aufgenommen (vgl. die sog. *Demegoria Constantii* und Themistios, *or.* 2) und in den späten 350er Jahren mit der Aufgabe betraut, die Anzahl der Senatoren zu vergrößern. Themistios spricht außerdem in *or.* 34, 13 und 16 von seiner προστασία und in *or.* 31, 355c von seiner προεδρία. VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 68f., 105f., 209 hat dies so interpretiert, daß mit der προστασία die Stellung als *princeps senatus* gemeint sei, die Themistios dann ab 357 bekleidet hätte. PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 37 nimmt dagegen an, Themistios spiele in 34, 13 nur auf eine allgemeine Führungsrolle an. Die προεδρία in *or.* 31 dürfte dagegen tatsächlich der *principatus senatus* sein, den der *praefectus urbi* von Amts wegen innehatte. Umstritten ist ebenso, ob Themistios in den späten 350er Jahren das Amt eines Proconsuls von Konstantinopel bekleidete, was man aus einigen Briefen des Libanios (bes. *ep.* 40) schloß ; positiv dazu etwa O. SEECK, *Die Briefe des Libanius, zeitlich geordnet*, Leipzig, 1906, S. 298-301 ; L. J.

Übernahme der Stadtpräfektur von Konstantinopel schienen mit dem Philosophenberuf unvereinbar, da etwa unter den Neuplatonikern des vierten Jahrhunderts deutliche Vorbehalte gegen eine Involvierung des Philosophen in die politische Welt bestanden (3). Themistios versuchte immer wieder, diese zwei Vorwürfe zu entkräften, indem er in seinen Reden darlegte, daß die Philosophie des öffentlichen Auftretens und der Rhetorik bedürfe, um ihre erzieherische Aufgabe verwirklichen zu können, und daß es geradezu die Pflicht des Philosophen sei, sich politisch zum Wohle der Mitmenschen zu betätigen. Den Verlauf dieser Kontroverse zu rekonstruieren ist für die moderne Forschung insofern nicht ganz leicht, als wir nur die Darstellung der einen Seite, eben die des Themistios, besitzen, ohne auch die Gegenseite hören zu können. Dieser Umstand erschwert insbesondere die Identifikation der Kritiker, da Themistios sie nicht genauer benennt bzw. gerade den Eindruck erwekken will, daß seine Gegner sich nicht zu erkennen gäben und nur im dunkeln operierten (4). Zwar spricht Themistios bisweilen einen einzelnen Gegner direkt an (5), doch kann man nur vermuten, daß es keineswegs allein konkurrierende Philosophen waren, welche die genannten Vorwürfe erhoben (6), sondern ebenso Leute, denen die politische Rolle des Philosophen im Senat und bei Hofe mißfiel (7). Sie bedienten sich der

DALY, *Themistius' Refusal of a Magistracy (Or., 34, cc. XIII-XV)*, in *Byz.*, 53 (1983), S. 164-212, hier 171-189 ; PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 1f. ; skeptisch hingegen VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 106-108, P. HEATHER und D. MONCUR. *Politics, Philosophy, and Empire in the Fourth Century. Selected Orations of Themistius*, Liverpool, 2001, S. 44-47.

(3) Zur Abkehr der neuplatonischen Philosophen von der Welt siehe G. FOWDEN, *The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society*, in *JHS*, 102 (1982), S. 33-59, hier 51-59. Vgl. auch P. BROWN, *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 1980.

(4) So in Themistios, *or.* 23, 284b/c ; 26, 314b/c.

(5) Themistios, *or.* 29, 345a, 346b, 346d.

(6) Ein indirektes Zeugnis dafür sind auch die sog. *Sophistenviten* des Eunap. in denen Themistios mit keinem einzigen Wort erwähnt wird. Der Grund für Eunaps Schweigen war vermutlich, daß Themistios sein Wirken in den Dienst der christlichen Kaiser stellte. Siehe DAGRON, *L'Empire* (wie Anm. 1), S. 81 und R. J. PENELLA, *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century A.D. Studies in Eunapius of Sardis (ARCA : Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs*, 28), Leeds, 1990, S. 134-137.

(7) Ohne nähere Begründung haben SEECK (wie Anm. 2), S. 300 und F. SCHEMMEL, *Die Hochschule von Konstantinopel im IV. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.*, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litera-*

philosophischen Kritik nur als Mittel, um sich eines politischen Rivalen zu entledigen.

Lediglich in einem einzigen Fall scheint es möglich zu sein, einen der Kritiker namhaft zu machen. In seiner letzten erhaltenen Rede, mit der er sich nach Niederlegung der Stadtpräfektur ([8]) im Jahre 384 ([9]) an ein gemischtes Konstantinopeler Publikum wandte, bemühte sich Themistios vor allem darum, dem Vorwurf entgegenzutreten, er habe durch Übernahme des Amtes die Philosophie in unzulässiger Weise erniedrigt ([10]). Direkt nach der Auffindung der Rede zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts und ihrer Edition fiel auf, wie häufig Themistios die Metapher des Hinab- und Heraufsteigens verwendet, wenn er auf die Kritik eingeht. Bereits der erste Herausgeber, Angelo Mai, brachte dieses wiederkehrende Motiv mit einem in der Anthologia Palatina überlieferten Epigramm des Zeitgenossen Palladas in Verbindung (*Anthologia Palatina* 11, 292) ([11]). Dieser

tur und für Pädagogik, 22 (1908), S. 147-168, hier 157 angenommen, daß die Angriffe auf Themistios von christlicher Seite kamen. Dafür fehlen jedoch Anhaltspunkte in seinen Reden.

(8) Themistios' Präfektur ist entweder auf den Winter bzw. Frühling 383/384 (A. FRANKE, *De Pallada epigrammatographo*, Diss., Leipzig, 1899, S. 28-36 ; H. SCHOLZE, *De temporibus librorum Themistii*, Diss., Göttingen, 1911, S. 54-56 ; H. SCHNEIDER, *Die 34. Rede des Themistios [περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς]. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Winterthur, 1966, S. 44-51 ; H. LEPPIN und W. PORTMANN, *Themistios. Staatsreden*, Stuttgart, 1998, S. 283) oder Frühling/Sommer 384 (DAGRON, *L'Empire*, S. 11f. ; VANDERSPOEL [wie Anm. 1], S. 206-210) zu datieren. SEECK (wie Anm. 2), S. 305f. datierte die Präfektur erst auf Herbst 384 ; ähnlich G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (*Bibliothèque Byzantine. Etudes*, 7), Paris, 1974, S. 252f. Vgl. auch R. MAISANO, *Discorsi di Temistio*, Turin, 1995, S. 47f., PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 35 und HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 285.

(9) Die Datierung von *or.* 34 hängt davon ab, wann man Themistios' Stadtpräfektur ansetzt (siehe vorige Anm.). Klar ist jedenfalls, daß er die Rede erst hielt, nachdem er das Amt niedergelegt hatte, jedoch nicht allzu lange danach. Die Rede dürfte also zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt zwischen Frühsommer 384 und Frühjahr 385 gehalten worden sein. Vgl. HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 286.

(10) Den Text der 34. Rede findet man bei H. SCHENKL, G. DOWNEY und A. F. NORMAN (Hg.), *Themistii orationes quae supersunt*, II (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1971, S. 211-232. Siehe auch MÉRIDIER (wie Anm. 1), S. 100-112 ; SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8) ; VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 214-216 ; PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 38-40 und 209-230.

(11) A. MAI (Hg.), *Themistii philosophi oratio in eos a quibus ob praefecturam susceptam fuerat vituperatus*, Mailand, 1816. Der Text von Mai ist am

hatte nämlich in zwei Distichen offensichtlich einen Philosophen angegriffen, der ein Amt übernommen hatte, und dafür in pointierter Weise ebenfalls auf diese Metapher des Ab- und Aufstiegs zurückgegriffen ([12]) :

Ἄντυγος οὐρανίης ὑπερήμενος ἐς πόθον ἦλθες
ἄντυγος ἀργυρέης· αἶσχος ἀπειρέσιον·
ἦσθά ποτε κρείσσων, αὖθις δ' ἐγένου πολὺ χείρων.
δεῦρ' ἀνάβηθι κάτω, νῦν γὰρ ἄνω κατέβης.

Seit Mais Vorschlag hat es die Forschung akzeptiert, daß das Epigramm des Palladas den Anlaß für die 34. Rede gegeben hat und der Epigrammatiker derjenige ist, den Themistios in seiner Rede des öfteren direkt anspricht ([13]). Nur Alan Cameron hat in Erwägung gezogen, ob nicht die Priorität der 34. Rede gebührt, Palladas also mit seinen Versen die Kontroverse erst nachträglich auf den Punkt gebracht hat. Allerdings hat er für diese Vermutung keine näheren Gründe genannt ([14]). Auch wenn Mais Hypothese auf weitgehende Zustimmung gestoßen ist ([15]), soll im folgenden eingehend geprüft werden, ob eine Identifikation des Kritikers mit Palladas zulässig ist. Denn es ist keineswegs ausgemacht, daß die wörtlichen Parallelen zwischen der Rede und dem Epigramm dafür aus-

besten zugänglich in W. DINDORF (Hg.), *Themistii orationes*, Leipzig, 1832. S. 444-472.

(12) Der hier gebotene Text folgt R. AUBRETON (Hg.), *Anthologie Grecque. Première partie : Anthologie Palatine*, Bd. 10 (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 1972, S. 173.

(13) DINDORF (wie Anm. 11), S. 444, 471f. ; FRANKE (wie Anm. 8), S. 24-37 ; MÉRIDIER (wie Anm. 1), S. 101-103 ; SCHOLZE (wie Anm. 8), S. 58f. ; W. STEGEMANN, Art. *Themistios 2)*, in *RE* V A2 (1934), Sp. 1642-1680, hier 1666 ; W. PEEK, Art. *Palladas*, in *RE* XVIII, 2, 2 (1949), Sp. 158-168, hier 160 ; SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 13f., 42-44 ; DAGRON, *L'Empire*, S. 26 und 50f. ; DAGRON, *Naissance*, S. 253 ; SCHENKL, DOWNEY, NORMAN (wie Anm. 10), S. 211 ; DALY (wie Anm. 2), S. 197-199 ; MAISANO (wie Anm. 8), S. 989; VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 214f. ; PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 38 ; HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 288f. Heather und Moncur gehen davon aus, daß das Epigramm im Zeitraum zwischen Themistios, *or.* 31 und 34 verfaßt worden sei, da noch *or.* 31 mit keinem Wort auf den Vorwurf des Abstiegs von der Philosophie eingehe.

(14) A. CAMERON, *Notes on Palladas*, in *Classical Quarterly*, 15 (1965). S. 215-229, hier 222.

(15) Keinen Anklang gefunden hat die Vermutung von SEECK (wie Anm. 2), S. 306, daß bereits Themistios, *or.* 31, 353d mit der Erwähnung des silberbeschlagenen Wagens auf Palladas' Angriffe reagiere.

reichen. Das Verhältnis zwischen beiden läßt sich noch exakter bestimmen.

Aus dem Wortlaut des Epigramms selbst ergibt sich zunächst nur, daß Palladas den Adressaten dafür tadelt, daß er, nachdem er sich der Philosophie gewidmet habe ([16]), nun statt dessen den silbernen Wagen gewählt habe. Dies sei eine unermeßliche Schande ([17]), da er dadurch hinabgestiegen sei. Er solle wieder umkehren und zur Philosophie heraufsteigen. Der Sprecher nimmt also für sich in Anspruch, die Sache der Philosophie zu vertreten und das Verhalten des Adressaten von ihrer Warte aus zu beurteilen. Der Angesprochene wird aufgefordert, wieder zu ihm, dem Sprecher, emporzusteigen ([18]). Durch die Antithese des Himmelsrundes, das für das Anliegen des Philosophen steht, und des silbernen Rundes hat Palladas angedeutet, weshalb genau er den Adressaten kritisiert. Da seit Homer der Ausdruck ἄντυξ als Bezeichnung für einen Wagen geläufig war ([19]), konnte der Leser des Epigramms ohne weiteres in dem silbernen Rund einen mit Silber beschlagenen Wagen entdecken. Ein solcher Wagen war aber im vierten Jahrhundert dem *praefectus urbi Constantinopolitanae* ([20]) als Amtsprivileg vorbehalten ([21]). Das Epigramm tadelt also

(16) Mit der Bemerkung, daß der Adressat über dem Himmelsgewölbe sitze, spielt Palladas darauf an, daß jenseits des Himmels die Philosophen die Ideenwelt schauen. Vgl. Platon, *Phaidros* 247c-e. Das seltene Verb ὑπέρημαι (nicht in Liddell-Scott-Jones verzeichnet) ist auch noch bei Pseudo-Apollinarios von Laodikeia, *Metaphrasis in Ps.* 131, 12 (*CPG* 3700) und Johannes von Gaza, *Anacreontea* 4, 19 belegt.

(17) Das Epigramm gewinnt noch an Witz, falls Palladas hier tatsächlich eine in Inschriften auf hohe Amtsträger gebrauchte Formel (εὔχος ἀπειρέσιον) parodieren sollte, wie L. ROBERT, *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques*, IV, Paris, 1948, S. 94-99 annimmt.

(18) Mit den Begriffen κάτω und ἄνω nimmt Palladas Bezug auf die Wortwahl in Platons Höhlengleichnis (*Politeia* 7, 514aff.). Vgl. Themistios, *or.* 34, 30.

(19) Bei Homer bezeichnet das Wort nur den gebogenen oberen Rand des Wagenstuhls (*Ilias* 5, 262, 322, 728 ; 11, 535), in der späteren Dichtung dann den Wagen selbst (Sophokles, *Elektra* 746 ; Euripides, *Phönissen* 1193).

(20) Zum *praefectus urbi Constantinopolitanae* siehe G. DAGRON, *Naissance* (wie Anm. 8), S. 213-294 ; A. DEMANDT, *Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian, 284-365 n. Chr.*, München, 1989, S. 395.

(21) Siehe *CTh* 14, 12, 1 (vom 30.1.386). Der silberbeschlagene Wagen wird, abgesehen von dem Epigramm, auch in Themistios, *or.* 31, 353b/c und in Libanios, *ep.* 1367, 4 erwähnt ; vgl. ferner Johannes Malalas 13, 38 und 14, 16 sowie

offenbar einen Präfekten, der sonst philosophischer Beschäftigung nachging ([22]). Für die Zeitgenossen dürfte es nahegelegen haben, hierbei an Themistios zu denken, da diese Kombination der Philosophie mit der Stadtpräfektur so deutlich nur auf ihn zutrifft, soweit wir wissen. Dementsprechend wurde das Epigramm mit dem Lemma versehen, daß Palladas hier den Philosophen Themistios verspotte. Allerdings zeigen die Divergenzen in den zum Epigramm überlieferten Lemmata deutlich, daß Themistios als Adressat auch nur erschlossen wurde. Denn das im Palatinus überlieferte gibt keinen Namen an, und zwei Untertitel behaupten sogar, Themistios habe das Epigramm auf sich selbst verfaßt ([23]). Sie lauten wie folgt ([24]) :

εἴς τινα φιλόσοφον γενόμενον ὕπαρχον πόλεως ἐπὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Βάλεντος (*Palatinus*)

εἰς Θεμίστιον τὸν φιλόσοφον γενόμενον ὕπαρχον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπὶ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ καὶ Οὐάλεντος (Planudes)

οἱ δέ φασιν Θεμίστιον αὐτὸν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, ὅτε ὕπαρχον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεύς (*Scholia Wecheliana*)

Θεμιστίου στίχοι εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὅτι ὕπαρχον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουλιανός (*Aldina*)

Das erste Lemma identifiziert nur das umschriebene Amt, nicht jedoch den Amtsträger. Die Datierung in die Zeit des Valens und Valen-

Johannes Lydos, *De magistratibus* 1, 18. Siehe W. Ensslin, *Carpentum oder Carruca ? Bemerkungen zum Fahrrecht und Amtswagen im spätrömischen Reich und zum Versuch einer Datierung der Historia Augusta*, in *Klio* 32 (1939), S. 89-105 ; A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt, 1970, S. 109f. ; Dagron, *Naissance* (wie Anm. 8), S. 231, Anm. 4

(22) In etwas anderer Weise arbeitet Palladas mit der Metaphorik von oben und unten bzw. der des Himmels in zwei Epigrammen auf Gessius (*Anthologia Palatina* 7, 683 und 684). Zu Palladas' Epigrammen auf Gessius (*Anthologia Palatina* 7, 681-688) siehe A. Cameron, *Palladas and the Fate of Gessius*, in *BZ*. 57 (1964), S. 279-292.

(23) Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der Lemmata des Epigramms siehe Cameron (wie Anm. 14), S. 221-223, Schneider (wie Anm. 8), S. 42-44 und die sehr ausführliche Behandlung bei T. Brauch, *Patristic and Byzantine Witness to an Urban Prefectship of Themistius under Valens*, in *Byz.*, 71 (2001), S. 325-382, hier 343-381. Brauch ist im Gegensatz zu Cameron überaus zuversichtlich, was die Verläßlichkeit der in den Lemmata gebotenen Informationen angeht.

(24) Siehe Schneider (wie Anm. 8), S. 42.

tinians dürfte vermutlich aus der Lebenszeit des Palladas abgeleitet sein ([25]). Im zweiten Lemma wird Themistios als Adressat genannt, versehen mit derselben Datierung. Wie die beiden anderen Lemmata darauf gekommen sind, den Philosophen selbst zum Verfasser der Verse zu machen, muß wohl unklar bleiben. Problematisch ist die angegebene Datierung. Nach allem, was sich aus Themistios' eigenen Angaben rekonstruieren läßt, hat er die Stadtpräfektur von Konstantinopel nur ein einziges Mal bekleidet, und zwar unter Theodosius im Zeitraum zwischen Ende 383 und Anfang 385 für wenige Monate ([26]). Zwar scheinen ihm auch schon frühere Kaiser, möglicherweise Julian und Valens, das Amt angetragen zu haben, doch lehnte er es ab ([27]). Jedenfalls gibt es keine sicheren Indizien dafür, daß Themistios das Amt schon früher einmal innegehabt hat. Der Versuch von Thomas Brauch, Themistios auch die Präfektur von 362 ([28]) und 368/369 ([29]) zuzuschreiben und damit die Datierung des Epigramms zu retten, kann aus zwei Gründen nicht überzeugen : zum einen fehlen sichere Belege ([30]), zum anderen wäre es un-

(25) Siehe CAMERON (wie Anm. 14), S. 221f.

(26) Zu den Datierungsvorschlägen siehe oben Anm. 8.

(27) In *or.* 34, 13f. umschreibt Themistios das Angebot, ohne den Namen des Kaisers zu nennen. In der SUDA, *s.v.* Θεμίστιος, ist davon die Rede, daß Themistios von Julian für die Präfektur vorgeschlagen wurde. Die Frage, welcher Kaiser nun ihm das Amt angetragen hat, wird nach wie vor kontrovers diskutiert, ohne daß sich eine Entscheidung zugunsten von Constantius, Julian oder Valens abzeichnet. Siehe SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 44 und 123f. ; DAGRON, *L'Empire*, S. 54-60 ; DALY (wie Anm. 2), bes. S. 189-204 ; T. BRAUCH, *The Prefect of Constantinople for 362 A.D. : Themistius*, in *Byz.*, 63 (1993), S. 37-78, hier 50 ; VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 111f. ; PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 219, Anm. 20 ; HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 307-310.

(28) BRAUCH, *The Prefect* (wie Anm. 27). Dagegen VANDERSPOEL (wie Anm. 1), S. 68f., 111-113 ; M. ERRINGTON, *Themistius and His Emperors*, in *Chiron*, 30 (2000), S. 861-904, hier 899-902.

(29) BRAUCH, *Patristic and Byzantine Witness* (wie Anm. 23) ; ders., *Notes on the Prefects of Constantinople AD 366-369*, in *Byz.*, 72 (2002), S. 42-104.

(30) Brauch vermag lediglich die Beischrift zu Palladas' Epigramm und zwei Hinweise in *Brief* 24 Gregors von Nazianz anzuführen (zwischen 365 und 369 verfaßt). Auf die Lemmata des Epigramms kann man schon wegen ihrer inneren Widersprüche keine Datierung gründen. Und Gregor hält in seinem Brief Themistios dazu an, den Platonischen Philosophen-Königs-Satz zu verwirklichen (§ 4), und spricht im Hinblick auf dessen Einflußmöglichkeiten von τὸ δύνασθαι (ebd.). Aus diesen zwei vagen Andeutungen auf eine formelle Stadtpräfektur des Themistios zu schließen, ist unzulässig. Gregor meint doch offen-

plausibel, weshalb Themistios in seiner Rede des Jahres 384 noch so deutlich auf ein Epigramm Bezug nehmen sollte, das bereits fünfzehn Jahre zuvor verfaßt worden war ([31]). Falls das Epigramm sich auf die Präfektur des Themistios bezieht, müßte es um das Jahr 384 geschaffen worden sein, so daß die Datierung der Lemmata auf einem Irrtum beruhen dürfte.

Außer Themistios scheint es niemanden zu geben, der als Adressat des Spottes in Frage käme. Zwar hat Wilhelm Enßlin auch Klearchos in Erwägung gezogen ([32]), der das Amt 372/373 und 382–384 bekleidete, doch ist diese Hypothese ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, da Klearchos schwerlich als Philosoph gelten konnte, auch wenn er als Sproß einer vornehmen Familie die übliche höhere Bildung genossen hatte ([33]). So war er Schüler des Philosophen und Sophisten Nikokles. Außerdem war er nach Ausweis der Briefe des Libanios zwischen 356 und 363 in Konstantinopel eng mit Themistios verbunden ([34]). Von eigener philosophischer Betätigung wissen wir indessen nichts. Zudem hatte er seit mindestens 359 Ämter inne und war 366/367 *proconsul Asiae*, so daß es etwas erstaunlich wäre, wenn Palladas erst aus Anlaß der Stadtpräfektur Klearchos' politisches Engagement getadelt hätte.

sichtlich nur die einflußreiche Stellung, die darin bestand, daß Themistios die führende Position im Senat innehatte und als offizieller Panegyriker die Gunst des Kaisers besaß sowie bei Hofe gehört wurde (vgl. auch Penella [wie Anm. 1], S. 2, Anm. 6). Auch die Inscriptio des Briefes, in der Themistios als ἔπαρχος bezeichnet wird, hilft hier nicht weiter, da sie erst von späteren Herausgebern hinzugefügt wurde und überdies nicht einheitlich überliefert ist (vgl. den Apparat bei P. GALLAY [Hg.], *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, I (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 1964, S. 32). Überdies widersprechen dieser Hypothese Themistios' eigene Angaben in *or.* 34, 13f., wo er ziemlich eindeutig zu verstehen gibt, daß er die Stadtpräfektur nach früheren Ablehnungen nun unter Theodosius erstmals akzeptiert habe. Diese Äußerung hätte das Publikum des Jahres 384 doch ohne weiteres als unwahr erkannt, wenn Themistios zuvor bereits zweimal Stadtpräfekt gewesen wäre.

(31) Auf dieses Problem geht BRAUCH nicht ein, obwohl er sonst durchaus den Versuch unternimmt, die Argumentation von *or.* 34 mit seiner Neudatierung in Einklang zu bringen.

(32) ENSSLIN (wie Anm. 21), S. 102f.

(33) Zur Karriere des Klearchos siehe SEECK (wie Anm. 2), S. 108f. und *PLRE*, I, S. 211f. (*s.v.* Clearchus I).

(34) Libanios, *epp.* 241, 508, 1430 und 1452.

Nach allem, was wir über die politische Karriere des Themistios wissen, ist es demnach sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Palladas' Epigramm mit ihm in Verbindung zu bringen ist. Fraglich bleibt jedoch, ob es der Auslöser für die 34. Rede gewesen sein kann. Hierüber vermag nur die Rede selbst Auskunft zu geben. Seinen eigenen Angaben zufolge hat Themistios sie nicht nur vor einem Publikum in Konstantinopel gehalten, sondern auch ihre spätere schriftliche Verbreitung intendiert (34, 1). Unter den Zuhörern befanden sich Kaiser Theodosius, den Themistios mehrfach anspricht ([35]), Senatoren, vom Kaiser geförderte Waisen ([36]) und anscheinend auch der wichtigste Kritiker, an den sich der Redner immer wieder wendet ([37]). Es dürfte sich also insgesamt um ein gemischtes Publikum gehandelt haben, wie es auch bei den philosophischen Vorträgen des Themistios der Fall war ([38]). Auch wenn kein unabhängiges Testimonium existiert, das den tatsächlichen Vortrag der Rede bezeugt, gibt es keinen Grund, diesen zu bezweifeln oder gar zu bestreiten. Wenn die Redesituation rein fiktiv wäre, wäre die Anrede des Kaisers erstaunlich. Denn die intendierte Leserschaft hätte sich doch sofort erinnert, daß Theodosius sich keinen derartigen Vortrag angehört hatte. Zudem war die außergewöhnliche Länge des enkomienartigen Lobes, das Themistios in der Rede dem Kaiser zollt, doch nur dann gerechtfertigt, wenn der Kaiser auch wirklich zuhörte ([39]).

(35) Themistios, *or.* 34, 21 und 22. Darüber hinaus spricht Themistios möglicherweise in c. 1 den Kaiser an (ὑπὸ σοὶ κριτῇ). So SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 94 ; HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 311, Anm. 68 ; anders DINDORF (wie Anm. 11), S. 444 (gemeint sei Palladas).

(36) In c. 29 spricht Themistios ein kollektives „ihr" an, das sich vermutlich auf die Senatoren bezieht. Daß von Theodosius geförderte Waisen sich im Publikum befanden, zeigt c. 18.

(37) Sehr deutlich in Themistios, *or.* 34, 8, 9, 12, 27 und 30. Die Anreden an eine 2. Person Singular in c. 16 und 25 richten sich eindeutig nicht an Theodosius, sondern vermutlich auch an den Kritiker. Da in c. 28 kein Hinweis für einen Adressatenwechsel gegeben ist, dürfte auch hier der Kritiker gemeint sein. Obgleich Themistios in c. 30 ziemlich deutlich denjenigen anspricht, der im Hinblick auf Philosophie und Politik von oben und unten gesprochen hat, nehmen HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 332, Anm. 181 hier eine Wendung an den Kaiser an.

(38) Vgl. MÉRIDIER (wie Anm. 1), S. 101 ; STEGEMANN (wie Anm. 13), Sp. 1666 ; SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 18 ; PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 38. MAISANO (wie Anm. 8), S. 990, Anm. 5 sowie HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 304 nehmen hingegen den Senat als Adressaten der Rede an.

(39) Vgl. auch SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 17f.

Drei Kritikpunkte sind es im wesentlichen, gegen die sich Themistios verteidigt ([40]). Erstens hatte man ihm vorgeworfen, durch die Übernahme des Amtes die Philosophie erniedrigt zu haben. Dies war der wichtigste Kritikpunkt, der auch die Rede beherrscht. Zweitens hatte man die erstaunlich kurze Amtszeit zum Anlaß genommen, Themistios' Kompetenz und Erfolg bei der Bekleidung der Stadtpräfektur in Zweifel zu ziehen. Und drittens war ihm unterstellt worden, er habe sich das Amt offenbar durch unlautere Mittel erschlichen, so daß die Dokumente der Ernennung eigentlich ‚falsch' seien ([41]).

Für das vorliegende Problem ist hauptsächlich der erste Kritikpunkt relevant. Denn sooft Themistios auf ihn zu sprechen kommt, bedient er sich der schon erwähnten Metapher, die den Bezug zu Palladas' Versen herstellt. An wichtigen Einschnitten der Rede spricht Themistios von ἄνω und κάτω vom Herabsteigen oder Erniedrigen der Philosophie ([42]). Überdies macht er deutlich, daß er damit die Wortwahl seines Kritikers aufgreift (c. 9, 30). Bemerkenswert ist nun, daß dieser Kritiker beim Vortrag zugegen gewesen zu sein scheint, da Themistios ihn des öfteren anspricht. Dieser Umstand ist bislang für die Frage nach dem Zusammenhang zwischen *or.* 34 und dem Epigramm nicht ausreichend berücksichtigt worden. Wenn nämlich das Epigramm Auslöser für den Vortrag gewesen sein soll, muß dieser Kritiker mit Palladas identisch sein, mit anderen Worten : Palladas muß sich unter den Zuhörern befunden haben.

Ob diese Identifikation legitim ist, vermag man vielleicht aus den Partien zu ersehen, wo sich Themistios an seinen Kritiker wendet. Zum ersten Mal spricht er jemanden in der 2. Person Singular an, wenn er auf das politische und gesellschaftliche Engagement früherer Philosophen wie etwa Solons zu sprechen kommt. Sie hätten sich nicht so sehr mit Erscheinungen des Kosmos beschäftigt als vielmehr mit menschlichen Gesetzen (34, 2f.). In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch davon die Rede. daß sie nicht Syllogismen ἄνω καὶ κάτω gekehrt hätten. Auch im weiteren Verlauf der Rede wendet sich Themistios immer wieder mit der 2. Person an einen einzelnen Zuhörer, wobei es sich wohl jedesmal um

(40) Vgl. SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 13-17.

(41) Von den Schreibtäfelchen spricht Themistios in *or.* 34, 14. Auf diesen Vorwurf war er bereits in *or.* 31, 353a-c eingegangen. Siehe dazu SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 15f., DAGRON, *L'Empire* (wie Anm. 1), S. 50 und PENELLA (wie Anm. 1), S. 190, Anm. 3.

(42) Themistios, *or.* 34, 1, 2, 8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 27, 28, 30. Vgl. auch c. 3 und 5.

denselben Kritiker handelt. Jedenfalls fehlen Hinweise, daß verschiedene Personen angesprochen werden ([43]). Daß dieser Kritiker das Bild vom Herab- und Emporsteigen verwendet und damit Themistios das Leitmotiv der Rede vorgegeben hatte, wird in c. 9f. unmißverständlich gesagt, wo sich Themistios eingehend mit diesem Vorwurf auseinandersetzt. Dieser Befund scheint tatsächlich auf Palladas als den Urheber hinzuweisen. Außerdem könnte man einen Bezug der Rede zum ersten Vers des Epigramms sehen, wenn Themistios ausführt, daß Platon bei seiner philosophischen Betätigung selbst den Himmel überstiegen und gefragt habe, ob es nicht noch etwas Höheres als die Natur selbst gebe ([44]).

Und doch stimmt *or.* 34, was die Darstellung des Kritikpunktes angeht, nicht gänzlich mit Palladas' Epigramm überein. Denn direkt an der ersten Stelle, mit der Themistios auf die Metapher rekurriert, ist davon die Rede, daß nicht nur Themistios selbst, sondern auch der Kaiser von dem Vorwurf betroffen sei (34, 1). Man kritisierte, daß sie beide die Philosophie von den Worten zu den Taten herabgeführt und sie damit erniedrigt hätten. Nun wird im Epigramm aber der Kaiser nicht erwähnt, und Palladas verspottet den Adressaten nicht deshalb, weil er die Philosophie erniedrigt habe, sondern weil er sich selbst erniedrigt habe, indem er von der Philosophie herabgestiegen sei. Zudem muß man bedenken, daß Themistios in diesem Abschnitt von mehreren Kritikern spricht, nicht nur von einem einzigen ([45]). Es ist demnach davon auszugehen, daß die Metapher von oben und unten unter Themistios' Gegnern in Konstantinopel verbreitet war ([46]). Darüber hinaus hatte der im Publikum anwesende Kritiker nach Themistios' Angaben ihm des weiteren vorgeworfen, daß die kurze Amtszeit ein Indiz für seine Erfolglosigkeit sei. In c. 12 schreibt Themistios ihm nämlich die Meinung zu, die Zeitdauer sei etwas Ehrfurchtgebietendes und Erstrebenswertes, bevor er sich damit rechtfertigt, daß er sich bereits während seines ganzen Lebens politisch betätigt

(43) Siehe oben Anm. 37.

(44) Themistios, *or.* 34, 5 (καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπερέβη τὸν οὐρανόν).

(45) In *or.* 34, 1 ist von einer größeren Menge an Kritikern die Rede. So sagt Themistios etwa explizit : καὶ εἰ μὲν κατ' ἐμοῦ μόνου ταύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν, ἀπέχρησεν ἄν μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑτέρωθι διαλεχθῆναι.

(46) Da die Metapher bereits bei Platon vorgebildet war (siehe Anm. 18), konnte sie jedermann für die Auseinandersetzung um Themistios' Amt aufgreifen, nicht bloß Palladas. HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 289, Anm. 10 halten diese Annahme aus unerfindlichen Gründen für „unnecessarily complicated".

habe. Auf die Kürze der Amtszeit wird jedoch im Epigramm mit keinem Wort angespielt, ja dies konnte nach der *communis opinio* auch gar nicht der Fall sein, wenn die Verse wirklich noch verfaßt wurden, während Themistios Präfekt war. Falls der angesprochene Kritiker mit Palladas identisch sein sollte, müßte man also annehmen, daß er über sein Epigramm hinaus sich in der Öffentlichkeit zu Wort gemeldet hätte. Ferner kommt hinzu, daß Themistios an keiner einzigen Stelle auch nur vage andeutet, daß es sich bei seinem Kritiker um einen Dichter handelt und er auf Spottverse Bezug nimmt ([47]). Dies ist zwar kein zwingendes Argument, aber erstaunt doch etwas, wenn man sich vor Augen hält, wie ausführlich sich Themistios mit diesem einen Vorwurf und seiner Metaphorik auseinandersetzt.

Wesentlich einfacher wäre die Frage nach dem Verhältnis zwischen *or.* 34 und dem Epigramm zu beantworten, wenn wir mehr über das Leben des Palladas wüßten ([48]). Leider ist seine Biographie ausschließlich durch seine eigenen Gedichte bekannt. Wer sie rekonstruieren will, ist demnach immer mit der Schwierigkeit konfrontiert, daß nicht einfach alles, was der Sprecher über sich und seine Umwelt äußert, ohne weiteres auf die Person des Autors übertragen werden darf. Aus Anspielungen seiner Epigramme auf ägyptische Begebenheiten ([49]) und den Beischriften zu seinen Gedichten ([50]) kann man jedoch erschließen, daß Palladas in Alexandria gelebt hat. Auch wenn außer *Anthologia Palatina* 11, 292 ein weite-

(47) Wenig Anklang gefunden hat im übrigen die Vermutung, Themistios spiele in *or.* 34, 30 auf Palladas an, wenn er Epikur und seine Anhänger verächtlich macht. Siehe DINDORF (wie Anm. 11), S. 471 ; PEEK (wie Anm. 13), S. 160 ; SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 145f. ; DAGRON, *L'Empire* (wie Anm. 1), S. 50, Anm. 94 ; MAISANO (wie Anm. 8), S. 1026, Anm. 109. Zwar sind in einigen Epigrammen des Palladas durchaus Übereinstimmungen mit epikureischer Philosophie zu finden (beispielsweise *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 180-183 ; 9, 172 ; 10, 47 ; 10, 62), doch handelt es sich eher um populäre Ansichten, die es nicht erlauben, den Dichter eindeutig dieser Richtung zuzuordnen. Vgl. CAMERON (wie Anm. 14), S. 222, Anm. 1. Daß Palladas keiner bestimmten philosophischen Schule zugeordnet werden kann, betont G. LUCK, *Palladas. Christian or Pagan*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 63 (1958), S. 455-471, hier 456f.

(48) Zu den Informationen über das Leben des Palladas siehe PEEK (wie Anm. 13) ; CAMERON (wie Anm. 14), S. 219f.

(49) Vgl. *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 400, ein Gedicht auf die Philosophin Hypatia von Alexandria.

(50) *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 393 ; 11, 204. Palladas wird auch neunmal im Lemma als Alexandriner bezeichnet.

res Epigramm existiert, von dem angenommen wird, daß es auf Konstantinopel Bezug nimmt ([51]), gibt es kein wirkliches Indiz, daß sich Palladas im Jahre 384 in der östlichen Hauptstadt aufhielt ([52]). Wollte man den anonymen Kritiker mit Palladas identifizieren, müßte man hingegen annehmen, daß er bereits während Themistios' Amtsführung in Konstantinopel weilte und danach als Zuhörer beim Vortrag von *or.* 34 anwesend war. Welchen Grund aber hätte der Epigrammatiker haben können, sich ins Publikum zu mischen, wenn er damit rechnen mußte, Zielscheibe eines Gegenangriffs zu werden ?

Wer dagegen mit Sicherheit zu Themistios' Vortrag erschien, waren seine Kollegen aus dem Senat und andere Persönlichkeiten des öffentlichen Lebens, zumal wenn auch Theodosius sein Erscheinen angekündigt hatte. Daß sich Vertreter der politischen Elite, vermutlich Senatoren, unter den Zuhörern befanden, legt auch die Rede selbst nahe. Gerade aus ihren Reihen kam aber bereits seit längerer Zeit Kritik am politischen Engagement des Philosophen, und offenbar war Themistios' führende Stellung innerhalb des Senates gegen Ende seiner Karriere nicht mehr unangefochten ([53]). Bereits als er während der Regierung des Constantius den Auftrag hatte, den Senat von Konstantinopel zu erweitern und ihm größeres Gewicht zu verleihen, hatte er sich Vorwürfe gefallen lassen müssen, weil er sich als Philosoph in die Politik verstricke. Selbst der ihm wohlmeinende Libanios hatte sich, wenn auch nicht ihm selbst gegenüber, abfällig geäußert ([54]). Für die Folgezeit legen dann Themistios' eige-

(51) *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 528. Dazu gibt das Lemma εἰς τὸν οἶκον Μαρίνης an. Das Epigramm scheint also auf den Palast der Marina, der Tochter des Arcadius, in Konstantinopel anzuspielen. Siehe dazu CAMERON (wie Anm. 14), S. 223-225, der allerdings die im Lemma gegebene Information in Zweifel zieht ; anders FRANKE (wie Anm. 8), S. 38f.

(52) FRANKE (wie Anm. 8), S. 43 rechnet hingegen mit einem zweimaligen Aufenthalt des Palladas in Konstantinopel. Auch HEATHER und MONCUR (wie Anm. 2), S. 288 gehen von einem längeren Aufenthalt in den früheren achtziger Jahren des vierten Jahrhunderts aus. Nach CAMERON (wie Anm. 14), S. 225 gibt es keinen Grund zu der Annahme, daß irgendein Gedicht des Palladas anderswo als in Alexandria verfaßt wurde.

(53) Vgl. BRAUCH, *Notes* (wie Anm. 29), S. 89-102.

(54) In dem an Themistios gerichteten *Brief* 793 (Winter 362/363) versucht Libanios den Verdacht auszuräumen, er habe gegenüber anderen die Tätigkeit des Themistios für den Senat als mit der Philosophie unvereinbar kritisiert. Er versichert, daß Themistios wie ein Philosoph lebe und dies auch während seines Engagements im Senat getan habe. Siehe dazu H. F. BOUCHERY, *Themistius in*

ne apologetisch gefärbte Reden Zeugnis dafür ab, daß es nicht jedermann gerne sah, wenn sich ein Philosoph in die Öffentlichkeit begab. Diese Kritik bezog sich gewiß nicht nur auf seine öffentliche Lehrtätigkeit, sondern auch auf sein politisches Engagement. Mit der Übernahme der von Theodosius angetragenen Stadtpräfektur erreichte die Auseinandersetzung einen Höhepunkt. Schon der apologetische Tonfall der 17. Rede, mit der sich Themistios in der Kurie beim Kaiser für das Amt bedankte, läßt erkennen, daß es bereits Kritik an der Verbindung von Philosophie und Politik gab ([55]). Andernfalls hätte sich der Redner nicht für die Übernahme rechtfertigen müssen. Die während der Amtszeit vor dem Senat gehaltene 31. Rede spricht dann explizit von den Kritikern des Themistios, die ihn privat angriffen ([56]). Ihr Haupteinwand war erneut, daß der Pfad der Philosophie mit der Tätigkeit des Politikers unvereinbar war. Außerdem tauchte der Vorwurf auf, Themistios habe sich das Amt erschlichen. Thematisch ist also hier die 34. Rede schon antizipiert ([57]). Gegen Ende von *or.* 31 läßt der Redner dann keinen Zweifel daran, daß seine schärfsten Gegner im Senat saßen (355a). Bemerkenswert ist ferner, daß die Metapher von oben und unten oder hoch und niedrig auch bereits in *or.* 31 zumindest anklingt, obgleich nicht mit derselben Wortwahl wie in *or.* 34. In 31, 353b spricht Themistios nämlich von der Ehrung der Philosophen durch die Herrscher und bezeichnet die Politik als kleinere oder niedere Beschäftigung im Vergleich zur größeren der Philosophie (φροντίδας ἐλάττους ἀντὶ μειζόνων) ([58]).

Die Vorwürfe, gegen die er sich in *or.* 34 verteidigt, existierten mithin bereits seit längerer Zeit, so daß es keines Epigrammatikers aus Alexandria bedurfte, um sie an die Öffentlichkeit zu tragen. Vorgebracht wurden sie vielmehr von den Kollegen aus dem Senat, also den politischen Konkurrenten des Themistios, die sich an seiner nun schon Jahrzehnte währenden politischen Führungsrolle stießen. Diese Kritiker mußte er ernst

Libanius' brieven, Antwerpen, 1936, S. 210-216. Zur Korrespondenz zwischen Libanios und Themistios siehe auch DAGRON, *L'Empire*, S. 36-42 sowie jetzt S. BRADBURY, *Selected Letters of Libanius from the Age of Constantius and Julian*, Liverpool, 2004, S. 119-124 und 269-271.

(55) Siehe Themistios, *or.* 17, 213c-214a, 214c-215c.

(56) Themistios, *or.* 31, 352a/b, 353a/b.

(57) Zu den inhaltlichen und wörtlichen Parallelen zwischen *or.* 34 und früheren Reden siehe SCHNEIDER (wie Anm. 8), S. 28-31.

(58) Dieses Motiv kehrt dann in or. 34, 30 wieder, wo er seinem Kritiker vorhält, er solle die politische Betätigung nicht als etwas ‚Kleines' ansehen.

nehmen, da sie seiner Stellung gefährlich werden konnten. Und sie waren als Angehörige der Elite sicherlich beim Vortrag von *or.* 34 anwesend, so daß es für Themistios ein leichtes war, einen von ihnen herauszugreifen.

Fassen wir zusammen : Trotz der wörtlichen Parallelen stimmen die Vorwürfe des angesprochenen Kritikers nicht gänzlich mit dem Epigramm überein ; es gibt kein Indiz, daß der Kritiker Dichter war ; es gibt auch kein Indiz für die Anwesenheit des Palladas in Konstantinopel ; die behandelten Kritikpunkte existierten schon längere Zeit ; die wichtigen Kritiker kamen aus dem Senat. Wenn man all diese Indizien zusammennimmt, verliert die Annahme, daß Palladas' Epigramm den Auslöser für *or.* 34 bildet, einiges an Wahrscheinlichkeit. Es gibt keinen zwingenden Grund, die Priorität der Spottverse gegenüber der Rede zu postulieren. Viel plausibler ist es hingegen, daß sich Themistios in *or.* 34 gegen seine in Konstantinopel tätigen politischen Rivalen zur Wehr setzte, die sich bereits mehrfach zu Wort gemeldet hatten. Die Ernsthaftigkeit ihrer Vorwürfe ließ es ihm geraten erscheinen, wenn Theodosius durch seine persönliche Anwesenheit seine Position in der Auseinandersetzung stärkte.

Geht man allerdings von der oben festgestellten Beziehung zwischen dem Epigramm und der politischen Karriere des Themistios als gegebener Tatsache aus, so bleibt nur eine Hypothese übrig : Palladas' Verse haben nicht den Anlaß für die Rede gegeben, sondern sind erst als Reaktion auf die Kontroverse um Themistios' Präfektur entstanden. Aber spricht dagegen nicht der Wortlaut des Epigramms, insbesondere das νῦν im letzten Vers ? Weist dies nicht darauf hin, daß Themistios das Amt nach wie vor innehat ? Gegen diesen möglichen Einwand ist festzuhalten, daß das Epigramm insgesamt im Aorist formuliert ist, auch das zugehörige Prädikat κατέβης. In Verbindung mit diesem Vergangenheitstempus besagt das νῦν lediglich, daß die Handlung Auswirkungen auf die Gegenwart hat ([59]). Aus Sicht des Epigramms ist Themistios hinabgestiegen, als er die Präfektur angenommen hat, so daß er sich auch ‚jetzt' noch unten befindet. Dies gilt gleichermaßen nach der Niederlegung des Amtes, da Themistios offensichtlich seinen ‚Fehler' nicht einzusehen bereit ist. Mit dem temporalen Adverb vergegenwärtigt also das Epigramm lediglich das vergangene Ereignis. Es erweckt den Eindruck, als gebe es einen gleichzeitigen Kommentar zum Ereignis, und schafft dadurch größere

(59) Vgl. R. KÜHNER und B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, II, *Satzlehre*, 2, 3. Aufl., Hannover und Leipzig, 1904, S. 116.

Unmittelbarkeit (60). Einen brauchbaren Anhaltspunkt für die relative Datierung des Epigramms zur Amtszeit liefert der Text damit nicht.

Darüber hinaus legt gerade der vierte Vers die Deutung nahe, daß das Epigramm erst aus der Rückschau, nachdem sich in der Kontroverse beide Seiten zu Wort gemeldet hatten, entstanden ist. Nach Wortwahl und Versbau ist das Epigramm stark antithetisch geprägt, so daß der Rezipient damit rechnen kann, daß im letzten Vers als Pointe oder Aufschluß gerade dieser Gegensatz in überraschender Weise aufgelöst wird. Wenn Palladas mit dem chiastisch angeordneten zweimaligen Oxymoron ἀναβαίνειν κάτω, ἄνω καταβαίνειν arbeitet, so stellt er zwei Perspektiven einander gegenüber. Wie die ersten drei Verse unmißverständlich zeigen, nimmt der Sprecher die Haltung des Philosophen ein, für den sich die Philosophie oben und die Politik unten befindet. Als Philosoph sei Themistios mächtiger oder besser gewesen, als Präfekt dann schlechter geworden. Von dieser Warte aus kann das Epigramm im letzen Vers Themistios auffordern, wieder heraufzukommen, nachdem er hinabgestiegen ist. In diametralem Gegensatz zu dieser Perspektive stehen jedoch die beiden Adverbien κάτω und ἄνω. Ihre Verwendung setzt voraus, daß es jemanden gibt, in dessen Augen die Hierarchie zwischen Philosophie und Politik genau umgekehrt ist oder der zumindest der Ansicht ist, die traditionelle Zuordnung der beiden Betätigungen zu oben und unten habe keine Gültigkeit. Genau diesen Standpunkt aber vertritt Themistios in seiner 34. Rede. Denn dort bestreitet er, daß sich die Politik unter der Philosophie befinde (61). Nur wenn diese beiden konträren Positionen bereits formuliert und damit bekannt sind, kann das pointierte Wortspiel des letzten Verses, in dem Palladas die Sicht des Themistios als grundverkehrt entlarvt, seinen ganzen Witz entfalten. Themistios' Perspektive stellt Palladas zufolge das physikalische Verhältnis von oben und unten nachgerade auf den Kopf. Wäre das Epigramm der Rede vorausgegangen, hätte dieser Witz nicht nur seine Wirkung verfehlt, sondern Palladas hätte, indem er die Gegenposition bereits in seine Verse aufnimmt, Themistios geradezu einen Ansatzpunkt geboten, seine Kritik auszuhebeln. Daher ist es also wahrscheinlich, daß das Epigramm des Palladas

(60) Dasselbe Mittel wendet Palladas auch in den Epigrammen *Anthologia Palatina* 9, 181 und 11, 378 an, wo er ebenfalls durch die Kombination von νῦν mit dem Aorist eine Vergegenwärtigung erzielt. Vgl. auch den Gebrauch des Präsens im Hinblick auf vergangene Ereignisse in *Anthologia Palatina* 11, 371.

(61) Sehr deutlich etwa in Themistios, *or.* 34, 9f., 30.

nicht *or.* 34 veranlaßt hat, sondern ganz im Gegenteil die Kontroverse um Themistios' Stadtpräfektur nachträglich auf den Punkt bringt. Vermutlich hatte Palladas die Rede in ihrer schriftlichen Form rezipiert und nutzte das ins Auge fallende Leitmotiv des Hinab- und Heraufsteigens als Aufhänger für sein Spottepigramm.

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SUMMARY

It is generally assumed that Themistios in his Oration 34, by which he justifies himself for his urban prefecture of Constantinople, reacts to criticism expressed in an epigram of the Alexandrian poet Palladas. A thorough interpretation of Themistios' argumentation and the relationship between the oration and the epigram however makes it probable that Palladas only afterwards summed up the controversy between Themistios and his critics, i. e. the epigram replied to Themistios' oration, not the other way round.

EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKI AND ST NIKEPHOROS OF ANTIOCH : HAGIOGRAPHY FOR A POLITICAL END

This study will examine three orations of the twelfth-century orator Eustathios of Thessaloniki, delivered in his capacity of Metropolitan bishop of that city, and examine the possible correlation between them : I propose that these three orations are referring to the same events, the opposition of Eustathios to the shadowy Lependrenos, who is mentioned in the title of one of the orations (in the absence of a more suitable candidate to be the opponent in the other two orations). In order to demonstrate the correlation, one needs first to show that the orations are close in time. The orations in question are, in the first place, Eustathios' speech in honour of the Grand Hetaireiarch John Doukas, delivered when he visited Thesssaloniki (1), secondly, the so-called First Lenten Homily (2), which I propose was delivered in 1179, and, finally, an oration of late 1179 (3). My thesis is that the peculiarities of the second oration may be explained by interrelating the three.

In order to date the Doukas oration one needs first to date the third oration, which was delivered in Constantinople after Eustathios had already served some time as Metropolitan of Thessaloniki (4). He was in Constantinople by high summer 1179, to witness the arrival of Agnes of France, the fiancée of the crown prince Alexios. He was still in Constantinople at the wedding celebrations (March 2, 1180) and at the time of Manuel

(1) *Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora*, ed. P. WIRTH (*CFHB*, 32) Berlin-New York, 2000, pp. 195-201.

(2) *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula*, ed. T. L. F. TAFEL, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1832, pp. 1-7.

(3) WIRTH, pp. 229-249.

(4) Eustathios speaks of "his Thessalians" having sent him on their behalf (WIRTH, p. 234, 72-74) and having delivered a sermon commemorating the emperor's victories on the Maiandros (WIRTH, p. 245, 45-46).

Komnenos' death (September 24, 1180), since he delivered an *epitaphios*. The lack of any allusion to Manuel's terminal illness (which set in March 1180) suggests then that the speech was delivered in late 1179, subsequent to the oration for Agnes. The image of "a time of withering" (5) might suggest a date of autumn, which fits in well with the other factors suggesting this date.

This speech of Autumn 1179 mentions two features of interest to the reader of the Doukas oration (other than the excerpt on which we shall conclude) : the emperor's expenditure on the Church of St Demetrios (6), and his 1178/1179 campaigning against the Turks (7).

My dating of the Doukas oration hinges on these events, for Eustathios mentions the fact that he delivered his inaugural sermon as Metropolitan of Thessaloniki "last year", at the time of the repairs (8). He also mentions how "last year" the emperor campaigned against the Turks, which reminds us of the Autumn oration's mention of this (9). This leads me to deduce a dating of early 1179 for the speech to John Doukas.

What then of the First Lenten Homily ? Given the movements of Eustathios outlined above, we may with a fair amount of certainty rule out the date of 1180 given by Kazhdan and Franklin (10). The homily itself tells us that it was delivered on the 10th of February, the day after St Nikephoros of Antiochos' Feast Day (11). The Orthodox churches take eight weeks to fast, or seven if we discount the first cheese-faring week (since fasting is not permitted on Saturdays or Sundays) ; therefore ideally, if a Sunday sermon is to directly precede Lent proper we are looking for a date for Easter of 31st of March. During Eustathios' tenure of the Metropolitanate of Thessaloniki Easter did not fall on that date in any year. However, Easter fell on 1st April in both 1179 and 1184, suggesting

(5) WIRTH, p. 229, 24-25.
(6) WIRTH, p. 233, 62 - p. 234, 71.
(7) WIRTH, p. 245, 45-60, et al. in this oration.
(8) WIRTH, p. 195, 8-10.
(9) WIRTH, p. 196, 33-37.
(10) A. P. KAZHDAN and S. FRANKLIN, *Eustathios of Thessalonica : the Life and Opinions of a Twelfth-Century Rhetor*, in *Studies in Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 124. Although Lent began on the 10th of February in 1180, Eustathios was at Constantinople delivering a speech to the crown prince and princess at the beginning of Lent of that year.
(11) TAFEL, p. 1, 47-48.

the possibility of a Saturday Lenten homily in either one of those years. I believe that assuming the former date sheds light on this Lenten Homily and I shall attempt to demonstrate an interconnection between it and the Doukas oration.

However, before coming to consider this parallelism, we need to familiarise ourselves, because of the prominent place that St Nikephoros of Antioch takes in the homily, with a little detail of the story of his martyrdom, so that we can determine which details are those of Symeon Metaphrastes, who wrote a metaphrastic life of St Nikephoros, and which are those of Eustathios himself. Symeon's *metaphrasis* ([12]) may be summarised as follows :

> There was in Antioch in the days of the emperor Valerian a presbyter by the name of Saprikios and a layman, Nikephoros, his friend. For a long time they loved each other as brothers, but then they quarrelled. Three times Nikephoros sought to be reconciled through the intermediation of friends, but Saprikios was not willing to listen. In desperation, Nikephoros threw himself at Saprikios' feet and asked for forgiveness, without being forgiven. In the meantime, by the edict of the emperor, Christians began to be persecuted, and were required by imperial edict to sacrifice to the pagan gods. Saprikios was taken, refused to obey the governor's order to sacrifice, and thrown in prison and tortured. Still he refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods. His sentence was execution by decapitation. On the way to the execution, Saprikios was once more waylaid by Nikephoros, who asked for forgiveness, and congratulated him on being about to receive a martyr's crown. Saprikios was implacable. On the executioner's block, however, he lost his nerve, and agreed to sacrifice to the pagan gods. Nikephoros implored him not to give up his faith and his martyr's crown. When Saprikios still refused to forgive Nikephoros out of ill-will, Nikephoros revealed himself also to be Christian to the executioners, and offered to die in Saprikios' place. The executioners were reluctant to agree to this, but one went to the governor and told him of Saprikios' apostasy and of Nikephoros' declaration, and that Nikephoros refused to sacrifice to the pagan gods.

The result was that Nikephoros lost his head but gained a martyr's crown. It is implied that Saprikios escaped the same fate.

(12) Ἄθλησις τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Νικηφόρου καὶ κατὰ μνησικακίας, "Contest of the holy great martyr Nikephoros and against the bearing of grudges", author : Symeon Metaphrastes (late tenth century A.D.) ; the Greek text has been published in the *PG* 114, 1367-1376, from the *Parisinus graecus* 1452 (*BHG* 1331).

Now we need to consider the purpose of John Doukas' mission to Thessaloniki. The title of the oration says ([13]) :

> A kind of speech and address by the same man, (addressed) when the most revered *sebastos* and Grand Hetaireiarch Lord John Doukas came to Thessaloniki to investigate Lependrenos at the divine and imperial command.

Evidently, this Lependrenos, a very shadowy figure, must have posed some kind of threat to the established order at Thessaloniki as we learn in due course ([14]) :

> A war gapes open widely and spreads out its mouth and opens wide its throat and wishes to do its customary things, but (the emperor) both sets it right, very much as an emperor should, and bravely too, and also did not shy away from watching over even us when it was necessary ... but here he takes care that the nestlings of injustice, having sprouted wings, may not mature them and grow into harpies, and treat famed Phineus disgracefully any longer, or any other wretched man of this kind, or the whole multitude, which is numbered in tens of thousands.

Lependrenos (and his cronies, the "harpies", it would seem) then, in Eustathios' hyperbole, posed a threat to his entire flock at Thessaloniki. "Phineus" could then be an allegorical guise for Eustathios himself : this is not an unreasonable suggestion when we see what Eustathios does in his Lenten homily. Eustathios may here be implying that he feels singled out for particular attention by Lependrenos and his followers, if my interpretation of the allusion is correct. However, it is true that many more than Eustathios are affected, and Eustathios would therefore imply that he is being attacked in his role as the shepherd of his flock.

Eustathios next describes the emperor's remedial measures ([15]) :

> He scatters the nations which desire wars ... Therefore the one who causes wars to cease would be expected also to end the evils arising from injustice ; and our powerful emperor is also brave in this way against wickedness of this kind, and he removes every strife from our midst and achieves peace against every enemy ; and just now he has heard among us the murmurings of his people and has dispatched (someone) to see whether the truth of the matter can be summed up in accordance to the cry that they have uttered.

(13) WIRTH, p. 195, 2-5.
(14) WIRTH, p. 195, 20 - p. 196, 32.
(15) WIRTH, p. 196, 33-49.

My proposal that this Lependrenos was the rival who caused Eustathios so many problems in 1179 has been published previously ([16]). However, I wish in this study to see if the First Lenten Homily can be brought to bear on the issue. Though ostensibly a homily against μνησικακία, the bearing of grudges, it often gives the impression that it had been used as a vehicle for justifying personal actions against someone Eustathios portrays in the guise of Saprikios, the villain of the St Nikephoros story. So that I may sketch out my hypothesis, I will act on the assumption made earlier in this study that the homily was delivered on 10th February, 1179, and investigate the possibility that "Saprikios" is actually a convenient guise under which Eustathios was able to criticise an enemy by the name of Lependrenos. In the absence of a better candidate than this very shadowy figure, I feel that it is reasonable to make this equation. I will even go so far as to suggest that the Eustathios-Lependrenos dispute has a direct bearing on the version of the St Nikephoros story related in the homily ; we have an example of hagiography in the making, that is, *metaphrasis*, where rhetorical embellishment impinges on the genre, which is in turn used as a tool for attacking an opponent in politics.

What, then, is the connection between the Doukas oration and the Lenten homily ? The very first paragraph is suggestive ([17]) :

> Recently having on my tongue, my brethren, one which was not innately clever but made wise by God (because it had been fated to be near the abyss of the wisdom of God, and partook of the flow of wisdom from that source), a holy exposition for instruction ... and seeking to mend our brotherhood with it, I have left the interval of a few short days. For there have been three of them since that time, and I determined to benefit us more in some way by reinforcing what I had said through that means, using such material as came from such a stream.

There is a distinct possibility, if we take the words of the John Doukas oration into consideration, that the breach in brotherhood mentioned by Eustathios here is indeed the same one mentioned in the Doukas oration, for indeed, the latter does say that Doukas' mission is against an enemy unlike those of the past in that it is "more spiritual" ([18]).

(16) A. F. STONE, *The* Grand Hetaireiarch *John Doukas : the Career of a Twelfth-Century Soldier and Diplomat*, in *Byz.*, 69 (1999), pp. 145-164, esp. pp. 159-163. In this article, the passage I have just cited mistranslated ἀγών, confusing it inadvertently with ἄγων.

(17) TAFEL, p. 1, 4-13.

(18) WIRTH, p. 197, 68.

The homily purports to instruct from the example of St Nikephoros. In fact, I believe, and as I have stated, it is a veiled attack on Lependrenos. Eustathios desires to polarise Nikephoros and Saprikios even further apart in good and evil than in the metaphrastic life of Symeon Metaphrastes.

But let us compare some of the detail of the Lenten homily with the Doukas oration and the *Athlesis*. The logical way to proceed is to read the telling excerpts of the homily in the same order as they occur, since Eustathios works his way up into a crescendo of self-absolvement and condemnation of his adversary, at first, as noted, ostensibly by means of a homily based on the *Athlesis* of St Nikephoros.

However, apart from the "remembrance of wrongs" there is a secondary theme to Eustathios' homily ([19]) :

> I quoted the Gospels at that time, saying that all wood, which does not produce fine fruit, is cut by an axe and thrown into the fire and burned ([20]).

The imagery will be developed over the course of the homily into one of two trees, one bearing fruit (Nikephoros-Eustathios) and one to be consigned to the flames (Saprikios-Lependrenos).

The dating of the homily is disclosed, as we have seen, by the following words of the second paragraph ([21]) :

> This (issue) that was taken to heart after that lesson as just as important, is of this kind ; the day ushering in the present one drew aside the eighth and ninth days (i.e. of the month), and the evening preceding this one celebrated the one who may either be described as the martyr of Christ who has intervened and interposed himself, or alternatively in some way the mighty Nikephoros of the kingdom of the heavens, especially as he is the one who had lighted upon the treasure of salvation by passing through his tribulations without effort and without expecting it.

This passage not only dates the speech, but also brings out the appropriateness of drawing a lesson from the example of St Nikephoros of Antioch, whose feast day, as we are told, was celebrated on the previous night.

Eustathios, however, for reasons that will come apparent, frames a question, which may have been found perplexing for those familiar with the St Nikephoros story as we know it ([22]) :

(19) TAFEL, p. 1, 15-18.
(20) *Matthew* 3, 10 or *Luke* 3, 9.
(21) TAFEL, p. 1, 45-53.
(22) TAFEL, p. 1, 53-65.

> (Nikephoros) who was one who reproached the bearing of grudges, and was a capable teacher of repentance, and the luminous herald of love in God, who, finding the wretched Saprikios starting to give the war cry of victory, as they say, against the Devil, the common enemy, and seeing the crown of victory adorning that man's head (as you who celebrate the story know), took a share at that very hour in the beauty from God lying in front of his eyes, also running, as it were, in an athletic contest, but he allowed the latter (sc. Saprikios), when he fell, to be trampled upon by the Devil ; therefore it was also possible to wonder why to so great an extent the Evil One performed this deed against Saprikios.

The problem is, and this will be stated more overtly as the homily proceeds, that Saprikios to all intents and purposes seemed to be as much a Christian as Nikephoros, and suffered torture for Christ's sake ; how then could God forsake such a man ? Eustathios portrays this problem as a race in which Nikephoros and Saprikios are both runners in a race for martyrdom, and Saprikios is defeated ("to be trampled on by the Devil"). The imagery of a race for martyrdom is of course a commonplace of hagiographical writing, to be found as early as the Epistles of Paul. We shall return to this question in due course.

What follows is a passage, which, because of the compression of expression possible in a highly inflected language like Greek, is obscure to the modern reader. However, the basic idea seems to be that although Saprikios allowed Nikephoros to be dragged away, it was the latter who received the martyr's crown ([23]).

The text therefore, to be understood, clearly presupposes a knowledge of the St Nikephoros story. We have in the passage just paraphrased reference to the attempts of St Nikephoros to obtain Saprikios' forgiveness (he "fell before him"), reference to St Nikephoros interposing himself on behalf of his friend, and reference to the ultimate fates of the two men.

At the beginning of Tafel's third paragraph, Eustathios again frames the question of why God abandoned Saprikios ([24]) :

> And it is possible that the well-learned will raise a new question here, namely how the Lord was absent from Saprikios, since that man had drawn near and was attached to Him, and He has never acted in this way. For He does not abandon, as David says, those who seek him, since He is at hand while they

(23) TAFEL, p. 1, 63-72.
(24) TAFEL, p. 2, 1-7.

are still speaking to Him, but, what is more amazing, even for those who do not seek him He can be found and stands by to aid them.

The answer to the question, says Eustathios in the following passage, is that Saprikios was only feigning his Christianity ([25]) :

I believe, my brethren, that one who entertains such a thought would be able to solve such a question which seems to have no answer, in this way : the base Saprikios showed only a feigned and superficial resolve towards martyrdom, not a deep and entire commitment of the soul, but something more faint-hearted ...

This impinges directly on the question of what Eustathios was hoping to achieve through his homily, for he would have his flock believe that his opponent was not truly motivated by God. The theme of pretence is developed further in the remainder of the paragraph, before the matter is summarised at the beginning of the fourth paragraph ([26]) :

And in this way Saprikios could be thought to have apostasised from God, on account of the fact that he did not turn to Him with a pure sacrifice, but assumed a form of theatrical pretence.

From the allusions in the Lenten homily, it seems likely that Eustathios was familiar with details of Symeon's metraphrastic *Vita* for St Nikephoros. One may argue this from the fact that we have reference to the martyr's crown that Saprikios lost, reference to his torture and reference to Nikephoros' act of forgiveness.

Since the story of Nikephoros has introduced the subject of remembrance of wrongs inflicted upon one, Eustathios, who some might have deemed displayed this quality himself, finds that he needs to argue that there is a difference between self-defence and this remembrance of wrongs ([27]) : for it is reasonable to return pain in self-defence, claims Eustathios, whereas it is the repayment of wrong by desiring death against which Eustathios inveighs.

Let us note here that this could be interpreted as self-justification of the author's stance in the local dispute, a self-justification which will be amplified as the homily proceeds. Accordingly, the theme of μνησικακία

(25) TAFEL, p. 2, 7-12.
(26) TAFEL, p. 2, 33-6.
(27) TAFEL, p. 2, 57-68.

being more than just the bearing of a grudge is developed further, with a view to vilifying Saprikios as much as possible ([28]) :

> And Saprikios, being totally possessed by his feelings towards the beloved Nikephoros, and having established totally in all ways that he himself had spurned the love of his brother, was always likely to desire to harm the God-loving Nikephoros, so as to make him no longer exist among mankind, not by saying, "When will he die and his name perish ?", but by planning and praying and burning in his heart, so full of expectation, as to where he would find a pit dug, into which he would throw the one whom he hated and conceal him, and in other ways use his own deadly hand on him, which he would have done long ago, if he had been able.

Eustathios continues to embellish his homily with his theme, working his way to the climax. Saprikios hated his brother and had murderous intent, and jested at the worship of God, so that God was absent from him and "this man honoured me with his lips, but his heart stood far from me ([29])". There could well be here an allusion of the enmity between Eustathios and Lependrenos described in the Doukas oration.

To summarise : Eustathios' reworked version of the Nikephoros story vilifies Saprikios further than even the metaphrastic version of his life by Symeon. However, not only was Saprikios feigning his faith, suggests our bishop, but he even introduces two new details. First of all he claims that Saprikios, whose name he implies is derived from the Greek word σαπρός, "rotten", would have resorted to use of a sword in his ill-will towards Nikephoros, had he been able ([30]) :

> ... and if he had got hold of a sword he would have slaughtered him if he found him alone. As he saw then the one he hated conveyed away to a good end, and he looked for naked swords, and the ignobly-named one longed to equip himself hastily with his own hand therewith against the most appropriately named Nikephoros, the lone wolf against the one who was like a tame ram in his guilelessness, the most God-hating against the most loving of God, the all-hating Cain against his loving brother Abel.

Surely if the audience had have been familiar with these details in the version of the story related by Eustathios, they would have had less occasion to wonder why God should have been absent from Saprikios.

(28) TAFEL, p. 2, 69-80.
(29) TAFEL, p. 2, 90 - p. 3, 9 ; *Isaiah* 29, 13.
(30) TAFEL, p. 3, 16-24.

Therefore, I would argue, the embellishment is Eustathios' own. The second new detail is the curse delivered by Saprikios against Nikephoros ([31]) :

> When he was not able to be the perpetrator of this act, he turned the worst hand (i.e. the left hand) and as it were cursed him thus ; "Come here, O murderous demon, to aid your beloved Saprikios, remove Nikephoros, the one who loves God, from life ; so that he will learn that you are not powerless to do evil, so that the originator of evil may cheat him (of his reward)".

The argument used to assert that the detail of the sword is Eustathios' own is equally valid here. That Eustathios could feel free to improvise in this way reflects two factors. First, Eustathios' background was in rhetoric. It was a common rhetorical exercise to create plausible fiction concerning what a given character might say and do under certain circumstances. Therefore it probably did not occur to Eustathios that he was doing anything out of the ordinary in inventing these embellishments. Secondly, and this is related to the rhetorical nature of the genre, amplification of details in a *Vita* is well-attested practice in *metaphrasis*, as scholars such as Høgel and Peyr have shown. The latter scholar shows how the mentioning of psychological motives not present in the original is typical of the method of the greatest of the metaphrasts, Symeon Metaphrastes ([32]). Høgel makes a similar observation when he identifies three areas in which there is amplification in the *martyria* recast by Metaphrastes ([33]), namely :

1) The development of underlying themes such as love, loyalty and ascetism. In our Eustathian homily the theme of μνησικακία is amplified in this way.
2) The narrator may take a more prominent position : he may use direct speech, as well as, as Peyr discerns, telling what is happening in the minds of the protagonists, and thus elucidating and interpreting the old text, something else that Eustathios is clearly doing here, when he

(31) TAFEL, p. 3, 24-31.

(32) E. PEYR, *Zum Umarbeitung rhetorischer Texte durch Symeon Metaphrastes*, in *JÖB*, 42 (1992), pp. 143-155, esp. p. 152.

(33) C. HØGEL, *The Redaction of Symeon Metaphrastes : Literary Aspects of the Metaphrastic* martyria, in *Metaphrasis : Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*, ed. C. HØGEL, Oslo, 1996, pp. 7-21. Other important articles on metaphrasis have been written by A.-M. TALBOT, *Old Wine in New*

attributes thoughts and motives to his protagonists, including μνησικακία in the case of Saprikios and seeking of reconciliation in that of Nikephoros.

3) The opposition between the persecutor and the martyr is usually highlighted ; the persecutor is made more bestial or sadistic, the details of the martyr's torture are made more gruesome. It is changes of this third kind that we are witnessing when Eustathios vilifies Saprikios further than in the *Vita* he found and when he introduces the new detail of the sword and the curse.

We shall come to consider the parallelism between the Nikephoros story and the "Lependrenos affair" in due course. But first, let us see how Eustathios develops his homily. In the first place, he speaks of mistrust ([34]) :

> Who would trust a man who had previously sunk deeply into hatred and was extending his hatred, and then made a show of repentance, to make a truce, and not watch for the opportunity for a more successful action ?

Whereas Eustathios is more conventionally Christian in his tone in this, the eleventh paragraph, where he says that no retaliation must be taken against Saprikios, but nevertheless one must be wary of him, his refusal to be reconciled, which in itself we would deem to be a form of μνησικακία, persists despite the offerings of reconciliation from his own personal Saprikios ([35]) :

> If a man has as his lot from God the ability to think correctly, would he not shrink from running forth and seizing hold of the suppliant, and from trying to appease the manifest enemy, not simply on some random occasion, but as is his innermost concern, and in his power to do, even if it is destructive, unless God has blunted the edge of the one who will equip himself with a spear ?

Bottles : the Rewriting of Saints' Lives during the Palaeologan Period, in *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*, ed. S. Curčić and D. Mouriki, Princeton, 1991 (reprinted in A.-M. Talbot, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium* [*Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 733], Aldershot, 2001, article X) ; J. Dummer, *Symeon Metaphrastes und sein hagiographisches Werk*, in *BF*, 18 (1992), pp. 127-136.

(34) Tafel, p. 4, 62-65.

(35) Tafel, p. 4, 84-89.

This is the kernel of the oration, which I see as Eustathios' justification of his own stance in the Lependrenos affair.

The twelfth paragraph begins with the "punch-line", which says ([36]) :

> My friends, I am imitating someone who wishes to befriend openly someone whom we must suppose to be a Saprikios. I, Nikephoros, run to him, playing this part, and kneel to be registered genuinely in the book of his friends ; but he in the same way does not only not relent, but even, if a stone should be found nearby, or a piece of wood, seizes what he has found, to use it against me, and would approach me even with swords ... How then shall I not be careful ? How shall I not be afraid ? Where will I find the courage to intermingle in fellowship with Saprikios ?

This would certainly seem to be a statement of justification for Eustathios' own actions, his caution and his opposition, with regard to the one whom he calls Saprikios, whom I believe is the mysterious Lependrenos. First, the rhetor clearly identifies himself as another Nikephoros. Then the Greek text also describes "someone designated as a Saprikios" and, in the light of his rhetorical equation of himself with Nikephoros, Eustathios certainly seems to me to be specifying the Nikephoros of his homily as a particular historical individual rather than merely a generic type in the way of most homilies. In short, the peculiarities of this homily are explained if Eustathios identifies himself with St Nikephoros, which he does overtly here, and he puts an opponent in the guise of Saprikios, which is also overtly done. Given the fact that there is a fair chance that the John Doukas oration and the homily are close in time, Eustathios' opponent could well have been Lependrenos. Eustathios will have the last word, as we shall see.

To resume : Eustathios continues by stressing that despite the torture that Saprikios suffered, he later forsook God, but this was to Nikephoros' glory (the implication being that Nikephoros achieved martyrdom by demonstrating forgiveness, ἀμνησικακία). Next, Eustathios asks who would watch over those who have exchanged the love of God for diabolical hatred, and asserts that one who hates excessively, like Saprikios, is worthy of hatred (which is more typical of the Hellenic tradition of "love your friends, hate your enemies", than the Christian one of forgiveness as we understand it today). Eustathios excuses his attitude by suggesting that Saprikios was a servant of the Devil.

(36) TAFEL, p. 4, 73-82.

Eustathios continues in the thirteenth paragraph by excusing his cagey attitude towards "Saprikios", using a series of three images, first, a ship backing water, secondly, an encounter with a lion, and finally that of a man removing his foot from the vicinity of a fire. The fourteenth paragraph has much the same tenor.

The fifteenth paragraph is worth quoting in full, since it is a bald statement of Eustathios' position ([37]) :

> When someone who hates and opposes you and has proceeded against you and has frightened you and harmed you, and in no way displayed any proof of brotherly love, then, feigning it, announces that he is a true friend, outlining a certain peaceful intent and skilfully obscuring (his motives), then one should be cautious of coming to the same friendly association with that man, until he should be proven, and of welding him too closely to you, so that as a result you will be joined to one another, and so that those who are separate may come to unity of the spirit. It is not unreasonable to fear that the one who draws near in an inopportune association may harm a man whose friendship he seeks in return, by treacherous means, and the harm will be in no way salubrious to the one who suffers it.

In the succeeding paragraph Eustathios continues to justify his not accepting what would seem to have been a gesture of reconciliation from the one who I believe had the name of Lependrenos by pointing to the fate of some unknown individual who had suffered earlier at his hands ([38]). This calls to mind the John Doukas oration, where many are said to be "wounded" ([39]). Eustathios' justification for his actions is therefore that he does not want to suffer the fate of the one who seems to have been Saprikios' previous victim.

The imagery of two trees is laboured over in paragraphs eighteen to twenty of the homily. One (i.e. Nikephoros) is said to bear good fruit, the other to be rotten (a play on the name of Saprikios, since, as we have seen, σαπρός means "rotten"). The demise of Saprikios is again said to work to the glory of Nikephoros, in that he achieved martyrdom. Then, at the beginning of Tafel's twenty-first paragraph, Eustathios introduces a new theme, which, as we shall see, is of direct relevance to the Lependrenos affair ([40]) :

(37) TAFEL, p. 5, 31-43.
(38) TAFEL, p. 5, 46-59
(39) TAFEL, p. 196, 50.
(40) TAFEL, p. 6, 33-37.

> Therefore it must be deduced from the things that have been said that it is a work of the utmost intelligence both to loosen the snares, as the Gospels say, and to be cautious, and by making an untimely offer to those ensnared one would either harm oneself or another.

Eustathios once again seems to be justifying his aloof stance in the Lependrenos affair ; in this case his not intervening and trying to release Lependrenos and his cronies from their "snares", a by-word for sin.

In paragraph twenty-two of our homily Eustathios speaks of the double crown that the Nikephoros of the legend received, one for displaying forgiveness, the other for his martyrdom. Eustathios claims that Saprikios should have relented and forgiven Nikephoros. Instead Saprikios, to use a nautical image, was shipwrecked close to the harbour, and remained, to use another image, earthbound, while Nikephoros entered the kingdom of heaven. The fate of Saprikios however, says Eustathios, was to experience eternal fire ([41]).

The homily reaches a conclusion with the well-worked theme of the two trees, one consigned to Gehenna, the other justly rewarded for a list of virtues which would be too tedious to reproduce here. The Metropolitan exhorts his flock to emulate Nikephoros (in the manner of the Nikephoros represented in his homily).

However, Eustathios cannot bear not having the last word in self-defence, when he concludes by saying ([42]) :

> But if any man who is without foresight is cautious of what will be, let him in no way receive a Saprikios who lies in ambush as an enemy, and let him fear him, lest, if he chances to meet him, he should be sent to his death, nay, rather, slipping down to Hades, he should be destroyed ; absolve from blame such a man for making this choice and (do not accuse him of) unwise cowardice, and pray with your whole soul, that Saprikios be destroyed again through the intermediation of Nikephoros, on which we have expounded with the present words.

At first appraisal the projection of self into the text of a homily of this kind, which purports to be a homily on St Nikephoros' *martyrion*, seems quite remarkable. Magdalino has passed comment ([43]) on the way in

(41) TAFEL, p. 6, 90 - p. 7, 7.
(42) TAFEL, p. 7, 54-62.
(43) P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)*, Cambridge, 1993, p. 469.

which some authors of the twelfth century were assertive whereas others were self-effacing. We have here what would seem to be a patent justification for the author's own stance in a matter of ecclesiastical politics. As I have said, I believe the matter in question to be none other than the mysterious "Lependrenos affair", for the reasons given above.

I hope to have demonstrated that the traditional devices of metaphrasis were used by the author in his homily, which has features of a *martyrion*, to achieve his end. However, Eustathios had at least one precedent in likening himself to a saint : a scholar of the stature of A.P. Kazhdan has argued that Michael Psellos, that illustrious *littérateur* of the eleventh century, projected details of his own life into his text for his *vita* of St Auxentius, a saint of the fifth century ([44]).

In the metaphrastic version of St Auxentius' life by Psellos, itself based on a *metaphrasis* of the collection of *metaphraseis* under the editorship of Symeon Metaphrases (*BHG* 199 ; *PG* 114, 1377-1436), the saint arrives in Constantinople, where he makes four friends, Sittas, Marcianus, Anthimus and John. Sittas takes little part in Psellos' version. However, Psellos supplies information about the remaining three which is not present in *BHG* 199. In some cases this information even conflicts with that in the original. Anthimus, like Psellos' own friend Constantine Leichudes, was *phylax* (keeper) of the imperial epistles. Marcianus, like Psellos' friend John Xiphilinos, was first chief teacher, *didaskalos*, of the Law School (before he became Patriarch of Constantinople). Kazhdan argues that the third friend, John of Hebdomon, corresponds to Psellos' friend John Mauropous. Further, Auxentius himself, according to Psellos, was an intimate advisor of the emperor. Psellos certainly considered himself an advisor of emperors. So, as in the case of the Eustathian homily, Psellos is inviting comparison between himself and one of the saints.

How then, was this Lependrenos affair, which seems to have been very divisive, resolved ? We do not know the exact outcome, but surely an unequivocal answer comes from the oration of late 1179 ([45]) :

> Emperor, you were seen by us in other ways, you who are, in your holiness, occupied with dispensing beneficence as well as the condemnation of injus-

(44) A. P. KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes*, 3, *An Attempt at Hagio-autobiography : the Pseudo-life of 'Saint' Psellus ?*, in *Byz.*, 53 (1983), pp. 546-556 (reprinted in A. P. KAZHDAN, *Authors and Texts in Byzantium* [*Variorum Collected Studies Series*, 400], Aldershot, 1993, article III).

(45) WIRTH, p. 231, 69-72.

tice, which, (not a long time ago), when it gaped most voraciously at your clergy, you turned to vomiting.

Evidently John Doukas' mission was successful.

What, then, can we conclude ? I have tried to make a case for the First Lenten Homily of Eustathios to be dealing with the same crisis that is described in the John Doukas Oration. This would explain the peculiarities of the homily, and the attitude displayed by Eustathios, since the two orations should be close in time. Some readers might see this as circumstantial evidence and disagree with my conclusions, as some scholars have already done. The argument is that Eustathios, using the standard techniques of *metaphrasis*, and making adjustments to the established story, has vilified the leader of his opponent in the crisis (I believe him to be the Lependrenos of the Doukas oration, due to the probable congruence in time of all three speeches, and in the absence of a better candidate) and has attempted to exonerate himself for refusing gestures of reconciliation. The reader may decide.

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SUMMARY

This study concerns what we can deduce about the shadowy figure of Lependrenos, our sources being three orations of Eustathios of Thessaloniki, whose probable congruence in time and carefully directed invective suggest an opponent in his flock. Of these, the oration to the Grand Hetaireiarch John Doukas relates how its subject came with dressings for the wounds of the archbishop's flock. The Lenten homily of 1179 (*sic* Kazhdan and Franklin) is a thinly-veiled attack on a person who could well be this Lependrenos. Finally the oration of late 1179 is shown to allude briefly to an outcome favourable to the rhetor, the result of the mission of John Doukas, who, at the imperial command, had investigated Lependrenos.

(46) The author would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Claudia Rapp for her direction to important secondary sources.

WEATHER AND CLIMATE AS FACTORS AFFECTING LAND TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS IN BYZANTIUM (*)

I. Introduction

Byzantinists have recently become aware of the geographical conditions that affected the evolution of the Byzantine society and economy. The implication of environmental – physical factors in the configuration and evolution of landscapes and their socio-cultural impact in local or regional scale has become a new core subject in the study of the historical geography of the Byzantine world. The bibliography on the historical geography of Byzantium is vast and is increasing almost in geometrical progression every year, as one can infer from the growth of the relevant section in the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1).

(*) Full version of a panel paper read in the *21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (London, 21-26 August 2006). I wish to thank Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun and Dionysios Stathakopoulos for suggestions and remarks.

(1) A renewed interest on the historical geography of Byzantium can be detected in the initiation of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* project (1966) with 10 published and 4 under preparation volumes. For an overview of the establishment, the activities and the publications of *TIB*, cf. J. Koder, *Auf den Spuren eines Weltreichs – Die Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Rekonstruktion der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Siedlungsrealität in Südosteuropa und im östlichen Mittelmeerraum*, in *Lese-Buch*, ed. Praesidium der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1997, pp. 107-110 and Wikipedia, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabula_Imperii_Byzantini (2 May 2006) The important work of J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner. Historisch-geographischer Abriß ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (*Byzantinische Geschichtschreiber*, Erg. Bd. 1), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1984 is a reference book for the various fields of research in the historical geography of Byzantium (now available in Greek translation with updated bibliography : J. Koder, *Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος. Εισαγωγή στην ιστορική γεωγραφία της ανατολικής Μεσογείου στη βυζαντινή εποχή*, Thessaloniki, 2004).

In this context, travel, transport and communications of the Byzantine world have received much attention by scholars. Several studies have been published, most of them highlighting the economic, social and cultural parameters of movement in the Byzantine world. In two recent international conferences dedicated to Byzantine travel and travellers, the long tradition of Byzantine texts concerning travel has been discussed to a considerable extent and depth and light was shed on various aspects of the history of communications and travel of the Byzantine period (2). From a methodological point of view, a common characteristic of these studies is the emphasis laid on the economic, social and cultural framework of causes and results related to travel and transport phenomena. Historical research on Byzantine texts as well as the study of archaeological remains all over the Mediterranean have demonstrated an extended network of land- and sea-routes that traders, armies, public officers, monks and civilians were using during travel (3), and have managed to figure out the duration of the journeys for fixed courses of travel (4). Subjects related to travellers' mentality or the transformation of the surviving travel narratives have also been investigated in depth (5). Never-

(2) Cf. A. Dierkens - J.-M. Sansterre (eds.), *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle. Actes du colloque international organisé par la Section d'Histoire de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles en collaboration avec le Département des Sciences Historiques de l'Université de Liège (5-7 mai 1994)* (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, 278), Genève, 2000, and R. Macrides (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000* (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications*, 10), Aldershot, 2002.

(3) A. Avramea, *Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in A. E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium : From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington, 2002, pp. 57-90.

(4) Speed of travels overland and by ship has been studied, particularly in reference to the axes connecting Constantinople to other centers of the Byzantine empire and the West or East ; cf. I. Demetroukas, *Ενδείξεις για τη διάρκεια των χερσαίων ταξιδιών και μετακινήσεων στο Βυζάντιο (6ος-11ος αιώνας)*, in *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998), pp. 8-35.

(5) C. Angelidi, *Εμπορικοί και Αγιολογικοί Δρόμοι (4ος-7ος αι.). Οι μεταμορφώσεις της ταξιδιωτικής αφήγησης*, in *Πρακτικά του Α΄ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, τομές και συνέχειες στην ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή παράδοση, Αθήνα 15-17 Σεπτεμβρίου 1988*, Athens, 1989, pp. 675-685 ; A. P. Kazhdan - A. Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley - Los Angeles

theless, as Michael McCormick admits, "the study of communications in the Middle Ages is in its infancy" (6), and this conclusion allows further research to be carried out.

Beyond the social, economic and cultural dimensions of travel, transport and communications, there is also a material basis in the reality of travellers. This is configured not only by subjective factors related to people's physical condition, economic status, motives and selection of transport means, but also by external-environmental factors and conditions. Sometimes, these conditions may play a decisive role in the whole procedure of communication. The Byzantine Empire, as any other preindustrial society, was highly exposed to the impact of environmental factors. Given that all medieval journeys had to be made on foot, on horseback or by water, travellers – either on land or on sea – were sensitive to external conditions. These conditions could affect the above-mentioned subjective factors in various ways. Circulation of goods and people in ancient and medieval times was slow, irregular, subject to the whims of weather, and thus largely seasonal. Therefore, among the environmental factors involved in travel, transport and communications, meteorological phenomena and climate played an important role (7). This role may be approached either in a long-term or in a short-term context, and in a regional or local scale.

In this paper I explore various aspects of impact that the meteorological factor had upon travel, travellers and communications overland. I selected as topic for this study overland trips, because journeys by sea during the Byzantine period have been studied far more systematically. Travellers in this period used to opt to travel by ship – if choice was avai-

- London, 1990, pp. 48-49 ; C. GALATARIOTOU, *Travel and Perception in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 221-241 ; E. KISLINGER, *Reisen und Verkehrswege zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland vom neunten bis in die Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, in E. G. KONSTANTINOU (ed.), *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 1997, pp. 231-257 ; L. ELLIS and F L. KIDNER, *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity : Sacred and Profane*, Aldershot, 2004.

(6) M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy : Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 16.

(7) For the seasonal character of travel in antiquity cf. L. CASSON, *Travel in the Ancient World*, Toronto, 1974, and B. RAPSKE, *Acts, Travel and Shipwreck*, in D. W. J. GILL and C. H. GEMPF (eds.), *The Book of Acts in Its Graeco-Roman Setting*, Grand Rapids (Michigan), 1994, pp. 1-48.

lable – because it was easier and faster (8). Consequently, among the dangers of the sea, stormy weather might have had a negative effect on either the length or the safety of a voyage. Storms and the terror they could cause dominated Byzantine writers' attitudes toward the sea (9). Weather events and their impact upon sea voyages have been investigated by the application of exemplified modern navigational data to the written evidence of the Middle Ages (10). As far as land transport and communication are concerned, there are no specialized studies investigating weather and climate as factors affecting people during overland travel (11). This paper, therefore, attempts to fill this gap. It sets in from a macroscopic point of view by examining the possibility of regional long-term consequences of climatic change upon overland travel, transport and communications during the Byzantine period. Then, short-term local implications of weather phenomena are discussed through examples derived from narrative sources of the period. The main effort focuses on the critical examination of weather- and climate-related accounts derived from Byzantine historiographic and hagiographical texts. The factual material of the relevant accounts is presented, and problems of perception and attitude are discussed. By posing questions about the sensitivity of travellers against weather and climate, the types of weather phenomena described in the Byzantine sources as affecting them, as well as the concepts of weather that travellers had, I attempt to combine the travellers' factual reality during the process of medieval overland communication with their emotions concerning weather and climate.

(8) A. KARPOZILOS and A. KAZHDAN, *Travel*, in *ODB*, p. 2109.

(9) For a catalogue of known shipwrecks in the Mediterranean from 7th century BC through 549 AD cf. G. SCHMIDT, R. BÖKER and H. GUNDEL, *Winde*, in *RE*, vol. 8A.2, Stuttgart, 1958, coll. 2211-2387, especially coll. 2265-2280, and A. J. PARKER, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* (*BAR. International Series*, 580), Oxford, 1992. For Byzantine shipping see now G. MAKRIS, *Ships*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, pp. 91-100.

(10) Such a procedure has reinforced the continuity in climatic phenomena in the maritime Mediterranean since at least the 5th century AD ; cf. J. H. PRYOR, *The Voyage of Rutilius Namatianus : From Rome to Gaul in 417 CE*, in *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), pp. 271-280 ; ID., *Geography, Technology and War : Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 649-1571.

(11) There is no study on the seasonal rythms of land travel in the Carolingian or Byzantine world ; cf. M. MCCORMICK, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

II. Long term climatic change and overland communication

There is no doubt that several examples of recent meteorologically induced disasters show that the vagaries of weather and the changes of climate may become at any moment a critical factor not only in travel, transport and communications, but also in the whole spectrum of social and economic life. The susceptibility of modern societies – either in industrialized Europe, America and Oceania, or in developing Asia and Africa – to the whims of climate has increased man's awareness of climatic change and has led during the last decades to a widening international and interdisciplinary cooperation aiming at the reconstruction of climatic change in historical time. The discipline of historical climatology has undertaken the task of unearthing, processing and analyzing meteorological data hidden in documentary historical evidence aiming to correlate them with all available types of physical and anthropogenic paleoclimatic data to achieve the goal of reconstructing climatic change of the past ([12]).

If we focus our interest on the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East and try to outline the results of historical climatology in the study of climatic change during the Byzantine period, it is clear that no consensus about the long-term characteristics or changes of the ancient and medieval climate has been reached so far ([13]). During the last decades, under the pressure of the increasing interest in environmental issues and the debate on the causes and the future of modern global warming, the

(12) For a good overview concerning recent trends in the discipline of historical climatology see : R. Brázdil, C. Pfister, H. Wanner, H. von Storch and J. Luterbacher, *Historical Climatology in Europe. The State of the Art*, in *Climatic Change*, 70 (3) (2005), pp. 363-430.

(13) For a presentation of problems and the state of the research in the historical climatology of the Byzantine period cf. D. Stathakopoulos, *Reconstructing the Climate of the Byzantine World : State of the Problem and Case Studies*, in J. Laszlovszky and P. Szabó (eds.), *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, Budapest, 2003, pp. 241-250. For a synthesis that covers the Byzantine period from the point of view of historical climatology and presents, analyzes and discusses documentary evidence of meteorological phenomena from the Byzantine sources cf. I. Telelis, *Μετεωρολογικὰ φαινόμενα καὶ κλίμα στὸ Βυζάντιο*, 2 vols. (*Πονήματα. Συμβολὲς στὴν ἔρευνα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς καὶ λατινικῆς γραμματείας*, 5, 1-2), Athens, 2004.

rise of disciplines such as palynology, sedimentology and limnology has allowed scientists to infer climatic variables from proxies in absence of real meteorological measurements. Though modern paleoclimatic research has figured out – not without controversy – the evolution of climatic conditions from antiquity through modern time for central, western and northern Europe, paleoclimatic evidence for the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East during the Byzantine period has not become conclusive ([14]). Whereas it is generally accepted that the natural world in ancient and medieval times did not differ entirely from that of today, it may not have been quite as similar as we often believe. Physical conditions in the Mediterranean basin during the first millennium are little known and, thus, differences between changes of climate and the living conditions of past societies are topics that attract scientific interest ([15]). In this framework, many authors have come to the conclusion that, since classical times the Mediterranean has been experiencing a continuous trend towards drier conditions; others argue against aridification and discuss whether there have been major climatic changes in the arid, semiarid and sub-humid regions of the Levant since Late Antiquity ([16]).

The debate about climatic change during historical times has arisen since scientists in the early 20th century attempted to interpret major

(14) For an appraisal of the recent trends in the interdisciplinary study of the European climate history cf. R. Brázdil e.a., *op. cit.* For an updated discussion about climatic change in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East during the Byzantine period cf. I. Telelis, *Historical-climatological Information from the Time of the Byzantine Empire (4th-15th Centuries AD)*, in *History of Meteorology*, 2 (2005), pp. 41-50 (http://www.meteohistory.org/2005historyofmeteorology2/04telelis.pdf) ; Id., *Climatic Fluctuations in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East AD 300-1500 from Byzantine Documentary and Proxy Physical Paleoclimatic Evidence – a Comparison*, in *JÖB*, 58 (2008), forthcoming.

(15) K. Randsborg, *The First Millennium AD in Europe and the Mediterranean : An Archaeological Essay*, Cambridge - New York, 1991.

(16) For a brief climate history of the Mediterranean region since classical times cf. O. Reale and P. Dirmeyer, *Modeling the Effects of Vegetation on Mediterranean Climate During the Roman Classical Period*, I, *Climate History and Model Sensitivity*, in *Global and Planetary Change*, 25 (2000), pp. 163-184, especially pp. 170-171. Cf. also N. Heiska, *The Economy and Livelihoods of the Early Christian Monasteries in Palestine*, Ms. A. Thesis, Helsinki, 2003, p. 18. There are paleoclimatic studies indicating that the period 4th-6th centuries AD was humid in the Levant ; cf. Y. Hirschfeld, *A Climatic Change in the Early Byzantine Period ? Some Archaeological Evidence*, in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 136 (2004), pp. 133-149.

changes in the historical past by using the environmental and climatic factor as deterministic parameters in the analysis of historical causation. A significant aspect of this debate was the timing and the causation of population migrations in Eurasia. This phenomenon was associated with major events of the recent climatic history. For instance, it has been speculated that the *Völkerwanderung*, that culminated during the barbarian invasions in the Roman Empire in Late Antiquity was triggered by increased dryness. I will set aside the interpretation of population migrations and the possible role that the climatic factor has played in this historical phenomenon ([17]). But the answer to the question whether and of what kind of possible major climatic changes or less significant climatic oscillations deduced from existing physical and anthropogenic paleoclimatic evidence, can particularly affect in a regional long-term basis overland travel, transport and communication during the Byzantine period comes within the focus of this paper. Can we observe the abandonment of the use of certain land routes and changes in the network of road systems that might be explained by the climatic factor ? In order to approach this problem I will try to put forward some case-studies aiming not to exaggerate the importance of the climatic factor, but to question the possibility of regional long-term effects of climatic change upon overland travel, transport and communications.

Stobi is an ancient city ca. 150 km north of Thessalonica, lying in the juncture of the Erigon and the Axios rivers. The site flourished as a Hellenistic town, a Roman city, and finally as a provincial capital in Late Antiquity through to late 6th century. Excavations since 1970 have contributed significantly to the understanding of the history of Stobi and its decline in the late 6th century ([18]). Robert Folk attributed the abandonment of Stobi to political reasons, barbaric invasions and climatic change. Geoarchaeological data from Stobi corroborates the worsening of

(17) The epistemological debate concerning environmental determinism is still open. For a discussion about the school of thought established by Ellsworth Huntington that introduced climatic change in historical causation of the Eurasiatic past and the use of the climatic factor as interpretive tool in Byzantine history see I. TELELIS, *op. cit.*, n. 13, pp. 35-50.

(18) J. WISEMAN, *Multidisciplinary Research in Classical Archaeology. An Example From the Balkans*, in N. WILKIE and W. COULSON (eds.), *Contributions to Aegean Archaeology. Studies in Honor of W. A. McDonald*, Minneapolis, 1985, pp. 259-281.

climatic conditions during the first half of the 1st millennium AD towards drought (19). To this example several others from various regions of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East can be added.

In 1977 Clive Foss put forward the question whether the decline of urban life in Anatolia during Late Antiquity and the early Byzantine period (4th-7th centuries) can be explained not only by socio-economic changes, but also by changing natural environment and climate (20).

In the case of the Negev Highlands – an area situated in the desert fringe of Israel – climatic change seems to have played a clearer role. During periods of strong central governments (especially during the Roman and early Byzantine periods), permanent settlements were established. The settlers subsisted on a combination of herding and farming by enabling optimal distribution of water in irrigating the fields through the systematic construction of water-harvesting installations. Until the Islamic period (9th-10th centuries), Negev settlements reached their zenith in terms of number of sites and density of population. An abrupt cut in population and agriculture attested by physical and archaeological evidence has led scientists to conclude that this marginal area experienced a change of climate towards arid conditions around the 7th century (21).

The Decapolis region in Northern Jordan flourished during the Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad period, leading to the construction of great monuments. The region was abandoned in the 10th century. Thereafter, no significant resettlement took place. Earthquakes, diseases and political reasons are thought to be responsible for its decline. However, climatic

(19) R. Folk, *The Geologic Framework of Stobi*, in J. Wiseman and D. Mano-Zissi (eds.), *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, I, Beograd, 1973, pp. 37-57.

(20) C. Foss, *Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" of Byzantine Asia*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81 (1977), pp. 469-486, and Id., *Ephesus After Antiquity : a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, Cambridge, 1979, p. 187. Cf. also C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of the New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 68ff. and J. Koder, *Climatic Change in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries ?*, in P. Allen and E. Jeffreys (ed.), *The Sixth Century - End or Beginning ?* (*Byzantina Australiensia*, 10), Sydney - Brisbane, 1996, pp. 270-285. For a recent discussion about the decline of late Roman cities cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, New York, 2001.

(21) A. Yair and S. Berkowicz, *Climatic and Non-climatic Controls of Aridity : The Case of the Northern Negev of Israel*, in *Catena Suppl.* 14 (1989), pp. 145-158.

change could have been also responsible for the abandonment of the area ([22]).

As it becomes clear from the above cases, there is evidence of climatic shifts in various areas of the Byzantine Empire. Among the socio-economic consequences of environmental change in these cases, one should consider possible effects in the existence and function of local land routes that were serving the needs of overland communication. The abandonment of previously inhabited and wealthy towns and cities must have contributed to the relocation of local and regional networks of communication and potentially made people to trace new land routes suitable for their new needs. Nevertheless, this scheme is rather theoretical and I was not able to verify it from archaeological and literary evidence for the above-mentioned cases of study.

In another example, information from the Byzantine sources is clear enough to let us conclude about possible long term impacts of – possible – climatic change upon overland transport and communication. In the war against the Avars, in 600 during the reign of Maurice, the Byzantine commander Comentiolos tried to lead his army across the mountains of Haimos from Novae to Philippopolis (modern Gigen to Plovdiv, Bulgaria). This route was part of the Roman "via Traiana" ([23]). At Novae, Comentiolos consulted the indigenous people about the possibility of transiting with his army the "Trajan pass", the most elevated site of the route ([24]). Theophylaktos Simokattes and Theophanes Confessor have delivered interesting references regarding the arguments that an 88-year-old man used to discourage Comentiolos from using the Trajan pass. According to Theophanes, the old man alleged that the pass was difficult to transit : *ἔφασκε δυσχερῆ ταύτην εἶναι καὶ ἀδιόδευτον ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πολλῶν καὶ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ὑψηλὰ ὄρη καὶ χιόνας κεκτημένην.* Theophylaktos Simokattes adds that the route was out of use during the

(22) B. Lucke, M. Schmidt, Z. al-Saad, O. Bens and R. Hüttl, *The Abandonment of the Decapolis Region in Northern Jordan – Forced by Environmental Change ?*, in *Quaternary International*, 135 (2005), pp. 65-81.

(23) M. Wendel, *Karasura III : Die Verkehrsanbindung in frühbyzantinischer Zeit (4.-8. Jh. n. Chr.) (Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes*, 6), Langenweißbach, 2005.

(24) On the "Trajan pass" cf. P. Schreiner, *Theopylaktos Simokattes Geschichte (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur*, 20), Stuttgart, 1985, p. 357, n. 1071.

last 90 years and that the transit was difficult due to the bad condition of the path and the winter : *προηγόρευε τήν τε δυσχωρίαν τόν τε χειμῶνα καὶ τὸ τῆς τρίβου ἀνήμερον διεξήρχετο* ([25]). The details of both passages are striking and could be favorable to the hypothesis that for a long time the Trajan pass, which had been the main Roman road across the Haimos Mountain, was out of use at least during winter. The transit would take place under extreme and dangerous conditions, an insufficiently maintained or abandoned path through a narrow pass the transiting of which was becoming more dangerous because of the cold, ice and the accumulation of snow ([26]).

If we consider the old man's account concerning the usability of the Trajan pass as true (despite the almost one century spanning chronological depth of this episode) it can be interpreted as an indication of possible consequences of weather and climate to overland travel, transport and communication. We are probably facing a regional long-term effect of climatic change upon overland communication : as the climate of the Balkan alpine zone deteriorated to harsher conditions – especially during winter – the use of the route Nova -Philippopolis became problematic ([27]). Whatever the truth is from a macroscopic point of view, this

(25) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 282, 27 - p. 283, 3, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Theophanis chronographia*, Leipzig, 1883-1885, and Theophylaktos Simokattes, *Histories* VIII, 4, 3-6, ed. C. DE BOOR, ed. corr. P. WIRTH, *Theophylacti Simocattae historiae* (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart, 1972. Cf. translation of C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 407-408.

(26) SCHREINER, *op. cit.*, n. 24, claims that Theophylaktos Simokattes' account is the unique written reference about the use of this route ; cf. V. BEŠEVLIEV, *Bemerkungen über die antiken Heerstraßen in Ostteil der Balkanhalbinsel*, in *Klio*, 51 (1969), pp. 483-495, cf. p. 489. HALDON interprets this account as indicative of what contemporaries thought about the road system in the region and points out that long-term changes, exacerbated by constant devastation and raiding in the Balkans from the later sixth century, led to the near total collapse of the late Roman urban network and the abandonment of maintaining the roads by local authorities ; cf. J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204*, London, 1999, p. 52.

(27) L. and M. WHITBY point out that it is difficult to accept the claim of the old man about the abandonment of the Trajan pass for 90 years since Justinian had constructed numerous refuge-forts in the Haimos Mountains. Thus, it would have been surprising if some had not been located near the route across the

episode provides some key-characteristics for the impact that weather could have during overland travel on a short-term and local basis. This impact is analyzed in the next section.

III. WEATHER IMPACT UPON OVERLAND TRAVEL : DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The impact that weather and climate had upon overland travel, transport and communications during the Byzantine period is approached in this section through the analysis of the consequences that specific weather phenomena had upon travellers on one hand, and through the calibration of travellers' reactions to weather and climate on the other. This approach can offer conclusions regarding the concept of and people's attitudes towards weather and climate during overland travel. In the following, a synthesis of documentary evidence derived from Byzantine narrative sources relative to the climatology of overland travel is presented.

The chronological spectrum covered by this presentation is as wide as the chronological limits of Byzantine history. Scattered references from all periods of Byzantium are pooled and compared under the focus of meteorological impact upon overland travel. An overview of the recorded meteorological references may let us figure out the general character of our textual material. Weather-related references arise mainly from historiographic and hagiographical texts ([28]). Byzantine chronographers have delivered several reports on extreme or catastrophic weather events that have afflicted individuals or groups. Usually, such reports reflect the religious and eschatological preconceptions of the authors ([29]). In the texts

Trajan pass ; cf. L. and M. WHITBY, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta. An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, Oxford - New York, 1986, pp. 334-335 ; cf. also MANGO-SCOTT, *op. cit.*, n. 25, p. 408, n. 8.

(28) For the distinction of the Byzantine historiographic genres (i.e. historia, chronicon, historia ecclesiastica) I follow the traditional classification as elaborated by K. KRUMBACHER ; cf. briefly A. KAZHDAN, *Historiography*, in *ODB*, pp. 937-938.

(29) Exactly as nowadays, natural disasters were phenomena that used to attract peoples' attention in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. For the perception and the interpretation of natural disasters as signs of the approaching end of the world during Late Antiquity see P. BARCELÓ, *Die Darstellung von Naturkatastrophen in der spätantiken Literatur*, in E. OLSHAUSEN and H. SONNABEND (eds.), *Naturkatastrophen in der antiken Welt. Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur historischen*

of historians, weather phenomena are serving the needs of the historical narrative, i.e. the demonstration of the initiatives or the deeds of the heroes who are usually the benefactors of the authors. Thus, such accounts function as supplementary material in shaping the background of military and imperial action. The writings of the church historians, who stand between the classicizing political historians and the chronographers in literacy and exactness, include meteorological references as well. Within the Christian scope of those texts, weather events either appear as manifestations of the divine will or supplement the action of historical personages. Lastly, in hagiography the spontaneous references to meteorological phenomena are either incorporated in the hagiographical texts by producing – in many cases – formulaic structures of miraculous narratives of the holy men's deeds and acts, or they shape the background of vivid details of everyday life ([30]).

In a general sense, weather records from Byzantine sources express complaint and dissatisfaction. Weather and climate became memorable in the consciousness of the Byzantine authors when the consequences of a meteorological event were "extraordinary" and/or "abnormal". Actually, one must expect that this deviation from "normality" had influenced the

Geographie des Altertums, 6, 1996 (*Geographica Historica*, 10), Stuttgart, 1998, pp. 99-104 and M. MEIER, *Zur Wahrnehmung und Deutung von Naturkatastrophen in 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, in D. GROH, M. KEMPE, and F. MAUELSHAGEN (eds.), *Beiträge zu ihrer Deutung, Wahrnehmung und Darstellung in Text und Bild von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (*Literatur und Anthropologie*, 13), Konstanz, 2003, pp. 45-64.

(30) For a qualitative approach of weather references from the Byzantine narrative sources see I. TELELIS, *op. cit.*, n. 13, pp. 780-782. Recently it has been proposed that the natural disasters of the 6th century AD played a significant role to the transformation of the classicizing late antique historiography and the early ecclesiastical history : M. MEIER, *Prokop, Agathias, die Pest und das ‚Ende' der antiken Historiographie. Naturkatastrophen und Geschichtsschreibung in der ausgehenden Spätantike*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 278 (2004), pp. 281-310 ; P. SCHREINER has expressed objections to this approach, cf. *BZ*, 97 (2004), pp. 646-647. For an analysis of weather references – especially on drought and rainfall – in some miracle narratives of early Byzantine Saints' Lives see D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Rain Miracles in Late Antiquity. An Essay in Typology*, in *JÖB*, 52 (2002), pp. 73-87. For a typology of natural phenomena and their implications in the hagiographical texts see now T. PRATSCH, *Der hagiographische Topos : Griechische Heiligenviten in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit* (*Millenium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.*, 6), Berlin-New York, 2005, pp. 270-289.

way in which the Byzantine authors used to combine weather events with travel, transport and communications ([31]). There is sufficient documentary evidence reflecting complain and dissatisfaction towards adverse weather phenomena which were causing inconvenience and trouble to travellers. However, which weather phenomena do the Byzantine authors describe as affecting people in overland travel and what was the impact of specific weather events upon land transport and communications ? A survey of the relevant records provides some patterns of impact that differentiate according to the season of the year during which a land trip is carried out, the geographical region in which the trip takes place and the purpose of overland travel.

1. Cold, snow and ice

Closure of overland travel and communications could happen due to thick snow cover or frost during winter season. Georgios Pachymeres provides a vivid description of harsh wintry conditions in Constantinople AD 1299 and their consequences to overland communications : *Τότε τοίνυν καὶ χειμὼν ἐφειστήκει καὶ χειμώνων ὁ μέγιστος, καὶ τῶν ἐξαισίων, καὶ ὃν ἰδεῖν πω καὶ γηράσκουσιν οὐδαμῶς ἐξεγένετο. τόση γὰρ χιὼν ἐπεστίβαστο ὡς κλεισθῆναι μὲν οἰκιῶν τῶν χθαμαλῶν διεξόδους, σημείοις δέ τισι καὶ κοντοῖς τοῖς μὲν στοχαζομένους, τοῖς δ' ὀργάνοις χρωμένους, τινὰς ὑπανοίγειν τοῖς ἐγκλεισθεῖσι τὰ δώματα, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείσταις ἡμέραις μηδένα γῆν ἢ ἰδεῖν ἢ πατεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πεπιλημένης χιόνος, ὡς στερρᾶς γεγοννίας γῆς, μέχρι καὶ ἐγγὺς ἔαρος τοὺς ὁδίτας διέρχεσθαι, καὶ μάταιον εἶναι τὸ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχεῖσθαι, πλὴν τοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξολισθεῖν κινδυνεύειν* ([32]). The features of this lengthy account are common. Analogous details may be found in references from various Late Byzantine authors. Therefore, in the Miracles of Saint Eugenios of Trebizond we learn about the winter of 1035 in Trebizond, Asia Minor : *χειμὼν ἦν, καὶ τῶν πώποτε μνημονευομένων*

(31) The problem of "normality/abnormality" in recording weather phenomena by the chronographers of the western Middle Ages has been extensively discussed, cf. E. Ornato, *L'exploitation des sources narratives médiévales dans l'histoire du climat : à propos d'un ouvrage récent*, in *Histoire et Mesure*, 3(3) (1988), pp. 403-449.

(32) Georgios Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*, p. 305, 18-26, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérès, Relationes historiques*, III, *Livres VII-IX* (*CFHB*, 24/3), Paris, 1999.

ὁ βαρύτατος· πεδίον τε γὰρ ἅπαν ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος ἐγίνετο ἄβατον καὶ ὁδὸς πᾶσα ἀπεκέκλειστο (33). Anna Comnena mentions for the winter 1091 : *καὶ ὁ χειμὼν σφοδρὸς ἐπικείμενος τὰς ἐξόδους παντάπασιν ἔκλειεν, ὥστε μηδ' ἀποζυγοῦσθαι τὰς τῶν οἰκημάτων θύρας διὰ τὸ τῆς χιόνος ἐπιβριθές (συνέβη γὰρ τότε πολλὴν ἐπιφορηθῆναι καὶ ὅσην οὐδείς πω πρότερον ἔγνωκεν)* (34). An account of a severe winter between 1091 and 1105 in Thebes, Greece from the Life of St Meletios contains similar descriptive elements : *χειμῶνος ἦν ἀκμή, καὶ χιὼν ἡ μὲν ἤδη τὴν γῆν κατεκάλυψεν, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἔτι πολλὴ κατεφέρετο, τὴν δὲ καὶ ἄνεμοι σφοδρὸν πνέοντες μετέωρον συνεσκεύαζον, ὡς εἶναι τῷ τηνικαῦτα πάσας μὲν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀβάτους, πάσας δὲ θύρας τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀπροσίτους* (35). So much was the snow in the Middle East during the winter of 1172-1173 that : "*men were imprisoned in their houses as in tombs, and they were unable to travel even from one village to another, and many dwellers in tents and many travellers on the roads were suffocated by the snow*" (36).

The fear of the hardships that snow, ice and low temperatures during winter season could bring had its impact on strategic planning and could accelerate military movements (37). The logistics of moving troops

(33) *Miracula S. Eugenii Trapezuntini a. Ioanne Xiphilino* c. 11 (*BHG* 610), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*, I, St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 33-51.

(34) Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VIII, 3, 3, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, I, *Prolegomena et textus* (*CFHB*, 40/1), Berlin - New York, 2001.

(35) *Life* of St Meletios the Younger c. 20 (*BHG* 1247), ed. C. Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ μοναχικοῦ βίου ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, II, *Ὁ ὅσιος Μελέτιος ὁ "νέος" (1035-1105)*, Athens, 1935, pp. 34-66.

(36) Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 299, transl. E. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj (1225-1286), the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, 2 vols., London 1932.

(37) E.g. : John Malalas, *Chronicle* 13, 27, 18-21, ed. I. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (*CFHB*, 35), Berlin - New York, 2000 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 555, 3, ed. L. Dindorf, *Chronicon Paschale* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1832 ; Zacharias of Mytilene, *Chronicle* IX, 6 (p. 229), transl. F. J. Hamilton - E. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene*, London, 1899. On the role of environmental conditions in military action in late antiquity cf. A. Lee, *Information and Frontiers : Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 90-101.

(lodging, supplying and equipment) could be negatively affected by wintry conditions. In winter 1187-1188 the Byzantine emperor Isaac decided to leave his army at Triaditza (Sofia), Bulgaria to spend the winter with the hope that winter would not afflict the troops much : *ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἠκηκόει μὴ δυσπορεύτους εἶναι κατὰ πολὺ τὰς εἰς τὸν Αἶμον τροχιάς, ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅπῃ καὶ εἰς εὐθείας ἀνοίγεσθαι καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι εἰς ἄντλημα ἱκανώτατον καὶ χιλὸν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνόδιον, εἰ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκεῖ τις πορεύοιτο* (38).

The case of the Trajan pass, mentioned above, makes obvious that acute dangers existed when travellers were caught atop mountains or on high plateaus by low temperatures or heavy snowfalls. A similar case is reflected in Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae*. During Valentinian's campaign against Alamanni in 374 in Germany : "... *since autumn was waning and many difficulties stood in the way, all the principal men at the court strove by entreaties and prayers to hold him [emperor Valentinian] back until the beginning of spring. In the first place, they urged that the roads, hardened with frost ... could not be penetrated*" (39).

Snow-blanketed land could make it difficult for marching soldiers to orientate and could get the troops off-road. Kinnamos reports that during a campaign in Phrygia in 1158 the army was disorientated because of the thick snow which covered the roads : *ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, χιόνος κατενεχθείσης σφοδρᾶς τῶν ὁδῶν τε παντάπασιν ἠφανισμένων, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς ἐφ' ἣν ἐφέρετο ἀποπλανηθεὶς μικροῦ καὶ εἰς ὀλεθρίους ἂν καὶ κινδυνώδεις διεξέπεσε χώρους, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ τῆς πλάνης αἰσθόμενος βασιλεὺς λαμπτῆρά τε εἵλετο, καὶ ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα περιελθὼν ἀνέγνω τε τὴν πορείαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν προκειμένην τὸ στράτευμα εὐώδωσεν* (40).

(38) Nicetas Choniates, *History*, p. 398, 32-36, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, I (*CFHB*, 11/1), Berlin - New York, 1975 ; AD 1343 in Didymoteicho, Thrace : Nikephoros Gregoras, *History*, p. 648, 9-16, ed. L. SCHOPEN and I. BEKKER, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, 3 vols. (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1829, 1830 and 1855.

(39) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XXX, 3, 3, ed. J. C. ROLFE, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 3 vols. (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London - Cambridge (MA), 1963-1964.

(40) John Kinnamos, *Epitome historiarum*, p. 196, 3-9, ed. A. MEINEKE, *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1836.

Extreme weather conditions during winter could have a negative impact on the physical condition of marching troops, especially if soldiers were coming from temperate climatic regimes. Injuries of body tissues (e.g. nose, fingers, or toes) due to freezing were common. The Armenian historian Aristakes Lastivert records that in 1022 the army of the Byzantine emperor Basil II in Armenia suffered badly from sudden rain, wind and snow. A number of infantry soldiers lost fingers and toes during this trip and they fled the cold as an enemy ; but finally they were able to ride to Vaspurakan (41). In 1068 the army of emperor Romanos IV was passing the Tauros mountains, Asia Minor, when it suffered badly from the cold : *ἐκ τόπων θερμῶν ἀναγόμενοι (περὶ τὸ τέλος γὰρ ἦν ὁ δεκέμβριος μήν), πολλῆς ἥσθοντο τῆς δριμύτητος, ὁπότε συνέβη καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὅσοι μὴ εὐσαρκοῦντες ἦσαν ἢ μὴ εὐειματοῦντες, τῷ ἀθρόῳ τῆς ψύξεως ἀποψῦξαι καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ προβεβλῆσθαι θέαμα οἰκτιστον* (42). A similar case in 1149-1150 in Thrace is cited by Kinnamos : *ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμὼν ἤδη κατέσχε δεινός, ὡς τοῦ φύσει θερμοῦ περὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀντιπεριϊσταμένου τῷ γένει τῷ ζωικῷ πολλοῖς ἤδη λώβην περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις ἐμπεπτωκέναι, τότε μὲν τῆς ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐμέμνητο* (43).

References to travellers' death because of cold and snow are also common in the sources. During the winter of 1133-1134 a caravan of Persian and some Christian merchants set out from Constantinople, presumably for Iran, and all perished in the snow (44). In December 1242 snowfalls

(41) Vardapet Aristakes Lastiverts'i, *History* IV (p. 24), transl. M. CANARD and H. BERBÉRIAN, *Aristakès Lastivert. Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (*Bibliothèque de Byzantion,* 5), Brussels, 1973. Analogous case : XVIII (pp. 93-94) and XXI (p. 106).

(42) Michael Attalliates, *History*, p. 91, 11-15, ed. I. PÉREZ MARTIN, *Miguel Ataliates, Historia* (*Nueva Roma,* 15), Madrid, 2002.

(43) John Kinnamos, *Epitome historiarum,* p. 103, 20-23. Further references : AD 1352 in Prinkipo (Buyukada), in the Sea of Marmara : John VI Kantakouzenos, *History,* vol. III, p. 220, 7-11, ed. L. SCHOPEN, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni historiarum libri IV,* 3 vols. (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1828, 1831 and 1832 ; in Constantinople : ID., p. 227, 7-13 ; AD 1456 in Constantinople : Kritoboulos, *History* 2, 14, 2, 5-10, ed. D. R. REINSCH, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* (*CFHB*, 22), Berlin - New York, 1983.

(44) Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XVI, 5 (3, 236), transl. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, 3 vols., Paris, 1899-1910.

afflicted the army of emperor John Vatatzes near Lampsakos, Asia Minor and a lot of soldiers perished : *ἡμέρας δύο δὲ τῇ δριμύτητι τούτου καὶ τῇ σφοδροτάτῃ φορᾷ τῆς χιόνος τεταλαιπώρηκε, μέχρις ἂν κατηντήκει ἐς τὸ τῶν Πηγῶν ἄστυ. πολλοὶ γοῦν καθ' ὁδὸν ἐτεθνήκεισαν καὶ πολλαί· μέχρι γοῦν τριακοσίων, ὡς οἱ ἀριθμήσαντες ἔφασκον, ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος κατεχώσθησαν, μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντωπῆσαι τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος φορᾷ* ([45]).

Though journeys during wintry weather were to be avoided if possible, the motive and the urgency of the trip could make the hardships of the winter season bearable. Between 1325 and 1328 the author of the Life of St Gregorios Sinaites and his colleagues opted to stay in Constantinople, so that the harsh winter passed and they avoid the risks of a wintry trip ([46]). On the contrary, St Melania had made the opposite choice in February 437. After she had remained in Constantinople for 40 days, she then braved winter snowfalls and storms to reach Jerusalem in time for Easter : *ἡμεῖς δὲ δι' ὅλης χιονιζόμενοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνενδότως τὴν πορείαν ἐποιούμεθα, οὔτε γῆν οὔτε ὄρος βλέποντες πλὴν τῶν πανδοχείων, ἐν οἷς κατελύομεν ἑσπέρας* ([47]).

In the Life of St Theodora of Thessalonike we find an interesting passage that highlights all hardships that cold, rain and snow could bring to an individual. A woman was obliged to walk and stay outdoors all night during wintry weather : *ταῦτα δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσασα, τὴν ἐξ ἔθους καὶ αὖθις βαλοῦσα μετάνοιαν εἰς τὸν ὁρισθέντα τόπον ἐξῄει, τῆς δριμυτάτης ὥρας καταφρονήσασα καὶ τοῦ ῥαγδαίως τότε καταφερομένου ὑετοῦ καὶ τῆς δεινῆς ἐκείνης καὶ βιαίας τῶν ἀνέμων πνοῆς. τοιγαροῦν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις καθεσθεῖσα ποσὶν διενυκτέρευεν αἴθριος· οὐδὲ γὰρ τέλεον καθεσθῆναι ἐδύνατο διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ*

(45) George Akropolites, *History*, p. 41, 7-12, ed. A. Heisenberg - P. Wirth, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, I (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Stuttgart, 1978², and Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, p. 488, 26, ed. K. Sathas, in *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII, Paris, 1894 (= Hildesheim - New York, 1972), pp. 1-556. Further references : AD 1256 George Akropolites, *History*, p. 59, 74-78, and Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, p. 519, 17.

(46) *Vita Gregorii Sinaitae* c. 15 (*BHG* 722), ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie iže vo svjatyh otca našego Grigorija Sinaita*, in *Zapiski ist.-filol. Fak. Imp. St. Peterburgskago Universiteta*, 35 (1894), pp. 1-46 and Id., c. 16.

(47) *Life* of St Melania c. 56 (*BHG* 1240z-12442b), ed. D. Gorce, *Vie de Sainte Mélanie* (*SC*, 90), Paris, 1962.

ὑετοῦ κάτωθεν ὑπορρέον ὕδωρ. ὡ τοῦ θαύματος· ἐξέστησαν ἄγγελοι τοῦτο τὸ φρικτὸν ὅραμα βλέποντες, γυναῖκα τὸ ἀσθενέστατον καὶ μαλακὸν σκεῦος οὕτως αἴθριον διανυκτερεύουσαν, πυκναῖς νιφάσι βαλλομένην τοῦ ὄμβρου καὶ πηγνυμένην διὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐντολήν. τίς ἔγνω τῶν νῦν ἢ τῶν πώποτε τοιαύτην ὑπακοὴν καὶ τοιαῦτα παλαίσματα γυναῖκα ἐνδείξασθαι περὶ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον λήξαντος τοῦ ὄμβρου καὶ δριμυτέρας γενομένης τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος πικρίας διὰ τὸ χιόνα καταβληθῆναι πολλήν, αἱ τοῦ ὄμβρου σταγόνες κατὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ὤμων κειμένου ῥάκους κρυσταλλωθεῖσαι ἐκρέμαντο ([48]). In the Life of St Cyril Phileotes, a foot traveller visited the Saint in his shelter during a wintry snow storm. The visitor had suffered from the cold : *ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους καταπεπονημένος* ([49]). When autochthons from Stirion, Boeotia were informed about the coming death of St Lucas the Younger in 953, they hastened to his residence and ignored the severity of the winter : *καίτοι σφοδροῦ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ χιόνος ἀμυθήτου καταπεσούσης, ὡς σχεδὸν καὶ ὁδοὺς ἀβάτους καὶ οἰκίας ἀνεκβάτους γενέσθαι, ὅμως οὐδὲν ἐκείνους τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέσχε πορείας. ἀλλὰ πανδημεὶ πάντες συνέρρεον καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ μέχρι καὶ ἑνάτης ὥρας παρέμενον* ([50]). Snow cover did not keep Byzantine soldiers from moving in early December 1072 from Nis to Skopje : *Οἳ δὴ τὴν ἀγγελίαν δεξάμενοι, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ Νίσου, πρὸς τὰ Σκόπια ἵεντο, χιόνι κεκαλυμμένης οὔσης τῆς γῆς· χειμὼν γὰρ ἦν, Δεκεμβρίου ἐνισταμένου* ([51]).

Frost could endanger walking of people and pack animals. In winter 1256 moving troops near Tzepaina, Thrace faced difficulties because of the icy roads : *καὶ ἦν μὲν πάντῃ ἀνάντης ὁ χῶρος τὴν ἄνοδον, καὶ*

(48) *Life* of St Theodora of Thessalonike c. 33 (*BHG* 1737-1741), ed. E. KURTZ, *Des Klerikers Georgios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der Hl. Theodora von Thessalonich nebst der Metaphrase des Johannes Staurakios*, in *Mémoires de l'Academie impériale des sciences de Saint Pétersbourg*, VIII sér., VI, 1, St. Petersburg, 1902, pp. 1-36.

(49) *Life* of St Cyril Phileotes c. 12, 1 (*BHG* 468), ed. E. SARGOLOGOS, *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin (†1110)* (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 39), Bruxelles, 1964.

(50) *Life* of St Lucas the Younger of Stiris c. 77 (*BHG* 994), ed. D. SOFIANOS, *Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς. Ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη* (*Ἁγιολογικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 1), Athens, 1989.

(51) Skylitzes Continuatus, *Chronicle*, p. 165. 13, ed. E. Th. TSOLAKIS, *Ἡ Συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτζη*, Thessalonike, 1968.

παγετὸς τὴν ὁδὸν πᾶσαν παχύτερός τε καὶ λεῖος βαδίσαι δυσχερεστέραν ἐποίει (52). In the Life of St Athanasios of Meteora there is an interesting description of how the saint managed to keep in motion on snowblanketed mountain slopes during a winter in late 14th century : *ἐκεῖνος τῇ τῶν πατέρων εὐχῇ θαρρήσας καὶ τῷ σημείῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ καθοπλισθείς, συνδεσμήσας τοῖς ποσὶν τὰ ἐνδύματα καὶ ἐπάνω γενόμενος τῆς χιόνος, ἐφέρετο ὡς ἐν θαλάσσῃ κατὰ πρανοῦς* (53). Georgios Pachymeres singles out as memorable the falling of the emperor Michael VIII (1261-1282) off the horse when slipped on ice in Adrianople, Thrace : *χειμῶνος δ' ἐξελθὼν καὶ πάγοις ἐπιών, πάσχει τι καὶ τῶν ἀνηκέστων· συμποδίζεται γὰρ ὁ ἵππος ἐπὶ πάγων βαίνων τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ συμπεσὼν ἐκείνῳ ὁ ἐποχούμενος πτῶμα δεινὸν χεῖράς τε καὶ πρόσωπον δρύπτεται οὕτω χαλεπῶς ὡς μηδ' ἀρκέσαι τὸν ἐκστρατείας ὅλον χρόνον ἀπαλεῖψαι τὰ τραύματα* (54).

Nevertheless, frost was not always hostile to travellers. There are cases when freezing winters turned waterways into solid fords and made the surface of the rivers easy to cross on foot or horseback. There are several accounts about the freezing of the Danube and the Rhine, a natural phenomenon that was connected in the consciousness of some Byzantine authors with the invasions of people living beyond the river's boundary (55). Some references in the sources single out the freezing of the

(52) George Akropolites, *History*, p. 59, 124-126, and Theodore Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, p. 520, 23.

(53) *Life* of St Athanasios of Meteora, p. 243 (*BHG* 195), ed. N. Veis, *Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν μονῶν τῶν Μετεώρων*, in *Βυζαντίς* 1 (1909), pp. 191-332.

(54) George Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*, p. 551, 27 - p. 553, 2, ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymérès, Relationes historiques*, II, *Livres IV-VI* (*CFHB*, 24/2), Paris, 1984.

(55) Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XIX, 11, 4. Freezing of the Rhine in February AD 378 : XXXI, 10, 4. Other cases of crossing river's Danube frozen surface by northern tribes : between AD 388 and 392 : Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* X, 6, ed. J. Bidez and F. Winkelmann, *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte* (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*), Berlin, 1972², and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Ecclesiastical History* XII, 29, ed. *PG* vol. 145, 557-1332, vol. 146, 9-1274, and vol. 147, 9-448 ; AD 394-395 : Philostorgios, *Ecclesiastical History* XI, 8, and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Ecclesiastical History* XIII, 5 ; AD 1035 : John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 9, p. 399, ed. J. Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum* (*CFHB*, 5), Berlin - New York, 1973 ; AD 1047 : Michael Psellos, *Chronography* 7, LXVII, ed. E.

Danube explicitly as a regular phenomenon. Pseudo-Kaisarios' report for the freezing of the Danube in 558 is striking : *Χειμῶνος πηγνυμένου, καὶ εἰς λιθώδη ἀντιτυπίαν μεθισταμένης τῆς μαλακῆς τοῦ ῥείθρου φύσεως, ὡς οἵαν τε φέρειν ἐπιπορευομένων πολεμίων, καὶ πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων Ἰλλύριά τε καὶ Θρᾴκεια μέρη διαφοιτούντων πλῆθος, οὕτω τοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος παγὲν στερέωμα ... ὑπερστέγει δὲ ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἐν χιλιάσιν δέκα πολλάκις ὁρώμενον* (56).

Crossing over the frozen surface of a river was not always safe for pedestrians. Aristakes Lastivertc'i reports that on the day of Epiphany (January 6) 1056, in the Armenian province of Hark, while the Turks were crossing over the frozen river Arsanias (Murad Su), the ice broke and Turks and Armenians alike plunged into a watery death (57). The Byzantine army experienced an analogous situation in the bank of the river Hebros, in Thrace in 1341. The river was not frozen over enough and the cavalry could not pass : *οὔτε δὲ τοσοῦτον εἶχε στερρότητος ὁ πάγος, ὥστε στέγειν τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτὸν περαιουμένους, οὔτε τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἀκατίοις πρὸς τὸν πόρον δίοδον παρεῖχεν. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν στερρότερος ἐφαίνετο, τοῦ στέγειν δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἀδρανέστερος.*

RENAULD, *Michel Psellos, Chronographie ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, 2 vols. (*Collection byzantine*), Paris, 1926 et 1928 ; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* III, 8, 6 ; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* 17, p. 458 ; John Zonaras, *Chronicle* XVII, 26, 12-13, ed. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XVIII*, vol. III (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1897. Freezing of the Euphrates ; the river became passable on foot : AD 610 : *Chronicon Miscellaneum*, p. 113, 4, transl. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronicon Miscellaneum ad annum domini 724 pertinens* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri*, 4, *Chronica Minora*, II), Louvain, 1903 (= 1960), pp. 61-119 ; freezing of rivers in Syria (?) that became passable on foot : AD 746 : Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XI, 22 (2, 506) ; freezing of Euphrates and Tigris rivers that became passable on foot : AD 918-919 : Elias Bar Shināyā, *Chronicle* p. 97, 11, transl. J.-B. CHABOT and E. W. BROOKS, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, I-II (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scriptores Syri*, 24), Louvain 1910 ; freezing of the Euphrates that became passable on foot : AD 1120-1121 : Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XV, 12 (3, 209) ; AD. 1139-40 : Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* XVI, 9 (3, 250).

(56) Ps.-Kaisarios, *Quaestiones et Responsiones* 67, 15-19, ed. R. RIEDINGER, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Die Erotapokriseis* (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*), Berlin, 1989 ; cf. also Agathias, *History* V, 11, 6, ed. R. KEYDELL, *Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque* (*CFHB*, 2 A), Berlin, 1967.

(57) Vardapet Aristakes Lastivertc'i, *History* XVII (p. 90).

διὸ καὶ ἀπορίαν πολλὴν παρεῖχε πρὸς τὸν πόρον. Due to this situation, a delay of 12 days in the campaign was caused (58).

Freezing of the sea fringes could happen during some harsh winters. There are accounts in the sources about freezing events in Bosphoros and Black Sea. A characteristic case is that of the harsh winter in 763/764. Theophanes Confessor left a vivid eye-witness account concerning his adventures as a child on the surface of the passing ice sheets on the waters of Bosphorus : ὧν αὐτόπται καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῶν σὺν καί τισιν ὁμήλιξι λ΄ καὶ παίζοντες ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ (59).

2. Rainfall and consequent phenomena

Though there exist marked climatic variations between coastal, Mediterranean-type conditions and inland/highland, continental-type conditions, we can generally accept that mild, humid winters and long, dry, hot summers with few rainy days are the principal characteristics of the eastern Mediterranean climate (60). In this context, it is not surprising that the second key-meteorological phenomenon that affected travel, transport and communications during the Byzantine period was rainfall and its consequences.

Sudden bursts of rain could cause unexpected torrential overflowing of streams and rivers. Floods could affect negatively the safety of moving groups or individuals and might be related in the conscience of local people to negative consequences, as can be inferred from Byzantine place

(58) John VI Kantakouzenos, *History*, vol. II, p. 188, 2-7.

(59) Theophanes, *Chronographia,* p. 434, 6 - p. 435, 5. There are several accounts on this winter. For a detailed presentation of this event based on Byzantine and western medieval accounts see I. Telelis and E. Chrysos, *The Byzantine Sources as Documentary Evidence for the Reconstruction of Historical Climate*, in B. Frenzel (ed.), *European Climate Reconstructed From Documentary Data : Methods and Results* (*European Palaeoclimate and Man*, 2), Stuttgart - Jena - New York, 1992, pp. 17-31. For the paleoclimatology of the freezing of the Bosphoros cf. V. Yavuz, N. Akçar and C. Schluchter, *The Frozen Bosphorus and its Paleoclimatic Implications Based on a Summary of the Historical Data*, in V. Yanko-Hombach, A. Gilbert, N. Panin and P. Dolukhanov (eds.), *The Black Sea Flood Question : Changes in Coastline, Climate and Human Settlement*. Dordrecht, 2006, pp. 633-649.

(60) For a quick reference to the characteristics of the various climatic regions of the eastern Mediterranean cf. B. Geyer, *Physical Factors in the Evolution of the Landscape and Land Use*, in A. Laiou, *op. cit.*, n. 3, pp. 34-35.

names. In Pteleai of Bithynia, around 821-826, people gave the name "Onopniktes" (donkey-drowner) to a local torrent because of its harmful impact : ... *τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ἐναποπνίγειν ... οὗτος πολλάκις οἰδαίνων καὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ῥεύματος ἀποπτύων, οὐ μόνον ζῶα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν συναρπάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν Πτελέαις μικροῦ πάντα χῶρον* ... ([61]).

Flood of rivers and streams as a result of continuous rains and snowfalls during winter could endanger land trips. This pattern is described in a characteristic passage of Procopius : *ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὁδὸς ἐς τὰ Φρυγῶν ἤθη ἐνθένδε ἰόντι, ἔνθα δὴ ἀνθρώποις τε ἀναρίθμοις καὶ ζῴοις ἑτέροις χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ διολωλέναι ξυνέβαινε· γεώδης γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἡ χώρα οὖσα, μὴ ὅτι ὄμβρων ἐξαισίων καταρραγέντων ἢ χιόνων πολλῶν ἐπικεχυμένων τε καὶ διαλυθεισῶν ἐν ἐσχάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεκάδων ἐπιπεπτωκυιῶν, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐς τέλμα βαθὺ καὶ ἀπόρευτον ξυνισταμένη, τάς τε ὁδοὺς τεναγώδεις ἐργαζομένη, τοὺς τῇδε ἰόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπέπνιγεν* ([62]). In January 504 the Roman army under Patricius, when campaigning in Persian territory near Amida, experienced the flood of a river: "*in their haste, not knowing where they were going, they came upon the river Kallath [Nymphius] ; and because it was winter and there was a great flood in it, they were not able to cross it, but everyone of them who hastened to cross was drowned in the river with his horse*" ([63]).

Travellers, when faced a flooded river, were obliged to wait until the water level subsided. This distress has been traced in a miracle of Saint Peter of Atroa at the bank of Halys river in western Asia Minor in the early 9th century : *Πορευομένων δὲ τῶν δύο κατὰ πάροδον καὶ τὸν*

(61) *Life* of St Theodore of Stoudios c. 108 (col. 212B) (*BHG* 1755), ed. *PG* 99, 113-232 ; cf. T. PRATSCH, *op. cit.*, n. 30, p. 278, and the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, Erste Abteilung (641-867), IV, Berlin - New York, 2001, no. 7574 (pp. 429-433).

(62) Prokopios of Caesarea, *Buildings* V, 3, 12-13, ed. J. HAURY - G. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis Opera omnia*, IV (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Leipzig, 1964[2]. Imperial intervention through the construction of bridges, drainage ditches and watercourse-protecting walls is common in *De aedificiis* aiming at the improvement of land communications ; cf. ID. V, 4, 1-3 and II, 2, 13-16.

(63) Joshua the Stylite, *Chronicle* c. 66, transl. F. TROMBLEY and W. WATT, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, Liverpool, 2001. AD 1341 for the Hebros river, Thrace : Nikephoros Gregoras, *History* 2, 621, 5-16.

Ἅλυν ποταμὸν καταλαβόντων, εὗρον αὐτὸν ὑδάτων πεπληρωμένον καὶ πολὺν ὄχλον παροδιτῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας καθημένον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τοῦ ὕδατος προσμένοντα· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ ὅσιοι, ὡς τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπαράτρεπτον ἔχοντες, τοῖς ὕδασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πιστῶς ἐπέβησαν ὥσπερ διὰ ξηρᾶς καὶ τῇ χέρσῳ ἀπεκατεστάθησαν, ὥστε πάντας ἐκπλαγέντας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε παρόντας καὶ θεωμένους παροδίτας καὶ ἐγχωρίους τῶν ἰχνῶν ... Εὐξαμένων δὲ τῶν ὁσίων, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πλείστην συστείλας ῥύμην δέδωκε τοῖς χρήζουσιν διάβασιν ἀνενόχλητον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν μυσαρῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῶν τόπου αὐθωρὸν ἠφανίσθη (64).

There are descriptions of miracles in which an individual drifted during the crossing of a river by the impetuous current of the flood, finally is rescued by the miraculous intervention of the saint (65). A miracle of St Eugenios of Trebizond is associated with the interference of the supernatural power of the saint after his death. During the translation of the saint's relics in Paipert, northern Asia Minor between 1115 and 1223 the meteorological conditions were harsh : *χειμὼν δὲ τούτοις ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπαχθὴς ἐπέπεσε πρώιμος, βίαιοι ὄμβροι ὁμοῦ καὶ ῥαγδαῖοι καὶ πυκνοί τε καὶ συνεχεῖς. κἀντεῦθεν ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῖς τραχυτέρα ἦν καὶ δυσπρόσοδος. τέως δ' οὖν ὅμως εἰς τὸ Φαγασὲ ἐπανιόντες, ἐκεῖ τὸν δεκέμβριον ὅλον διεβιβάκασιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ εἶχον πῶς ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραι τῷ σφοδρῷ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ἦσαν πάνυ ἀλύοντες. ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ἀμηχάνων εὐμήχανον ποριστὴν καταφεύγουσιν. "Εὐγένιε", λέγοντες, "μέγιστε καὶ ὀξύτατε βοηθέ, δὸς ἵνα κἂν τὸ τοῦ Ζυχολίτου καλούμενον διέλθωμεν, ὅτι σοί ἐσμεν ἡμεῖς*. The Saint helped the travellers to overcome their severe situation during the trip and accomplish their mission (66).

(64) *Life* of St Peter of Atroa c. 8 (*BHG* 2364-2365), ed. V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de saint Pierre d'Atroa* (*Subsidia Hagiographica,* 29), Bruxelles, 1956, p. 65-225. The same motif of miracle, i.e. the saint who crosses over the surface of a flooded river without getting wet, can also be found in *Life* of St Ioannikios (auctore Saba monacho) c. 4 and 11, (*BHG* 935), ed. *AASS Novembris* II, 1, pp. 332-383 ; *Life* of St Constantine the Jew c. 36 (*BHG* 370) ed. *AASS Novembris* IV, pp. 628-656 ; *Life* of St Nikon c. 15 (*BHG* 1366), ed. D. F Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (*Archbishop Iakovos Library of Ecclesiastical and Historical Sources,* 14), Brookline (MA), 1987.

(65) *Life* of St Constantine the Jew c. 64 and c. 67.

(66) *Miracula S. Eugenii Trapezuntini a. Ioanne Lazaropulo* c. 18 (*BHG* 612), ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Fontes Historiae Imperii Trapezuntini*, I. St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 78-136.

Problems in transport and communications might also appear in cases of rain miracles because of heavy rain (67). After St Euthymios put an end to a lasting drought in Palestine by a miraculous heavy rain, the rain lasted for many days causing problems to the saint : *ἔμεινεν δὲ ἡ βροχὴ ῥαγδαίως καταφερομένη, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πανέρημιαν* (68). In the *Life* of Makarios of Pelecete the miraculous rain bursts after the saint's prayers during a period of drought in late 8th century : *σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐχομένου, αἰφνίδιον τὸν ἀέρα περιδραμοῦσα νεφέλη, λαβρὸν ὑετὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφίησιν, ὃ ἅπαντας τὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἀνύποιστον μὴ φέροντας ἀνὰ τὸ ὄρος σκεδασθῆναι καὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν ὑδάτων διαδιδράσκειν πειρᾶσθαι* (69). In the Life of St Theodore Sykeotes the sudden rain that miraculously burst after recurrent processions during a prolonged period of drought was delightfully accepted by processing people : *Καὶ ἤρξατο λάβρος κατιέναι ὑετός, ὥστε δρόμῳ ὑποστρέψαι αὐτοὺς καταβραχέντας καὶ οὕτω τὴν λιτὴν καταπαῦσαι δοξάζοντας τὸν θεόν* (70). The mastery of St Theodore upon clouds and rain is highlighted in a case of lime transportation near Ankara. The anxiety of farmers who were driving carts loaded with lime for the construction of a church in front of menacing clouds and rainfall was diminished by another rain miracle : *καὶ εὐθέως διεσχίσθη ἡ νεφέλη ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, καὶ ἔβρεξεν ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων τῆς στράτας αὐτῶν, ὥστε τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν ὑποκάτω τῶν*

(67) Analysis of rain miracles in the hagiographic tradition of Late Antiquity can be found in D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Rain Miracles in Late Antiquity*, *op. cit.*, n. 30.

(68) First half of 5th century AD ; *Life* of St Euthymios c. 25 (*BHG* 647-648), ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 49, 2), Leipzig, 1939, pp. 5-85.

(69) *Life* of St Makarios of Pelekete c. 9 (*BHG* 1003), ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *S. Macarii monasterii Pelecetes hegumeni acta Graeca*, in *AB* 16 (1897), pp. 142-163.

(70) *Life* of St Theodore of Sykeon c. 51 (*BHG* 1748), ed. A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn*, 2 vols. (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 48), Bruxelles, 1970. For miracles in the same motif see also c. 101 ; *Life* of St Evariste c. 36 (*BHG* 2153), ed. Ch. VAN DE VORST, *La vie de S. Evariste, higoumène à Constantinople*, in *AB* 41 (1923), pp. 295-325 ; *Life* of St Meletios the Younger c. 8 (*BHG* 1247).

ἁμαξῶν διέρχεσθαι, ἐπάνω δὲ αὐτῶν μηδόλως ἐκ τῆς βροχῆς ῥανίδα (71).

In another motif of rain miracle, St Spyridon of Trimythos managed to protect colleagues during a land travel from unwanted rain : καὶ σκεπάσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὄμβρου καταφορᾶς καὶ ἀβρόχους ἡμᾶς ἀποκαταστῆσαι διὰ τὴν τῆς ὁδοῦ δυσχέρειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὑδάτων τε καὶ πηλῶν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ τὰ ἱμάτια ἐκ τῶν ὑδάτων καταβραχέντα ἀφανισθῆναι (72). The miraculous action of Niketas Patrikios managed to succeed a delay of four days to the burst of a harsh rainfall, until his nephew Ignatios finished his trip from Katesia to Constantinople between 833 and 836 (73). In April 18 1453, forty days before the fall of Constantinople by the Ottomans, a harsh rain with hail burst during a litany. The flood in the streets of the city suspended the procession and endangered people (74).

Abrupt rise of rivers' level and floods were more frequent during spring and autumn and could endanger people and pack animals. Armies used to face many problems in campaigning during these transitional seasons because of stormy weather. The fear of experiencing trouble during the movements of the army because of spring floods – caused by thawing snow – is obvious in a report of Ammianus Marcellinus in 358 : *"although the river Ister was in flood since the masses of snow and ice were now melted, having come to the most suitable place, he crossed it on a bridge built over the decks of ships"* (75). The fear of drowning made

(71) *Life* of St Theodore of Sykeon c. 56. Analogous rain miracles also in *Life* of St Symeon the Stylite the Younger c. 97 and c. 172 (*BHG* 1689), ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521-592)*, II (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 32), Bruxelles, 1962.

(72) *Life* of St Spyridon c. 23 (*BHG* 1647), ed. P. VAN DEN VEN, *La légende de S. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte* (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 33), Louvain, 1953. For miracles in the same motif, i.e. the saint who walks during a storm and remains dry cf. *Life* of St David, Symeon and George c. 34 (*BHG* 494), ed. J. VAN DEN GHEYN, *Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo*, in *AB* 18 (1899), pp. 209-259.

(73) *Life* of St Niketas Patrikios c. 15 (*BHG* 1342b), ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *Un confesseur du second iconoclasme : la Vie du patrice Nicétas (†836)*, in *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 309-351.

(74) George SPHRANTZES, *Chronicon minus*, p. 378, 13, ed. I. BEKKER, *Georgii Phrantzae chronicon minus* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1838.

(75) Ammianus MARCELLINUS, *Res Gestae* XVI, 12, 4. Other cases of spring/autumn flooding events and their impact upon moving troops : *ibidem*, XIV, 10,

Roman soldiers refuse to cross a flooded river in Securisca, Serbia in 602 : *Καὶ τούτου δὴ γιγνομένου ὑετοὶ ἐπιπίπτουσι λάβροι, συνεπιτίθεται δὲ καὶ ψύχους ἐπιβολή. ταύτῃ δῆτα ἐπιστασιάζει τὸ πλῆθος μὴ βουλόμενον τὸν ποταμὸν διανήξασθαι* ([76]). Encamping in river beds was dangerous because of the possibility of sudden flood. Barhebraeus reports in his chronicle in 960 : "*when the Egyptians, who had gone to pray at Makkah, were returning, they encamped in the bed of a brook in which water had not flowed for a long time. And during the night whilst they were sleeping, a flood of water poured down upon them all, and it swept them and all their possessions out into the Great Sea, and they all perished*" ([77]).

Harsh rainfall and storm could affect visibility. The density of the clouds, the obscurity of the atmosphere and the severity of the winds could double the effect of rain or snow during a storm. When a group was travelling in Cerene in the late 4th century visibility was reduced by rain : *ὑετοῦ δὲ λάβρου γενομένου, καὶ λαίλαπος προσβαλούσης, διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὰ πρόσω βλέπειν οὐ δυνάμενοι* ([78]). In the island of Lesbos in 761 a storm produced analogous difficulties : *μεσημβρίας οὔσης σταθερᾶς καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου λαμπραῖς ταῖς ἀκτῖσι τὴν γῆν καταμαρμαίροντος, ἀθρόον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σέλας ἀποκρύψας ὁ ἥλιος, γίνεται γνόφος καὶ θύελλα, τὰ ἐκεῖσε ὄρη ἄρδην κατακαλύψασα. Ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δὲ μεγίστῃ συσχεθεὶς ὁ ἅγιος, καίτοι βαδίζειν διὰ τὴν ἀχλὺν ὁδὸν μὴ*

2 ; AD 399 in Sardes : Zosimos, *New History* V, 18, 5, ed. L. MENDELSSOHN, *Zosimi comitis et exadvocati fisci Historia nova*, Leipzig, 1887 ; AD 813 for the Riginas river, Thrace : Scriptor Incertus (de Leone Armenio), p. 346, 12, ed. I. BEKKER, *Historia de Leone Bardae Armenii filio* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1842, pp. 35-362 ; Pseudo-Symeon Magistros, *Chronicle*, p. 616, 11, ed. I. BEKKER, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1838, pp. 603-760 ; AD 1151 in Damaskos : Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 278 ; AD 1296 in Mesopotamia : *ibidem*, p. 501 ; AD 1302 for the Sangarius river, Asia Minor : George Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι*, p. 363, 18-24 (ed. A. FAILLER, *Georges Pachymérès, Relationes historiques*, IV, *Livres X-XIII* [*CFHB*, 24/4], Paris, 1999) ; AD 1342 for the Axios (Vardar) river, Macedonia : John VI Kantakouzenos, *History*, vol. II, p. 242, 13-21 ; and AD 1343 in the same river : ID., vol. II, p. 358, 1-10.

(76) Theophylaktos Simokattes, *Histories* VIII, 6, 8-9.

(77) Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 167.

(78) Theodoret of Kyrrhos, *Religious History* VI, 2, ed. L. PARMENTIER, *Theodoret Kirchengeschichte* (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*), Leipzig, 1911.

εὑρίσκων, κατὰ συγκυρίαν τὰς ἀκρωρείας διερχόμενος, ἀνατείνας τὰ ὄμματα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνας τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρίαν ἐξῃτεῖτο (79).

3. High temperatures

The commonest meteorological phenomenon affecting land travel during summer is sweltering heat. High summer temperatures in combination with the constraint of adequate water supplies – especially in the eastern areas that enjoy hot rainless summers – could sap travellers' endurance and make campaigning military forces suffer (80). In the Palestine desert in 492, during a trip with a pack animal, thirst was the major problem of a traveller who was walking under a heat wave : *ἀδελφὸς κατελθὼν καὶ τὰ ἄλογα φορτώσας ἤρχετο διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου εἰς τὴν λαύραν, καύσωνος δὲ τότε σφοδροτάτου γεγονότος ἐδίψησεν λίαν καὶ ὀλιγοψυχήσας κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔπεσεν...* (81). In Amyclae, Peloponnesos in 997 travellers suffered from thirst during the summer heat (82).

4. Hail

There are a few references in the sources combining hailstorms with negative effects during travel. The preconception of the authors in these cases is obvious. The description of death of moving soldiers because of a hailstorm around AD 319 – though exaggerated and featured to suggest divine intervention during a battle – may be indicative of another meteo-

(79) *Life* of St David, Symeon and George c. 6.

(80) Cases of suffering troops because of sweltering heat : AD 813 near Adrianople of Thrace : Scriptor Incertus (de Leone Armenio), p. 337, 13 ; AD 855 near Laodicia/Hierapolis : Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronicle* IV, 24, ed. ed. I. Bekker, *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Caminiata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus* (*CSHB*), Bonnae, 1838, pp. 3-481, and Genesios, *History of Emperors* IV, 14, 26, ed. A. Lesmuller-Werner - I. Thurn, *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor* (*CFHB*, 14), Berlin - New York, 1978.

(81) *Life* of St Sabas c. 26 (p. 109) (*BHG* 1608), ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 49, 2), Leipzig, 1939, pp. 85-200.

(82) *Life* of St Nikon c. 42 ; cf. also *Life* of St Ioannikios (auctore Petro monacho) c. 42 (*BHG* 936), ed. *AASS Novembris* II, 1, pp. 384-435. Other cases : *Life* of St Stephen the Sabaite c. 36 and c. 103 (*BHG* 1670), ed. *AASS Iulii* III, pp. 531-613.

rological danger to which moving troops could be exposed : *Πολλὴν γὰρ μήπω πορευθεῖσιν ὁδὸν αὖθις ἕτερον ῥωμαϊκὸν στῖφος στρατιωτῶν ἐπελθὸν ἐπὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ὀμφαλίμου ὄρος τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξανάλωσεν, τοὺς ὑπολοίπους δὲ φθάσαντας ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Λύκον ποταμὸν ὡσεὶ λίθων βολίδες χαλάζης πλῆθος καταπεμφθὲν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἡ θεία δίκη ἐθανάτωσεν, ὡς μηδένα τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα δεδρακότων εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανελθεῖν* ([83]). During a Persian campaign in 422 near Theodosiupolis, the power of God was favorable to the Roman army : *ὑετῷ λαβροτάτῳ καὶ χαλάζῃ βαλὼν μεγίστῃ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω πορείαν ἐκώλυσε καὶ τὸν τῶν ἵππων ἐπέδησε δρόμον* ([84]). In any case, hail was a dreadful natural phenomenon not only for farmers, but also for travelling people. That is why during a trip in autumn the colleagues of St Hypatios begged him : *Κύρι, εὔξαι μὴ χάλαζα ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ'ἡμᾶς*, when they noticed heavy stormy clouds gathering above mount Olympus, Bithynia ([85]). Nicolaos Mesarites was attacked by snow and hail, while sitting very uncomfortably, on a mule travelling from Constantinople to Nicaea. In a letter of AD 1208 he complaints about this experience : *ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς πυκνῆς χαλάζης πετρηδὸν ἐβαλλόμεθα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συχνῆς χιόνος ἠκροβολιζόμεθα κατὰ πρόσωπον* ([86]).

IV. PATTERNS OF IMPACT, PATTERNS OF PERCEPTION

The Byzantine sources yield a number of references to weather events that are closely related to overland travel, transport and communications. Before drawing any conclusion from the above presented material, we should mention that the pieces of evidence amount to a low number of reports, and derive from a few localities of the Byzantine Empire. Obviously, this fact raises the question of the references' representativity. The episodic character of the evidence is partly explained by the margi-

(83) *Life* of St Theodore Tiron c. 11 (*BHG* 1764), ed. H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris, 1909, pp. 183-201.

(84) Theodoret of Kyrrhos, *Religious History* V, 37, 5 ; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Ecclesiastical History* XIV, 4.

(85) In early 5th century AD : *Vita S. Hypatii* c. 46 (*BHG* 760), ed. G. BARTELINK, *Callinicos. Vie d'Hypatios* (*SC*, 177), Paris, 1971.

(86) A. HEISENBERG, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (*Variorum Reprints, Collected Studies*, 22), Aldershot, 1973, part 2, section 3, pp. 35-46 : here p. 40, 6-8 ; cf. C. GALATARIOTOU, *op. cit.*, n. 4, p. 228.

nal position that weather reports hold in the Byzantine sources and by the fact that "excessive" and "abnormal" conditions were chiefly worth mentioning in the sources. However sporadic, irregular and accidental this type of evidence may be, I consider that it does go beyond the purely episodic and reflects in an approximate sense what the Byzantines perceived as deviant from "normal" and expected. This assumption can support some generalizations that may allow the construction of some general patterns of impact.

Safety and ease are key-conditions determining the variety of options that travellers make (i.e. selection of a route, of the season and rate of the trip). In this framework weather and climate in combination with other factors such as terrain, determination and agenda of the travel, all played a role, so that very considerable variations in the selection of the route, the timing and rate of the trip must have been usual in the case of this research.

In theory, overland travel – unlike sea journeys that were restricted by *mare clausum* (the prohibition on sea travel for a period of four months each year) – could occur at any time of the year. In preindustrial societies overland travel was obviously more pleasant and secure in fine weather, when it was also easier to fodder one's pack animals. However, favorable weather conditions could not occur throughout the year. Seasonal weather variations have definitely played an important role in the timing of overland travel, transport and communications. Flavius Vegetius Renatus (4th century) in his *Epitome of Military Science* indicates that not only sea, but also overland travel, was generally closed from 11 November to 10 March due to bad weather conditions ([87]). During winter season travellers in Mediterranean continental regions could be impeded by cold, snow and ice, while in the maritime Mediterranean excessive storminess and flood were responsible for making journeys difficult. The existence of meteorological evidence from the Byzantine sources that describe off-season overland traffic suggests that safety and ease was the issue during these dangerous journeys.

(87) Vegetius, *Epitome of military science* IV, 39 : "Nam lux minima noxque prolixa, nubium densitas, aeris obscuritas, ventorum imbri vel nivibus geminata saevitia non solum classes a pelago sed etiam commeantes a terrestri itinere deturbat" (ed. L. F. STELTEN, *Flavius Vegetius Renatus. Epitoma Rei Militaris* [*American University Studies*, XVII, 11], New York - Bern - Frankfurt am Main - Paris, 1990) ; cf. B. RAPSKE, *op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 3.

The challenges of weather, as reflected in the Byzantine sources, may become a subject for various interpretations by the reader. As shown above, complaints about oppressive heat and all that goes with it are practically absent, while those about cold and wetness are relatively common. This fact might have its cause in the relative mildness of cold and rain in the generally hot and dry Mediterranean climatic regime, and therefore, in the unpreparedness of people to meet the challenge by means of appropriate clothing, housing and heating.

References on cold, snow and ice affecting travel, transport and communications illustrate the widespread sensitivity of Mediterranean people to the hardships of the winter season. A good number of the relevant accounts presented above is related to military action. This fact can be easily explained by the obvious impact of warfare on the Byzantine chronicle and historiographical literature as transmitted by classicizing traditional historical models ([88]).

Reports of wet weather share a good number of references as well. Rain could mire the roads or swell streams and rivers. These consequences might cause considerable disturbance during a trip or endanger the safety of the travellers by making walking and riding difficult and occasionally impossible. The erosional effect of water on unpaved or deteriorated roads and tracks and the flooding of streams and rivers were also responsible for delays and difficulties that travellers could experience during overland trips. A number of the above presented accounts on rainfall and consequent phenomena is related to military action. However, there are enough reports related to rain miracles during overland travel, illustrating the concern of Byzantine hagiographers to cope with unexpected and excessive water-related natural phenomena. If we consider that the geographical frameworks of those narratives are the rainless regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, we may interpret these cases as expected complaints about the excess of a highly desired precious natural process : that of raining in semi-arid regions during rainless periods.

The sensitivity of Byzantine overland travellers to weather and climate is conditioned by factors that affect the physical and emotional perception of natural phenomena. These factors could be of external-environmental and/or internal-cultural context. Reports about suffering and injuries of travelling individuals or marching troops due to cold, snow and ice represent the external-environmental facet of effect to the tra-

(88) Cf. J. HALDON, *op. cit.*, n. 26, p. 254.

vellers' physical condition. In these cases weather is perceived negatively because of the bodily hardships it induces. Anything that could threaten safety and ease of a trip was undesirable and, thus, might be reflected in the accounts with negative emotion. Nevertheless, for the emotional perception of weather during travel internal-cultural preconceptions of the travellers might be involved. The above presented material does not provide sufficient information regarding this topic.

This paper focused on the impact and perception of weather and climate during travel, transport and communication process. Patterns of impact could be shaped as they are closely connected to the travellers' factual reality. However, much remains to be learned about how weather and climate were perceived by Byzantines on a psychological and emotional level. The study of texts from the vast Byzantine bodies of epistolography and rhetoric is expected to contribute towards the elucidation of problems related to the perception of weather and, generally, nature by the Byzantines.

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SUMMARY

This paper focuses on weather and climate as factors affecting certain facets of human activity during the Byzantine period. Various aspects of impact that weather phenomena and climatic conditions could have upon travel, travellers and communications by land, either in short-term or in long-term context, during the Byzantine period are discussed : Were there any long-term impacts of climatic change upon communications overland ? Which weather phenomena are described by the Byzantine authors as affecting people on move ? What was the impact of weather upon land transport and communications ? Which was the concept of weather that people on the move had and how can we combine weather reports with traveller's emotional and factual reality while experiencing meteorologically induced dangers during overland travel ?

UNE NOTE SUR LA DATE DE LA RÉDACTION DE LA *VITA THEOPHANIS* PAR LE PATRIARCHE MÉTHODE

Dans un article publié dans le volume des mélanges offerts au Prof. Alain Ducellier, j'ai étudié la question du destinataire anonyme de la *Vita Theophanis*, rédigée par le Patriarche Méthode (1). Je n'ai finalement pas pu identifier ce mystérieux Étienne qui avait commandé la *Vita*, mais j'ai pu au moins limiter l'ampleur du cercle des personnes qui auraient pu l'avoir fait. Une telle étude impliquait fatalement une recherche chronologique, puisque rien n'est connu au sujet de la date de l'exécution par Méthode de la commande reçue et honorée selon sa propre déclaration avec un retard certain. En tenant compte de tous les éléments de portée chronologique contenus dans le texte, mais aussi des circonstances qui ont marqué la vie du patriarche Méthode, des vicissitudes historiques et de l'évolution du culte de Théophane le Confesseur, j'ai proposé une fourchette chronologique allant de 821 à 829. Entre ces deux dates Méthode a composé, à mon avis, la *Vita Theophanis* (2).

Cette datation diffère quelque peu de celle proposée par C. Mango et R. Scott dans l'*Introduction* de leur traduction en anglais de la *Chronique* attribuée à Théophane le Confesseur (3). Ils notent que la rédaction de la

(1) P. Yannopoulos, *Le destinataire anonyme de la Vita Theophanis de Méthode le Patriarche*, dans B. Doumerc (éd.), *Byzance et ses Périphéries (Mondes grec, balkanique et musulman). Hommage à Alain Ducellier*, Toulouse, 2004, pp. 173-181.

(2) *Ibidem*, p. 176.

(3) Les réserves habituelles à propos de la paternité de cette *Chronique* sont devenues des certitudes à partir du moment où j'ai constaté (cf. P. Yannopoulos, *'Comme le dit Georges le Syncelle ou, je pense, Théophane'*, dans *Byz.*, 74 [2004], pp. 139-146) que, déjà au xe s., les intellectuels byzantins étaient au courant que Théophane n'était pas l'auteur unique de cette *Chronique*. C'est Constantin Porphyrogénète qui est responsable de l'éclipse du nom de Georges le Syncelle comme co-auteur de la Chronique ; cf. à ce propos mes remarques

Vita Theophanis date d'avant la rédaction de la *Vita Euthymii Sardensis*, entreprise par Méthode 40 jours après la mort de S. Euphyme survenue le 26 décembre 831 (4). À l'appui de cette thèse, ils font appel à deux articles de J. Gouillard, parus respectivement en 1960 dans la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* et en 1987 dans les *Travaux et Mémoires* (5).

Lors de la rédaction de mon article sur le *Destinataire anonyme de la Vita Theophanis* je n'ai pas pris en considération l'argumentation proposée par C. Mango et R. Scott, puisque, à mon avis, elle est plutôt due à une lecture hâtive des deux articles de J. Gouillard. Or, étant occupé à une monographie consacrée à Théophane le Confesseur, je me suis de nouveau penché sur la question de la date de rédaction de la *Vita Theophanis* du patriarche Méthode, pièce maîtresse pour mon étude et source majeure pour toute tentative d'approche biographique de cette personne. Je dois alors ne pas laisser de zones d'ombre. C'est la raison de cette brève note.

J. Gouillard ne propose aucune relation chronologique entre la *Vita Euthymii*, dont il établit magistralement la date de la mise en composition, et la *Vita Theophanis*. Son problème est autre : la *Vita Euthymii* est transmise par un seul témoin manuscrit (le *Constantinopolitanus, Bibl. Patriar. Oecum., Ste-Trinité* 88) ; elle y est anonyme. L'auteur pense, à juste titre d'ailleurs, que cette pièce est indubitablement sortie de la plume de Méthode. Conscient que sa conviction n'est pas une preuve historique, il fait appel aux faits historiques connus pour mettre cette paternité littéraire hors de doute. Malgré la solidité de ses arguments provenant des témoins externes, il juge utile d'évoquer aussi les témoins philologiques internes. Pour dissiper tout doute, il compare un passage de la *Vita Euthymii* à deux passages de la *Vita Theophanis*, dont la composition par

dans P. YANNOPOULOS, *Les vicissitudes historiques de la Chronique de Théophane*, dans *Byz.*, 70 (2000), pp. 527-553.

(4) C. MANGO et R. SCOTT, assistés par G. GREATREX, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford, 1997, p. XLIV, n. 9.

(5) Il s'agit notamment de J. GOUILLARD, *Une œuvre inédite du Patriarche Méthode. La Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes*, dans *BZ*, 53 (1960), pp. 36-46, et ID., *La Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes (†831), une œuvre du patriarche Méthode*, dans *TM*, 10 (1987), pp. 1-101. Le second de ces articles, composé d'une introduction et de l'édition critique de la *Vita Euthymii*, a paru à titre posthume ; le travail de J. Gouillard, resté inachevé, est complété par une équipe composée de Marie-France Auzépy, de G. Dagron, de D. Feissel, de Ghislaine de Frydeau, de J. Paramelle et principalement de B. Flusin.

Méthode est attestée par les manuscrits. Les deux passages sont tellement proches qu'il faut accepter qu'ils soient rédigés par un seul et même auteur (6). J. Gouillard ne dit nulle part que Méthode avait déjà rédigé la *Vita Theophanis* avant d'entreprendre la rédaction de la *Vita Euthymii*. La similitude stylistique entre les deux pièces peut parfaitement être valable si la *Vita Theophanis* a été rédigée après la *Vita Euthymii*. Il est donc aberrant de tirer une conclusion chronologique quelconque des travaux de feu J. Gouillard. Certes, la datation proposée par C. Mango et R. Scott, à savoir avant 831, ne contredit pas ma proposition de dater la *Vita Theophanis* entre 821 et 829 ; c'est le raisonnement qui est différent. Assurément, ma datation met en doute les propos de J. Gouillard au sujet de la seconde détention de Méthode sous Théophile, mais cela est une autre question qu'il faut débattre en tenant compte d'autres paramètres que ceux pris en considération par ce grand savant byzantiniste, à savoir la valeur historique qu'il faut accorder aux sources hagiographiques, surtout quand ces dernières sont en désaccord entre elles.

Pour mettre un point final à cette discussion, je signale, en guise de conclusion, que la date de la rédaction de la *Vita Theophanis* par Méthode reste inconnue et qu'elle le restera si de nouvelles sources ne viennent pas compléter notre documentation. Je pense que la fourchette chronologique proposée pour placer la rédaction de ce texte dans le temps, c'est-à-dire entre 821et 829, reste pour l'instant la plus fiable.

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(6) GOUILLARD, *Une œuvre inédite du Patriarche Méthode*, p. 45, se limite à cette seule comparaison, mais dans l'apparat critique de son édition de la *Vita Euthymii* (*La Vie d'Euthyme de Sardes*, p. 21 *ssq.*) il fait un relevé systématique de tous les passages parallèles entre la *Vita Euthymii* et la *Vita Theophanis*.

DOCUMENTS

IL PALINSESTO LAUR. PLUT. 57.26 STUDIO CODICOLOGICO E PALEOGRAFICO. CON UNA POSTILLA SU ALCUNI CODICI LAURENZIANI DI ORIGINE SALENTINA (*)

«per longa secula in sepulcris soporata
volumina expergiscuntur attonita,
queque in locis tenebrosis latuerant
nove lucis radiis perfunduntur»
[R. DA BURY, *Philobiblon*]

Ogni ricerca diventa un'avventura che implica tutte le facoltà intellettuali e fisiche perché è necessario immedesimarsi con la persona o le persone che si sono trovate a vario titolo ad operare su un manufatto ; quando poi si ha di fronte un testo che nel corso dei secoli è stato oggetto di operazioni molteplici, le difficoltà ovviamente aumentano ma proporzionalmente cresce anche la gioia di riuscire a infondere vita a quelle scritture che riposano sui fogli, pur essendo comunque consapevoli che ogni manoscritto è qualcosa di inesauribile, su cui non cesserà di esercitarsi l'acribia degli studiosi, e che esso rimane sempre aperto a nuove interpretazioni, talvolta a inattese scoperte.

Il Pluteo 57.26 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana era finora noto agli studiosi sia come fonte dell'*Etymologicum Gudianum* (1), sia per la

(*) Desidero ringraziare coloro che hanno pazientemente letto questo lavoro fornendomi validi suggerimenti : Chiara Faraggiana da Sarzana, Jagoda Luzzatto e André Jacob.

(1) Cf. E. L. DE STEFANI, *Per le fonti dell'Etimologico Gudiano*, in *BZ*, 16 (1906), pp. 52-68 ; F. MONTANA, *L'inizio del Lessico di Teodosio grammatico ai*

tradizione del testo di Michele Psello (2). Il presente manoscritto, già segnalato come palinsesto (3), è stato studiato limitatamente al contenuto della *scriptura superior*, in questo lavoro quindi cercheremo di esaminare il manufatto nella sua globalità.

Esso consta di ff. III, 113, III'. Le guardie sono di restauro (sec. XX), la prima e l'ultima (I, III') cartacee, le altre (II-III, I'-II') membranacee. I fogli del manoscritto sono tutti membranacei e risultano palinsesti i ff. 1-14, 16-82, 87-88, 91, 94, 98-113 (4), una parte dei quali conservano testi scritti in lingua greca (ff. 1-14, 16-40, 81-82, 87-88, 91, 94, 98-113) e un'altra parte in lingua latina (ff. 41-80).

Il codice misura mm 160 × 104 (5), ed è costituito da una singola unità codicologica di ff. 113 distribuiti in 14 fascicoli : 11 × 8 (88), 1 × 9 (97 : 4+5, f. 97 senza riscontro), 2 × 8 (113). La regola di Gregory è rispettata (inizio lato carne). La rigatura è eseguita, a secco, col sistema 1 (in maniera non troppo accurata), secondo il tipo 00D1 Leroy ; essa però non è praticata in modo sistematico e talora viene sfruttata anche la rigatura del *codex antiquior* (6). Il testo è disposto a piena pagina, su una superfi-

Canoni Liturgici nel Laur. 57.48, in *Rivista di Filologia ed Istruzione Classica*, 123 (1995), pp. 193-200.

(2) Cf. *Michaelis Pselli Poemata*, rec. L. G. Westerink, Stuttgardiae et Lipsiae, 1992, pp. vii-xl : xvi, xxxv ; B. Roosen, *The Works of Nicetas Heracleensis*, in *Byz.*, 69 (1999), pp. 119-144.

(3) Già in A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, II, Florentiae, 1768, coll. 372-75 : 375. È ormai un dato acquisito che per i codici greci la collaborazione di Antonio Sarti è stata fondamentale, come dice lo stesso Bandini nella *Praefatio* del *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae varia continens opera graecorum patruum* [...] *A.M. Bandinius* [...], Florentiae, 1764, p. xxiv, cf. anche R. Pintaudi, *L'originalità del Bandini nella compilazione del* Catalogus, in *Un erudito del Settecento : Angelo Maria Bandini*, a cura di R. Pintaudi, Messina, 2002 (Itinerari Eruditi, n. s. 4), pp. 43-57 : 46 ; D. Baldi, *Seicenteschi lavori di manutenzione nella Biblioteca Laurenziana : documenti inediti*, in *Rara volumina*, 14 (2007) [c.s.].

(4) In totale sono 99 fogli cioè l'88% ca. dell'intero corpo del manoscritto.

(5) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 9.

(6) Questo sistema è abbastanza diffuso nei codici palinsesti e denota un'intelligente opera di recupero e di conservazione materiale ; è evidente che tracciare nuovamente una rigatura su un foglio già fortemente sfruttato poteva essere molto rischioso, e compromettere totalmente la fruibilità del foglio stesso. Inoltre si tenga presente che in casi di *scriptio inferior* perpendicolare non è possibile comunque usufruire dell'antica rigatura ma tracciare nuovamente una riga-

cie di mm 135 × 87 (7), il margine superiore misura mm 12, quello inferiore mm 13, il margine sinistro mm 5, quello destro mm 12. Le righe di scrittura sono 27. L'interlinea è irregolare.

Sull'angolo inferiore esterno del *recto* si trova la numerazione dei singoli fogli : con inchiostro rosso (ff. 1-24, cioè fasc. I-III), e a matita nei fogli rimanenti (ff. 25-113) (8). Si riscontra, sull'angolo inferiore esterno del *verso*, o del *recto* anche una numerazione moderna a registro, che spesso risulta poco corretta.

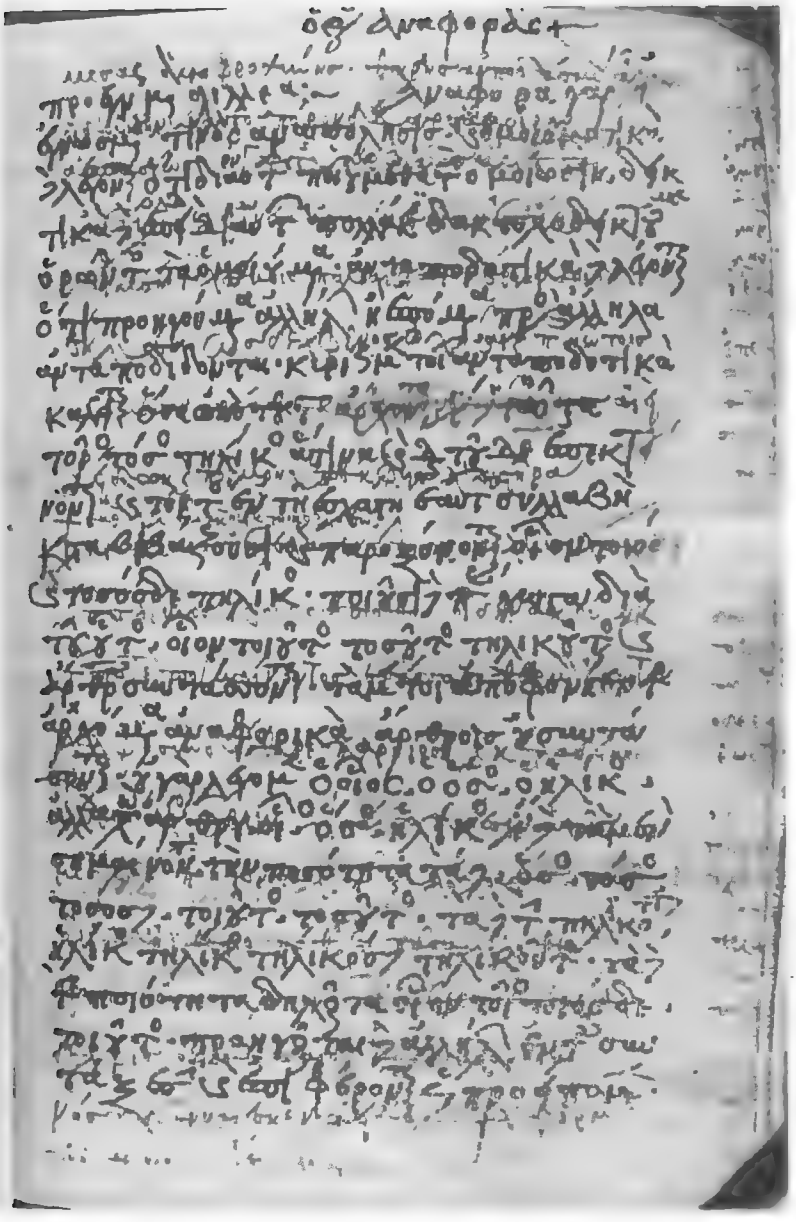
I fascicoli presentano una triplice numerazione : quella antica (coeva alla copia del testo), in lettere greche, nell'angolo superiore esterno del *recto* del primo foglio di ogni fascicolo (ff. 1r α, 9r β, 17r γ, 25r δ) e anche nell'angolo superiore esterno del *verso* dell'ultimo foglio (ff. 8v α, 16v β, 24v γ, 32v δ, 40v ε, 48v ς, 56v ζ, 64v η, 72v θ, 80v manca, 88v ι, 97v $\iota\alpha$, 105v $\iota\beta$, 113v $\iota\gamma$) ; quella intermedia (verosimilmente di età umanistica, espressa in numeri arabi), in posizione centrale sul margine inferiore del *recto* del primo foglio, procede correttamente (1r manca, 9r, 17r, 25r, 33r, 41r, 49r, 57r, 65r, 73r, 81r, 89r, 98r, 106r) ma in alcuni casi è perduta a causa della rifilatura ; quella moderna infine (anch'essa espressa in cifre arabe), a matita, sull'angolo inferiore interno del *verso* dell'ultimo foglio di ciascun fascicolo, risulta poco corretta poiché considera erratamente come primo fascicolo i 3 ff. di guardia iniziali.

Il testo principale è stato vergato da una sola mano, sebbene si notino alcune differenze nella grafia dell'intero codice, ma ritengo che non derivino da un diverso soggetto scrivente bensì da una realizzazione non consecutiva della scrittura, da un eventuale mutamento di strumento scrittorio etc. La scrittura (tavv. 1-4), ad asse leggermente inclinato a destra, è una minuscola di piccolo modulo, con tratti abbastanza rigidi. Si notano : il *beta* a forma di cuore ; il *delta* in un solo movimento ; l'*epsilon* eseguito sia in un solo tratto che in due, questa lettera lega sempre con *iota* seguente ; il *kappa* talvolta di modulo maggiore come anche il *lambda* maiuscolo con le aste oblique che superano il rigo di scrittura in basso ; il *phi* a chiave di violino. Alcune lettere del testo risultano inoltre di

tura provoca sul foglio un effetto reticolato che mette a dura prova il supporto e lo rende esteticamente poco gradevole.

(7) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 9r.

(8) Si riscontra talora anche una foliotazione più antica in inchiostro scuro sull'angolo superiore destro del *recto*, la quale è spesso caduta o a causa della rifilatura o per altri guasti meccanici.



Tav. 1. – Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 57.26, f. 11r (UV).
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modulo maggiore rispetto alle altre (*gamma*, *kappa*, *lambda*, *chi*, etc.) e sono ben evidenti nella pagina ; le aste verticali di alcune lettere (*csi*, *rho*, *phi*, *psi*, etc.) quando si trovano nell'ultimo rigo del foglio vengo spesso prolungate ; la legatura *delta-epsilon-phi* (*e. g.* f. 105v, tav. 3), in un unico movimento, e l'*alpha* in due movimenti con occhiello molto allungato (*e. g.* f. 11r, tav. 1). Sono presenti vari segni abbreviativi, di compendio e quelli tachigrafici di *δέ, καί, κατά, -ον, ἐστί*.

Il Plut. 57.26 reca, dunque, alcune tracce di stilemi e tipologie grafiche riconducibili all'area italo-meridionale e sembra, a tutti gli effetti, un prodotto librario di matrice salentina, vergato alla fine del sec. XII o agli inizi del XIII (9).

Il manoscritto contiene una serie omogenea di testi grammaticali : (ff. 1r-47v ln. 2) Michael Syncellus (10) *de constructione sermonis* (11) : inc. *Ἡ περὶ τῆς συντάξεως τοῦ λόγου διδασκαλία* ; des. *λύχνον καὶ ὁδηγὸν τῆς ἡμῶν πνευματικῆς μεμνημένον σχέσεως* ; (ff. 47v ln. 3-48r ln. 23) Id. *de constructione orationis* (12) : inc. *Ποσαχῶς διαιρουμένην ἐστὶ δυνατὸν εὑρεῖν* ; des. *τῆς ἡμῶν πρὸς σὲ σχέσεως, ὦ φίλων ἄριστον μειράκιον* ; (ff. 48r ln. 24-51r ln. 24) Tryphon (13) *dictionum adfectiones* : inc. *Τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη εἰς δύο γενικά* ; des. *φθάσαν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνικοῦ ἀποκοπῆναι οὐκέτι ἐκλίθη* ; (ff. 51r ln. 25-57v) Ioannes Charax (14) *de encliticis* : inc. *Ἰστέον, ὅτι τὰ ἐγκλιματικά εἰσιν*

(9) Per un quadro generale cf. A. Jacob, *Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante*, in *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 1977 (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 559), pp. 269-281.

(10) Cf. C. Sode, *Jerusalem - Konstantinopel - Rom. Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi*, Stuttgart, 2001 (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium, 4), pp. 144-258.

(11) Edito in *Le* traité de la construction de la phrase *de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem*, histoire du texte, édition, traduction et commentaire par D. Donnet, Bruxelles-Rome, 1982 (Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire anciennes publiées par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 22), pp. 159-415 (ln. 1764) ; il Plut. 57.26 ricopre nello *stemma codicum* la posizione H estremamente marginale e poco pertinente al suo effettivo valore. Il testo si trova anche in Plut. 90 sup. 18, ff. 1r-32v ln. 3.

(12) Edito in Donnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 415 (ln. 1765)-419. Il Plut. 57.26 conserva anche gli ultimi 7 righi che mancano in Plut. 90 sup. 18, f. 32v ln. 4-fine, cf. H. Rostagno, *Indicis codicum graecorum Bybliothecae Laurentianae Supplementum*, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 6 (1898), p. 155 nr. 58.

(13) Cf. *RE* VII A.1, *s. v.* Tryphon, col. 726-744.

(14) Cf. *RE* III. 2, *s. v.* Charax. 20, col. 2123-2124.

ἐν τοῖς ὀκτὼ μέρεσιν ; des. *ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἑκάστῃ λέξει ἀναπέμπουσι τὸν τόνον. Ταῦτα περὶ τούτων* ; (ff. 58r-65v ln. 3) Ioannes Philoponus [15] *de diversis accentibus* : inc. *Ἅγνος τὸ φυτόν, παροξύτονον, ἁγνὸς ὁ καθαρός, ὀξύτονον* ; des. *Ὠχρός, ὁ χλωερός, ὀξύτονον* ; (ff. 65v ln. 4-68r ln. 20) *Etymologiae diversae* : inc. *Ἀλίβας ὁ νεκρός, παρὰ τὸ λιβάδα μὴ ἔχειν* ; des. *εἰς λεπτόν, ὅ ἐστιν ὑδατῶδες λευκόν* ; (ff. 68r ln. 21-69v ln. 5) *de verbo εἰμὶ* : inc. *Τὸ ἔστιν ἡνίκα ἀρχὴ λόγου* ; des. *πέρ μηδ' οὕτως ἀγαθός περ ἐών* ; (ff. 69v ln. 5-71r ln. 15) *dictiones canonum iambicorum* [16] : inc. *Ἀφεγγεῖς, μὴ ἔχοντας φῶς. Ἁγιστίας, ἁγιωσύνης* ; des. *Ὡς ἄημα, ὡς πνεῦμα, ἄημα γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα παρὰ διὸ γεννιανῶ* (sic) [17] ; (ff. 71r ln. 16-77r ln. 9) Michael Psellus *poema 6* [18] : inc. *Μελέτω σοι γραμματικῆς καὶ τῆς ὀρθογραφίας* ; des. *ἀλλ' ἀποχρῶντα πέφυκε καὶ ταῦτα, στεφηφόρε* ; (ff. 77r ln. 10-80v) Nicetas Heracleensis [19] *de nominibus contraentibus, vel custodientibus ω in genitivo* [20] : inc. *Παντὶ τῷ ζητοῦντι ἔνεστί τι περισσόν, ἡ θεία παροιμία φησί* ; des. *τὸ δίχρονον φυλάττεται τὸ ω΄ ἐπὶ γενικῆς* ; (f. 81r lln.

(15) Cf. *ODB*, III, p. 1657, *s. v.* Philoponos John.

(16) Edito in De Stefani, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-66 ; il testo si trova anche in Plut. 57.42, ff. 170r-173v, esso è preceduto da una dedica dalla quale si deduce l'autore della compilazione (Teodosio monaco grammatico) cf. Id., *Il Lessico ai canoni giambici di Giovanni Damasceno secondo un ms. romano*, in *BZ*, 21 (1912), pp. 431-35 : 435 ; G. De Andrés, *Carta de Teodosio el Gramatico (s. IX) sobre el léxico de los canones de S. Juan Damasceno segun el Códice Complutense* Villamil n. 30, in *Emerita*, 41 (1973), pp. 377-395 ; A. Borovilou, *Baroccianus gr. 50* : *Ἐπιμερισμοὶ κατὰ στοιχεῖον γραφικά. Terminus ante quem pour le lexique de Théodose le Grammairien (IXe s.)*, in *Byz.*, 72 (2002), pp. 249-269 ; F. Ronconi, *La miscellanea che non divenne mai silloge : il caso del Bodl. Barocci 50*, in *Selecta colligere*, II. *Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus*, hrsg. von R. M. Piccione und M. Perkams, Alessandria, 2005 (Hellenica, 18), pp. 295-353.

(17) Il *ν* tra *α* e *ω* è aggiunto forse dal copista stesso ; Διογενιανῷ edizione.

(18) Edito in Westerink, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-102 ; il Plut. 57.26 ricopre nello *stemma partium poematis* la posizione prima, p. xvi.

(19) Cf. R. Browning, *The Patriarcal School at Constantinople*, in *Byz.*, 33 (1963), pp. 15-17 ; *ODB*, III, *s. v.* Niketas of Herakleia, p. 1481 ; Roosen, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-144 ; J. Schneider, *La poésie didactique à Byzance : Nicétas d'Héraclée*, in *Bulletin de l'Association Guillame Budé*, 58 (1999), pp. 388-423.

(20) Edito in J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota graeca*, III, Hildesheim, 1962², pp. 328-329 ; cf. anche Roosen, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

1-5) Id. *troparion* ([21]) : inc. *Σημαίνων γράμμα ἔστειλα* ; des. *ἐπίκαλον δὴ ἐξέβη ἔληξε τ'ἄλλα σμικρύνοις* ; (ff. 81r ln. 6-82v ln. 10) Id. *versus iambici centum* (I) ([22]) : inc. *Καιρὸς μὲν ὕπνου καὶ καθεύδειν ἦν δέον* ; des. *πανευπρεπεῖς τίκτοιτε παῖδας τοὺς λόγους* ; (ff. 82v ln. 10-84r ln. 19) Id. *versus centum de antistoechis* (II) : inc. *Πέδον τιθηνὸν ἀκριβοῦ πεφιλμένε* ; des. *οὕτως κοπεῖτε καὶ χαράττειν καὶ γράφειν* ; (ff. 84r ln. 20-85v ln. 19) Id. *versus centum de antistoechis* (III) ([23]) : inc. *Ἔρον σμίκρυνε, τὸν γέλων μέγα γράφε* ; des. *ὅφις δὲ δάκνει καὶ κύων σὺν ἀσπίδι* ; (ff. 85v ln. 20-87v ln. 22) Id. *versus politici centum de verbis non suppositis et contrasuppositis* (IV) ([24]) : inc. *Φέρε μικρόν τι παίξωμεν πολιτικοῖς ἐν στίχοις* ; des. *καὶ πνευστιᾶν πῶς ἔοικεν· οὐκοῦν ἀναπαυστέον* ; (ff. 87v ln. 23-88v ln. 5) Id. *versus politici XXXVI. de nominibus femininis desinentibus in ια* (V) ([25]) : inc. *Ἔφης, ὦ φίλε Μιχαὴλ, μόνα με τῶν ἁπάντων* ; des. *κἂν τῶν εἰς οσ΄, κἂν τῶν ω΄ περισπωμένων εἴη* ; (ff. 88v ln. 6-91r ln. 10) Id. *versus politici CXL.* ([26])

(21) Edito in L. Cohn, *Nicetae Serrarum episcopi Rhythmi de marium fluviorum lacuum montium urbium gentium lapidum nominibus*, in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik (Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie)*, 133 (1886), pp. 649-666 : 656.

(22) Edito in Boissonade, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 323-327. Nel Plut. 57.24 (cart., mm 227 × 150, sec. xiv-xv, che si conserva in pessime condizioni per danni sia meccanici sia provocati da agenti esterni) sono presenti 4 dei 6 componimenti qui elencati. La loro successione è diversa rispetto a questa esposta (IV, VI, V, I) e risultano anonimi (cf. Westerink, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv). Questo testo nel Plut. 57.24 si trova sui ff. 153v-154r ln. 22 ; la scrittura è disposta su due colonne e corre orizzontalmente da una colonna all'altra.

(23) Cf. anche Schneider, *op. cit.*, (1999), p. 396.

(24) Edito in S. P. Lampros, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Τζέτζου περὶ ῥημάτων αὐθυποτάκτων στίχοι πολιτικοί*, in *NE*, 16 (1922), pp. 191-197 : 192-196 ; cf. anche Roosen, *op. cit.*, p. 127. Sono in verità 107 versi, come giustamente aveva notato Bandini («sunt tamen revera CVII») ; vedi anche Plut. 57.24 f. 151r-v ln. 29 dove si trovano un numero maggiore di versi e una diversa successione.

(25) Edito in A. M. Guglielmino, *Un maestro di grammatica a Bisanzio nell'XI secolo e l'epitafio per Niceta di Michele Psello*, in *Siculorum Gymnasium*, n.s. 27 (1974), pp. 421-463 : 430-431 (il testo del Plut. 57.26 termina a v 37). Vedi anche Plut. 57.24 ff. 151v ln. 30-153r ln. 8. Riguardo al lavoro della Guglielmino si legga anche la recensione di E. Follieri in *BZ*, 70 (1977), p. 418.

(26) Sul margine esterno di f. 88v si legge l'indicazione sticometrica (*ρ΄μ΄*), in realtà i versi presenti non sono 140 ma solo 138, come sottolineava già Bandini («sunt tamen CXXXVIII») ; nel Plut. 57.24 invece la sequenza dei versi è completa (140). Per l'attribuzione a Niceta cf. Westerink, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

de constructione (VI) ([27]) : inc. *Τί δὲ περὶ συντάξεως ; μῶν ταύτας παροπτέον* ; des. *ὥσπερ φασίν που τῶν Μυσῶν καὶ τῶν Φρυγῶν τοὺς ὅρους* ; (f. 91r ln. 11-fine) Id. *troparion* ([28]) : inc. *Ἄνδρα ἰφθιμότατον* ; des. *καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἰσότατον* ; (f. 91v) Id. *nomina fluminum, fontium, montium, urbium, gentium, atque lapidum* ([29]) : inc. *Αἴσαρος καὶ αἴσηπος* ; des. *σαρδόνυξ λιγύριον* ; (ff. 92r-99v ln. 18) Id. *canones grammaticae et orthographiae ad cantum accomodatae memoriae facilioris gratia* ([30]) : inc. *Τὸ α΄ τὴν καταρχὴν ἀσπάζεται* ; des. *καὶ ὀψωνήσαντα μεγέθυνε* ; (f. 99v lln. 19-22) Id. *colophon* ([31]) : inc. *Παίγνια σεμνὰ τεθεικότες* ; des. *τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐξαίτησιν* ; (ff. 99v ln. 23-100r ln. 16) Id. *de litteris quae contrahuntur in genitivo* ([32]) : inc. *Ἀγνώμων ἀγνώμονος διὰ τὸ εἶναι κοινά* ; des. *φιλήμονος χείρονος χαρκηδόνος* ; (ff. 100r ln. 17-112v ln. 10) Id. *canon orthographiae* ([33]) : inc. *Εἰος τὰ ὀξύτονα* ; des. *τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ μεγάλα γραφέσθωσαν* ; (f. 112v lln. 11-21) *subscriptio* ([34]) ; (ff. 112v ln. 22-113v ln. 10, ln. 23-fine) Id. *deorum epitheta* ([35]) : inc. *Ἐπίθετα διός, δωδωναῖος, ἰδαῖος* ;

(27) Vedi Plut. 57.24, ff. 153r ln. 9-154r ln. 22. Cf. anche SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, (1999), p. 397.

(28) Edito in COHN, *op. cit.*, p. 656 ; cf. anche ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

(29) Edito in COHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 656-661.

(30) Cf. ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 123 ; T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Orthographical Kanons of Nicetas of Heraclea*, in *JÖB*, 53 (2003), pp. 171-185 : 177, 183-185.

(31) Edito in A. LUDWICH, *Anekdota zur griechischen Orthographie*, XIV, Königsberg, 1912, p. 409 n. 1 ; il testo si trova anche in SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, (1999), p. 412.

(32) Edito in A. LUDWICH, *Anekdota zur griechischen Orthographie*, VIII, Königsberg, 1909, pp. 221.14-223.23. Si tratta del supplemento 20 alla *Ars grammatica* di Dionisio Trace ; cf. J. SCHNEIDER, *Une collection grammaticale de la haute époque byzantine*, in *Manuscripts and Tradition of Grammatical Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance. Proceedings of a Conference Held at Erice, 16-23 october 1997, as the 11th Course of International School for the Study of Written Records*, ed. by M. DE NONNO, P. DE PAOLIS and L. HOLTZ, Cassino, 2000, I, pp. 89-131 : 96.

(33) Edito in COHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 661-664.

(34) Vedi oltre in questo stesso lavoro, dove si trovano il testo greco e le relative indicazioni.

(35) Edito in G. STUDEMUND, *Anecdota varia Graeca et Latina*, I. *Anecdota varia Graeca musica metrica grammatica*, Berolini, 1886, pp. 274-279 (il ms. presenta gli *epitheta Martis et Vulcani*, cioè le sezioni <II-III> dell'ed. di Studemund, dopo il *troparion Τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀνέζευξε* delle lln. 11-22).

des. *ἀμφιγυήεις, σίντιος, λήμνιος* ; (f. 113v lln. 11-22) Id. *troparion* ([36]) : inc. *Τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀνέζευξε* ; des. *τοῦτο παρέσχεν ἡ ἔλευσις*.

Su f. 1r si trova una *pyle* molto semplificata, delineata con inchiostro castano scuro e riempita in brevi tratti con colore rosso, terminante alle estremità con un elemento fitomorfo stilizzato ; le lettere, di maggiori dimensioni, che evidenziano l'inizio delle singole sezioni interne, sono quasi sempre sopralineate di giallo ocra, così come molti titoli interni. Sono presenti anche piccoli elementi fitomorfi e asterischi nella separazione tra le varie sezioni del testo, le forme e le tipologie dei quali mutano a seconda della situazione ; la decorazione risulta dunque alquanto semplice e sobria. Sul margine sinistro di f. 52v si trovano le tracce di un disegno geometrico del quale rimane solo la parte perimetrale costituita da due linee parallele di colore blu e la fascia interna in giallo ocra.

Su f. 112v lln.11-21 (tav. 4) si legge ([37]) anche una sottoscrizione degna della nostra considerazione :

Δόξα σοι, Χριστέ, δι'οὗ καὶ διήνυσα τὸ φιλοτέχνημα πολυωφελέστατον ὁ σὸς οἰκέτης νίκης ἐπώνυμος, Χαλκοπρατίων πρώξειμος (sic), *ἀνεψιὸς τῶν Σερῶν τοῦ ποιμένος, ὅσπερ* ([38]) *τὸν ὁμώνυμον διὰ οἶκτον ἐδέξατο στέφανον.*

Ὄνομα καλόν, καὶ σφόδρα θαυμάσιον ἡ βίβλος κτήσεται· μεγαλεμπορία γὰρ τοῖς φιλολόγοις, οἶδα, κληθήσεται, τοῖς ἀντιστοίχοις βρίθουσα, καὶ πυκνουμένη καλῶς· τοῖς κανόσιν, οὕσπερ καὶ θαυμάσονται οἳ μὴ ([39]) *τὸν φθόνον ψυχαῖς ὑποσμίχονται* (sic).

(36) Edito in STUDEMUND, *op. cit.*, p. 273 n. 1 ; cf. anche ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

(37) In verità essa fu trascritta già da Bandini (cf. BANDINI, *op. cit.*, (1768), col. 375), il quale fornì anche una versione latina che qui ripresentiamo : «Gloria tibi, Christe, cuius gratia artificiosum hoc opus, atque utilissimum absolvi ego tuus famulus [Nicetas], victoriae adfine nomen consecutus, Chalkopatri hospes, consobrinus Serron Pastoris, qui sua miseratione eiusdem nominis virum excepit Stephanum. Nomen pulchrum, ac multum admirabile liber habebit : magnum enim emporium, ut puto, a philologis vocabitur ; cum sit totus antistoechis anustus, et bene adpositis canonibus refertus, quos admirabuntur vel illi, qui invidiam animis inurunt». Il testo si trova trascritto anche su altri codici, cf. GUGLIELMINO, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-439 ; J. DARROUZÈS, *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins*, London, 1972 [Collected Studies, 10], cap. VI, pp. 179-184 : 181-184 ; ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 128 ; SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, (1999), pp. 393-94 : ANTONOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

(38) Nel cod. si legge *ὅπερ*.

(39) Sul ms. il *μὴ* è espunto con un tratto di inchiostro, diverso da quello

«Gloria a te, Cristo, per grazia del quale ho terminato quest'opera amica dell'arte (grammaticale) e di estrema utilità, io il tuo servo eponimo di vittoria, insegnante di alto livello di Calcoprateia, nipote del vescovo di Serres, che per la sua pietà ricevette la corona corrispondente al suo nome.

Un nome splendido e degno di molta ammirazione avrà il libro : un ricco emporio ([40]), ne sono certo, sarà ritenuto dai filologi ; di corrispondenze pieno e denso di regole come si conviene, che ammireranno coloro che non si logorano l'animo per l'invidia».

L'importanza di questa sottoscrizione è già stata sottolineata sia da Bram Roosen, che ha proposto anche un'ipotesi di ricostruzione storica ([41]) ; sia da Jean Schneider al lavoro del quale si rinvia anche per la produzione poetica di Niceta ([42]). E' possibile inoltre instaurare un parallelo pertinente tra la seconda sezione ([43]) di questo colofone e alcuni dodecasillabi presenti nel manoscritto laurenziano Plut. 57.34, f. 48v ([44]) :

τῶν ἀντιστοίχων βίβλος εἴληφεν τέλος
τοῖς κανόσι βρίθουσα πεπυκνωμένη·
βίβλος πάντα φέρουσα καὶ πάντων πλήρης
τῶν ὧν σποράδην πολλαὶ φέρουσι βίβλοι·
πρὸς Καλλίνικον κάλλους πεπυκνωμένον
<ἣ> συνετέθη κάλλιστον ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ([45])

usato per vergare il codice ; la stessa mano ha inoltre aggiunto, sul margine esterno, l'articolo *τὸν* che precede *φθόνον*.

(40) Il termine *μεγαλεμπορία* non risulta attestato in nessun dizionario della lingua greca (antica, medievale e moderna) e neppure il *Thesaurus* ne fornisce notizia alcuna ; esso comunque deriva da *μεγαλέμπορος* (= *magnarum rerum negotiator*) e ovviamente possiede un'accezione ad esso assimilabile ; diverso significato gli è stato attribuito da SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, (1999), p. 412.

(41) Cf. ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 128, pp. 138-144.

(42) Cf. SCHNEIDER, *op. cit.*, (1999), pp. 411-412.

(43) Sulla questione degli *antisticha* cf. E. FOLLIERI, *Ἀντίστοιχα*, in *Δίπτυχα*, 4 (1986), pp. 217-228 ora in EAD., *Byzantina et italograeca. Studi di filologia e di paleografia*, a cura di A. ACCONCIA LONGO - L. PERRIA - A. LUZZI, Roma, 1997 (Storia e letteratura, 195), pp. 387-397.

(44) Il breve testo occupa l'ultimo rigo del foglio e il margine inferiore. Il codice (cart., mm 220 × 155, sec. XIV) contiene una miscellanea grammaticale di autori bizantini unitamente a testi astronomici e geometrici con opere retoriche della tarda classicità (cf. BANDINI, *op. cit.*, (1768), col. 387-94).

(45) BANDINI, *op. cit.*, (1768), col. 389 fornisce, oltre alla trascrizione, anche una versione latina di tali versi : «Antistoechorum liber explicit, / Totus canoni-

«Vede il suo termine il libro delle corrispondenze, un condensato pieno di regole, libro che porta in sé ogni elemento ed è completo di tutto ciò che, disperso qua e là, molti libri contengono ; questo libro fu realizzato per Callinico, condensato di bellezza e fulgido tra i sacerdoti».

Il Plut. 57.26 risulta dunque essere, verosimilmente, il testimone più antico del testo di Niceta ([46]) ma anche uno dei più antichi di Michele Sincello insieme al Voss. gr. Q. 20 (ff. 266v-280) ([47]).

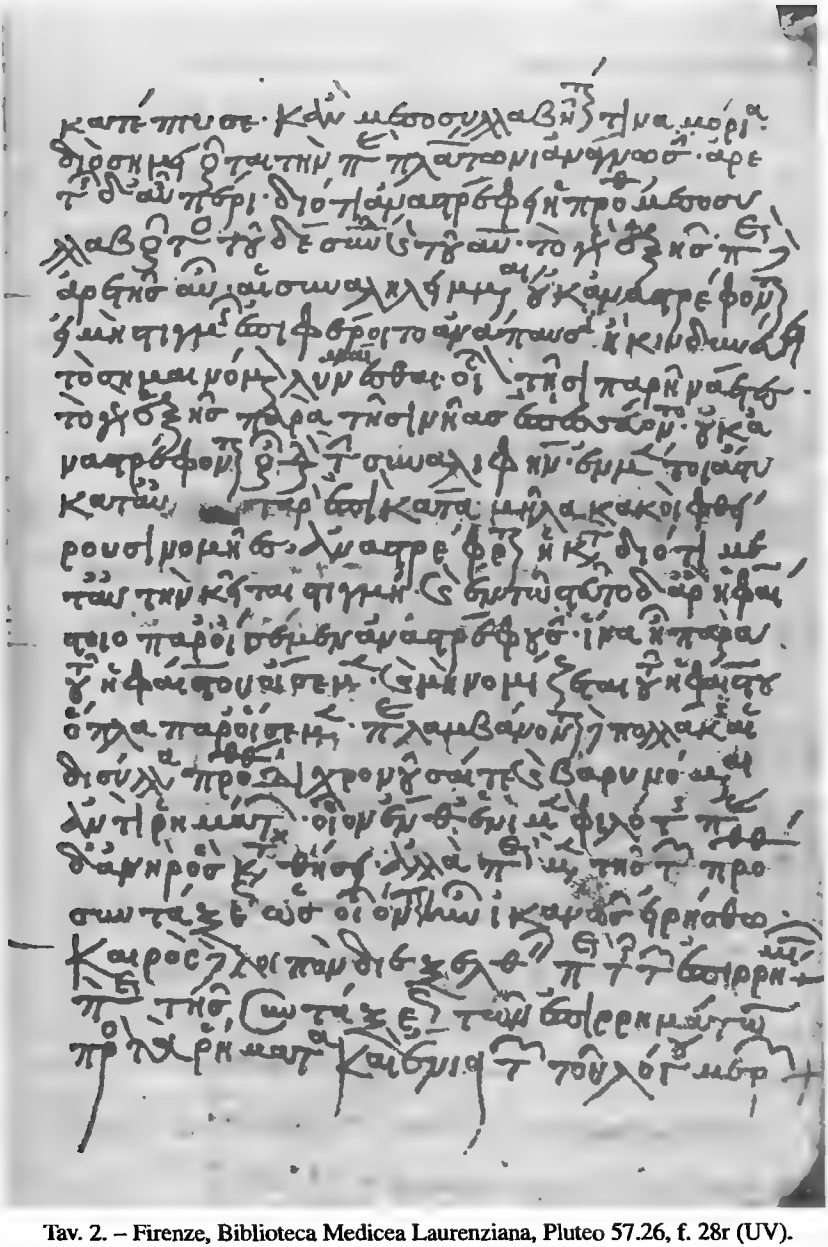
Talora lo scriba principale ha posto *in scribendo* alcune note di richiamo sul margine esterno. Una mano diversa dalla principale ha segnato la numerazione dei paragrafi interni in alcuni fogli del testo di Michele Sincello (ff. 14v-16v) ; altrove invece ha stilato brevi titoli di richiamo o semplici glosse nel margine esterno (ff. 32r-47r, 49r-51r, 78r-85r, 91r-113v). Sul f. IIr si legge ancora «Michaelis Syncelli Syntaxis / sive de constructione orationis» scritto in inchiostro rosso da una mano più recente nella parte superiore del foglio in posizione centrale ; un'altra mano su f. 1r ha scritto (a soli mm 3 dal margine superiore) in inchiostro scuro : «de grammatica».

La pergamena non è di buona qualità, numerosi fogli presentano un notevole spessore, ed è stata lavorata in modo non raffinato ma molto energico, si notano infatti parti estremamente sottili e fragili provocate dall'eccessiva raschiatura subita dalla pelle ; molti fogli mostrano una colorazione giallo-scura derivante dalle sostanze utilizzate per la pulitura.

bus refertus et onustus / Liber omnia continens et plenus omnibus, / quae dispersa continent alii libri : / in gratiam Callinici omni venustate spectabilis / compositus est inter sacerdotes optimi». Il primo verso è in realtà l'*explicit* dell'operetta *De antistichis* che è contenuta nei ff. 30r ln. 15-48v ; per l'opera cf. J. SCHNEIDER, *Les traités orthographiques grecs antiques et byzantins*, Turnhout, 1999 (Corpus Christianorum. Lingua Patrum, III), pp. 573-578.

(46) Niceta sarebbe nato intorno al 1060 ed era nipote di Stefano, vescovo di Serres ; divenne *proximus* di Calcoprateia probabilmente a venti anni e fu anche *didaskalos* nella scuola patriarcale di Haghia Sophia. Dopo il 19 maggio 1117 ricoprì la sede episcopale di Eraclea, da quel momento si sono perse le sue tracce e null'altro sappiamo a suo riguardo. Cf. anche A. TOVAR, *Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine*, in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry*, Urbana, 1969 (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 58), pp. 223-235 : 223-228 ; ROOSEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-144 e di ANTONOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-185 con aggiornata bibliografia.

(47) In base alla lista di manoscritti fornita da DONNET, *op. cit* , pp. 22-24 per il testo di Michele Sincello e da ANTONOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185 per la tradizione di Niceta.



Tav. 2. – Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 57.26, f. 28r (UV).
Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

Il codice appartenne alla Libreria Medicea privata ([48]) come conferma la dicitura nell'inventario redatto da Ianos Laskaris e Bartolomeo de' Ciai per conto della Signoria di Firenze il 20 ottobre 1495 ([49]) : «2. Michaelis Singelii de constructione et quedam alia opuscula in grammatica, in membranis, grecis litteris, ligata in pergameno, parvo volumine. - Gre.» ([50]), e fu poi tra i numerosi codici trasportati a Roma nel 1508 per volere del card. Giovanni de' Medici (futuro papa Leone X) e allogati nel palazzo di S. Eustachio (l'attuale Palazzo Madama), dove rimasero fino al 1523, per tornare poi definitivamente a Firenze ; di essi (tra il 1508 e il 1510) Fabio Vigili redasse un inventario ([51]) dove ([52]) si elenca anche un «Michelis presbyteri et Syncelli apostolici throni hierosolimorum. Methodus de orationis constructione, Composita in Edessa Mesopotamię, ad petitionem Lazari Diaconi, diaconi philosophi et Logothetę. Grammatica quędam in qua multa curiosa, et politicis versibus composi-

(48) Sull'argomento cf. S. Gentile, *Lorenzo e Giano Lascaris. Il fondo greco della biblioteca medicea privata*, in *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo, Atti di Convegno Internazionale* (Firenze, giugno 1992), a cura di G. C. Garfagnini, Firenze, 1994, pp. 177-194 ; Id., *I codici greci della biblioteca Medicea privata*, in *I luoghi della memoria scritta. Manoscritti, incunaboli, libri a stampa di Biblioteche Statali Italiane*, direzione scientifica G. Cavallo, Roma, 1994, pp. 115-121. Per la provenienza di altri manoscritti laurenziani vedi il mio *Sulla storia di alcuni codici italogreci della Biblioteca Laurenziana*, in *Nea Rhome*, 4 (2007) [c.s.]. Si noti inoltre che K. K. Müller, *Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 1 (1884), pp. 409-410 ipotizza che il 57.26 o il 55.7 siano tra i codici che passarono tra le mani di Ianos Laskaris (Vat. gr. 1412, f. 67r ln. 13 : «*τὸ περὶ συντάξεως τοῦ Συγκέλλου*», si veda anche f. 68r ln. 1 : «*Συγκέλλου περὶ συντάξεως*») ma è necessario ricordare che la maggior parte dei manoscritti presenti in tale lista sono da identificare con codici laskariani e non medicei, cf. anche D. Speranzi, *Codici greci appartenuti a Francesco Filelfo nella biblioteca di Ianos Laskaris*, in *Segno e testo*, 3 (2005), pp. 467-496 : 467 n. 1 e passim.

(49) Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, Filze 84, 87 e 104, quest'ultima edita in E. Piccolomini, *Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della Libreria medicea privata dal 1404 al 1508*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, s. 3a, 19-20 (1874-1875), pp. 101-129, 254-281, 51-94, 282-296 (cit. dall'estratto, Firenze, 1875, con paginazione continua) : 65-94.

(50) Cf. Piccolomini, *op. cit.*, p. 68 nr. 24.

(51) Cf. F. Vigili, *Mediceę domus insignis bibliotheca, quae nunc est apud Rev.mum Cardinalem de Medicis. Graeca bibliotheca.* (Vat. Barb. lat. 3185, ff. 1r-76v) ; per una descrizione dell'intero ms. cf. M. H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les Bibliothèques de Bologne*, Città del Vaticano, 1943 (ST, 105), pp. xviii-xxi.

(52) Vat. Barb. lat. 3185, f. 58r nr. 344.

ta, veluti nomina deorum et dearum etc. cognominaque eorum per ordinem ; item nomina lapidum et huiusmodi».

Nel XVI sec. ricevette la legatura tipicamente medicea (assi lignee ricoperte di marocchino rosso con impressioni a secco), che conserva ancora la catena, con il cartellino «*Γραμματική* / Grammatica» profilato in metallo, posto tra i due bulloni superiori ; e fu collocato nel pluteo 57 ([53]) (vedi ASBL Plut. 92 sup. 94a dove su f. 50r nr. 33 si legge «Grammatica» ; quindi nel 1589 aveva la segnatura Plut. 57.33 e solo successivamente assunse quella che ancora conserva) come conferma la «pagella» ([54]) che ne descrive i codici : «Io. Philoponi, Mich. Pselli, / et aliorum Opuscula gram-/maticalia. membr. Saec. XIV» ([55]).

*
* *

(53) Si tratta del 13° banco (dall'ingresso) sul lato destro del salone michelangiolesco (in esso i manoscritti rimasero fino ai primi anni del sec. XX). Per un quadro storico-artistico generale si veda G. De Angelis d'Ossat, *L'architettura della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, in *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Firenze, 1986, pp. 37-47 ; A. M. Bandini, *Dei Princìpi e progressi della Real Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana (Ms. laur. Acquisti e Doni 142)*, (Documenti inediti di cultura toscana – n. s. III), a cura di R. Pintaudi - M. Tesi - A. R. Fantoni, Firenze, 1990, pp. 3-107 ; V. Tesi, *La sala di lettura nella Biblioteca Laurenziana*, in *San Lorenzo 393-1993. L'architettura. Le vicende della fabbrica*, a cura di G. Morolli e P. Ruschi, Firenze, [1993], pp. 135-140 ; *Michelangelo. I banchi della Biblioteca Laurenziana*, a cura di P. Barocchi, Padova, 2002 ; D. Hemsoll, *The Laurentian Library and the Michelangelo's Architectural*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*, 66 (2003), pp. 29-62.

(54) Il contenuto di ogni pluteo era scritto in una «pagella» cartacea incollata sulla costola del banco oppure, se i codici erano particolarmente numerosi e quindi l'elenco molto esteso, veniva realizzata una «pagella» divisa in due fogli ognuno dei quali era incollato su un lato di una tavoletta lignea che, appesa alla costola, permetteva di essere girata e quindi letta. Nel 1771 il prefetto Angelo Maria Bandini, trovandole in pessime condizioni, ebbe dal Granduca Pietro Leopoldo un contributo per rinnovare le «pagelle» che vennero eseguite da Giuseppe Della Santa «esattissimo imitatore di qualunque antico, e moderno carattere». Nel secolo successivo, sotto la direzione di Francesco Del Furia, le «pagelle» furono sostituite nuovamente con altre, non più manoscritte ma a stampa.

(55) Ha subito il restauro del dorso, la ricucitura e il reinserimento di un bullone nel 1931 per mano di Dante Cappellini, attualmente si conserva in buone condizioni ; cf. *Registro dei Legatori*, II (1910-1931), nr. 3205 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

Per realizzare il Laur. 57.26 fu utilizzata la pergamena proveniente da 11 *codices antiquiores* (*a* - *k*) dei quali : 8 (*a* - *f*, *j* - *k*) in lingua greca di cui uno (*d*) *bis rescriptus* e 3 (*g* - *i*) in lingua latina ([56]).

Codice a [ff. 1-8, 17-24] ([57])

La scrittura, perpendicolare alla *scriptio superior* ([58]), è disposta a piena pagina su una superficie di mm. 180 × 125 ([59]). Il codice è vergato in una minuscola di modulo molto ridotto, databile verosimilmente al sec. x, ma le tracce di scrittura sono estremamente evanide e quindi risulta difficile fornire ulteriori indicazioni ([60]).

Codice b [ff. 9-14, 16] ([61])

La scrittura (tav. 1) ([62]), parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([63]), è disposta a piena pagina su una superficie di mm 135 × 85 ([64]). Le righe per pagina sono 17. L'interlinea misura mm 10. Il margine superiore misura mm 12, quello inferiore mm 13. Il margine sinistro misura mm 5, quello destro mm 14. La rigatura appartiene al tipo 20A1 I,2a Leroy.

(56) L'utilizzo di molti *codices antiquiores* non stupisce, poiché – come noto – nella confezione dei codici contenitori si ricorreva a scorte di pelli (proprio per questo miste) : E. Crisci, *I palinsesti di Grottaferrata. Studio codicologico e paleografico*, Napoli, 1990, I, pp. 269-270.

(57) Tali fogli costituiscono i fascicoli 1 e 3.

(58) Un foglio di *a* corrisponde a un bifoglio del Plut. 57.26.

(59) Rilevazione effettuata su f. [4v/5r].

(60) Tracce di lettere abbastanza leggibili si riscontrano su f. 5v, la pergamena invece mostra con chiarezza i segni della rigatura del *codex antiquior*.

(61) Tali fogli costituiscono il fascicolo 2 (il f. 15 non è palinsesto infatti non è solidale al f. 10 ma vi è semplicemente unito mediante un tallone).

(62) Questo, come gli altri *specimina* qui proposti (tavv. 2-4), è l'esito di una ripresa fotografica effettuata nel gennaio 2004 sulla banda dell'invisibile in un ambiente illuminato a raggi UV. Sull'importanza delle immagini, come archivio storico dei documenti, cf. D. Broia - C. Faraggiana da Sarzana - S. Lucà, *Manoscritti palinsesti criptensi : lettura digitale sulla banda dell'invisibile*, Ravenna - Parma, 1998 (Quaderni della Facoltà di Conservazione dei Beni culturali di Ravenna, 2), pp. 8-17.

(63) I ff. di *b* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 ruotandoli di 180°, eccetto il bifoglio [11/14].

(64) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 9r.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola corsiva, di piccolo modulo, inseribile nel filone delle *Scholarly Hands*, difficilmente localizzabile e attribuibile al sec. XI.

Il manoscritto contiene gli ultimi versi (410-680) del V libro di Opp. *Hal.* ([65]), in particolare :

f. 9vr V 611-651
f. 10vr V 410-443
f. 11rv V 444-481
f. 12vr V 523-567
f. 13vr V 568-610
f. 14rv V 652-680
f. 16vr V 482-522

In origine il manoscritto presentava la seguente disposizione :

f. 10vr V 410-443
f. 11rv V 444-481
f. 16vr V 482-522
f. 12vr V 523-567
f. 13vr V 568-610
f. 9vr V 611-651
f. 14rv V 652-680

Il testo contenuto in ciascun foglio è pari a 40 vv. ca, quindi si può ragionevolmente ipotizzare che l'intera opera di Oppiano, *Halieutica* (libri 5) ([66]) occupasse nell'antico manoscritto fogli 88 circa, distribuiti in 11 quaternioni, l'ultimo dei quali (mutilo di un foglio) ([67]) era formato dai fogli sopra enumerati.

(65) Cf. anche E. B. FRYDE, *Greek Manuscripts in the Private Library of the Medici 1469-1510*, I, Aberystwyth, 1996, pp. 386-387 ; l'autore non fornisce però un' indicazione completa dei fogli palinsesti.

(66) Cf. *Oppianus Halieutica*, von F. FAJEN, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1999, pp. 306-330 ; dove al Laur. 57.26 è assegnata la sigla O. L'editore ha giustamente collazionato il Laurenziano ma ha ignorato l'esistenza dei versi presenti sul f. 16. Il Fajen stesso precedentemente in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Halieutika des Oppian*, Meisenheim am Glan, 1969, p. 12 nr. 21, aveva fornito una breve descrizione del 57.26.

(67) Il bifoglio 10/15 del Laur. 57.26 era nel *codex antiquior* il primo bifoglio dell'ultimo fascicolo e subì la mutilazione della seconda parte poiché il testo da copiare era giunto a termine, e tale foglio risultava dunque in esubero ; nel

Sui margini e sull'interlinea si nota inoltre la presenza di *scholia* al testo i quali sono in parte caduti a causa della rifilatura dei margini.

Questo autore ebbe molto successo presso i bizantini come dimostra la tradizione manoscritta dei suoi testi ([68]).

Codice c [ff. 25, 32] ([69])

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([70]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie che doveva essere di mm 115 × 80 ([71]). Le righe per pagina sono 22. L'interlinea misura mm 8. Il margine superiore misura mm 20, quello inferiore mm 25. Il margine sinistro misura mm 10, quello destro mm 14. Non si vede traccia di rigatura.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola corsiva di piccolo modulo, ad asse leggermente inclinato a destra, difficilmente localizzabile e sembra collocabile nel sec. x.

La limitata leggibilità impedisce di identificare il testo ivi contenuto.

Codice d[1] [ff. 26, 31]

La scrittura (tav. 2), parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([72]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie che doveva misurare mm 170 × 95 ([73]). Le righe per pagina sono 21. L'interlinea misura mm 7. Il margine superiore misura mm 12, quello inferiore manca. Il margine sinistro misura mm 20, quello destro manca. La rigatura è verosimilmente del tipo 00C 1 Leroy.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola antica oblunga, ad asse verticale, e di incerta localizzazione, attribuibile al sec. ix-x.

processo di riutilizzazione fu aggiunto nuovamente (attuale f. 15 annesso attraverso il tallone) per rendere uniforme la disposizione dei fogli.

(68) Cf. D. Robin, *The Manuscript Tradition of Oppian's Halieutica*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, s. 3ª, 2 (1981), pp. 28-94 : 51-52 ; il Plut. 57.26 corrisponde nello *stemma codicum* a q_2, la descrizione presentata dalla Robin è oggettivamente suscettibile di correzione poiché la mancata autopsia del codice ha indotto la studiosa a commettere evidenti errori scientifici (*e. g.* i fogli palinsesti contenenti il testo di Oppiano in realtà sono 7 e non 6, i versi presenti non sono quelli da lei indicati).

(69) Bifoglio esterno del fascicolo 4.

(70) I ff. di *c* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna.

(71) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 32r.

(72) I ff. di *d*[1] sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna.

(73) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 26r.

La scarsa intellegibilità della scrittura non permette di identificare il testo.

Codice d^2 [ff. 26, 31]

La scrittura (tav. 2), parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([74]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie che doveva essere di mm 105 × 90 ([75]). Le righe per pagina sono 16. L'interlinea misura mm 7. Il margine superiore misura mm 32, quello inferiore mm 23. Il margine sinistro misura mm 10, quello destro mm 10. La rigatura appartiene al tipo 00C1 Leroy.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola di modulo medio, ad asse verticale, di incerta localizzazione, attribuibile al sec. XI.

Si nota nei ff. 26r e 31v una iniziale decorata (*tau*) di dimensioni maggiori rispetto al testo e con tratti ispessiti ; nel f. 26r inoltre è presente un'esile fascia decorativa costituita da linea ondulata centrale contorniata da segni geometrici (in forma di *tau*).

Il testo conteneva verosimilmente un testo riguardante le opere omeriche, da quanto si può dedurre leggendo in f. 31r *Ὁμήρου ποίημα*.

Codice e [ff. 27-30, 34-35, 38-39]

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([76]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie di mm 135 × 85 ([77]). Le righe per pagina sono 28. L'interlinea misura mm 6. Il margine superiore misura mm 5, quello inferiore mm 20. Il margine sinistro misura mm 13, quello destro mm 10. La rigatura è del tipo 00A1 Leroy.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola corsiva di piccolo modulo, ad asse leggermente inclinato a destra, di ardua localizzazione e attribuibile al sec. X-XI.

Nonostante l'estensione della scrittura leggibile, non sono in grado di identificare questi frammenti di testo (eccetto f. 28r) ([78]) ; credo di poter dire che si tratta verosimilmente di un'opera di carattere grammaticale

(74) I ff. di d^2 sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna.

(75) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 31r.

(76) I ff. di *e* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna, eccetto i bifogli [28/29 ; 34/39] che sono stati ruotati di 180°.

(77) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 29r.

(78) Cf. *Theodosii Alexandrini grammatica*, ex codicibus manuscriptis edidit et notas adiecit C. G. GÖTTLING, Lipsiae, 1822, p. 138 lln. 29 ss.

(forse un'epitome) riguardo alla quale la tradizione non ci ha fornito altre indicazioni.

Codice f [ff. 33, 36-37, 40] ([79])

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([80]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie di mm 122 × 80 ([81]). Le righe per pagina sono 22. L'interlinea misura mm 6. Il margine superiore misura mm 15, quello inferiore mm 27. Il margine sinistro misura mm 13, quello destro mm 15. La rigatura appartiene al tipo 00A1 Leroy.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola corsiva, di piccolo modulo, ad asse verticale, di difficile localizzazione, attribuibile al sec. XI.

Si notano alcune iniziali di modulo maggiore come *kappa*, *omicron*, etc.

Esiguo è il numero dei termini leggibili (f. 36v τὸ κήρυγμα, καίνοσις) ma esso ci induce a ritenere che il codice contenesse opere di argomento omiletico o esegetico.

Codice g [ff. 41-48] ([82])

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([83]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie di mm 117 × 75 ([84]). Le righe per pagina sono 15. L'interlinea misura mm 8. Il margine superiore misura mm 11, quello inferiore mm 33. Il margine sinistro misura mm 8, quello destro mm 20. La rigatura è una rozza esecuzione del tipo 20D1 Leroy.

Il codice sembra vergato in una minuscola di modulo medio attribuibile al sec. XI.

Il manoscritto potrebbe contenere un testo ad uso liturgico ma la notevole evanescenza della scrittura, non consente di affermare, in proposito, nulla di certo.

(79) I ff. 33/40 e 36/37 risultano rispettivamente il bifoglio esterno e centrale del fascicolo 5.

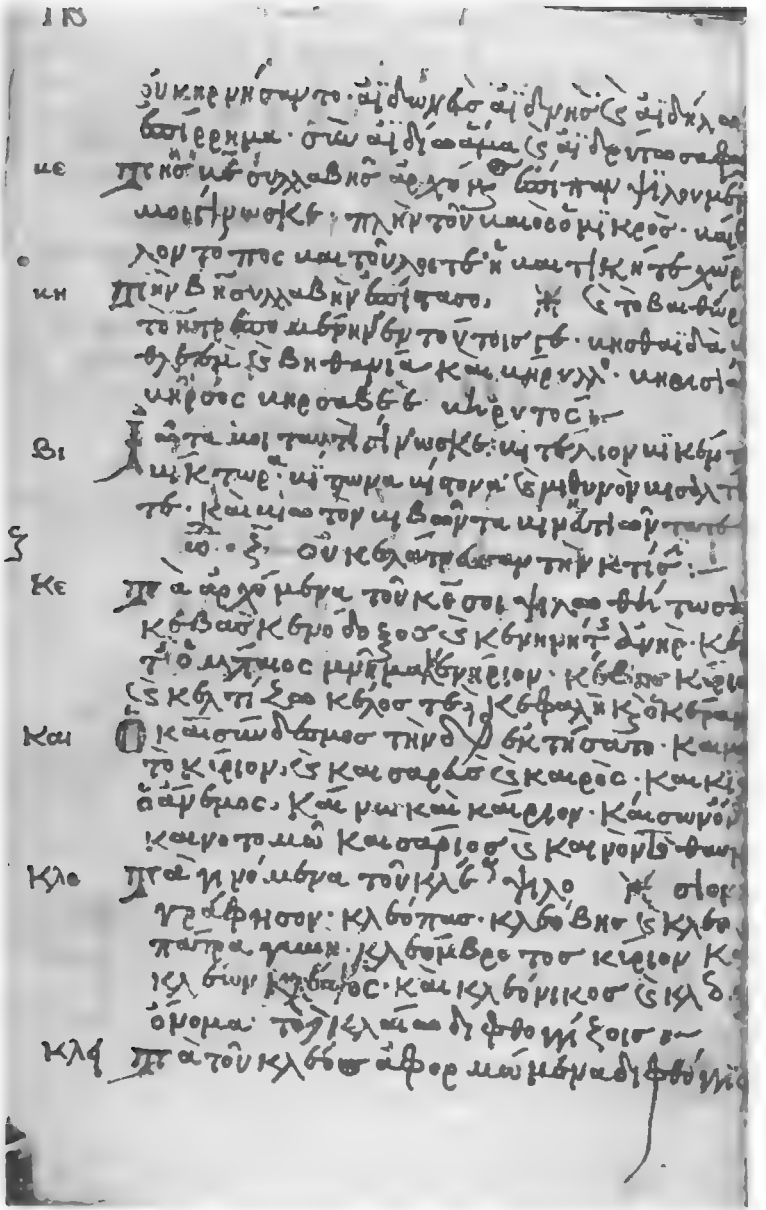
(80) I ff. di *f* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna.

(81) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 36r.

(82) Tali fogli costituiscono l'intero fascicolo 6.

(83) I ff. di *g* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna.

(84) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 43r.



Tav. 3. – Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 57.26, f. 105v (UV).
Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali
È vietata ogni ulteriore riproduzione con qualsiasi mezzo.

Codice h [ff. 49, 56, 76-77] ([85])

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([86]), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie di mm 130 × 88 ([87]). Le righe per pagina sono 9 ([88]). L'interlinea misura mm 8. Il margine superiore misura mm 5, quello inferiore mm 27. Il margine sinistro misura mm 4, quello destro mm 15.

Il codice è vergato in una scrittura minuscola carolina di modulo medio-piccolo, con poche abbreviazioni (tutte convenzionali), attribuibile alla prima metà del sec. XI.

Si notano gli incipit in grafia capitale, la *d* onciale.

Il f. 49 presenta, sia sul *recto* che sul *verso*, il disegno di una iniziale ornata con racemi che rivela una notevole raffinatezza estetica : sul *recto* (tav. 5) si ammira il monogramma *VD* (*Vere dignum*), sul *verso* invece possiamo vedere l'iniziale decorata T (*Te igitur*).

Il testo contiene parti del *Missale Romanum*, in particolare : f. 49r inc. *Omnipotentem* (da *Admonitio*), segue *per Christum Dominum nostrum* (dal prefazio *Qui salutem humani generis*) ([89]) ; des. *Dominus Deus Sabaoth* (da *Sanctus*) ; f. 49v inc. *pleni sunt caeli* (da *Sanctus*), segue *Te igitur Clementissime* ; des. *custodire, adun*[*are*] (da *Canon Romanus*) ; ff. 56 e 76 non risultano intellegibili in nessuna loro parte ; f. 77r inc. *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* (conclusione di *Oratio super oblata*), segue *Sursum corda* ; des. *Domine Sancte Pater* (da *Praefatio communis*).

Credo sia possibile affermare che si tratta di fogli appartenuti ad un testo ad uso liturgico di cui solo un'esigua parte è sopravvissuta in questo manufatto.

(85) I ff. 49/56 sono il bifoglio esterno del fascicolo 7, i ff. 76/77 costituiscono il bifoglio centrale del fasc. 10.

(86) I ff. di *h* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 senza modifica alcuna, eccetto il bifoglio [76/77] che è stato ruotato di 180°.

(87) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 49r.

(88) Si deve considerare che l'iniziale ornata si estende per mm 60 nel senso verticale.

(89) Si tratta di *Praefatio de Quadragesima, de S. Cruce, de B. M. V., de S. Joseph, et Communis*.

Codice i [ff. 50-55, 57-75, 78-80] (90)

La scrittura, parallela alla *scriptio superior* (91), è disposta a piena pagina, su una superficie di mm 125 × 85 (92). Le righe per pagina sono 15. L'interlinea misura mm 8. Il margine superiore misura mm 7, quello inferiore mm 28. Il margine sinistro misura mm 12, quello destro mm 15. La rigatura è del tipo 20D1 Leroy.

Il codice è vergato in una minuscola carolina di modulo medio-grande attribuibile alla seconda metà del sec. XI.

Si notano : la legatura *et*, le aste verticali clavate, la *ti* con tratto inferiore ispessito.

Il codice contiene pochi passi identificati : f. 55r *Domine Sancte Pater*, segue *Qui invisibili potentia sacramentorum tuorum* (da *Praefatio De Vig. Pasch.* ; *Ben. Acquae bapt.*) ; f. 59r *et saeculum per ignem* (fine della sequenza di *Benedictio fontis* nella *Vigilia Paschae*) – (?).

La limitata leggibilità della scrittura non consente di affermare nulla di certo ; ritengo comunque che si tratti di alcune sezioni di un *Missale Romanum*.

Codice j [ff. 81-82, 87-88, 91, 94, 99-104, 107, 109-10, 112]

La scrittura (tav. 4), perpendicolare alla *scriptio superior* (93), è disposta in due colonne, su una superficie che doveva misurare mm 200 × 160 (94). Le righe per pagina potevano essere circa 30. L'interlinea misura mm 10. I margini superiore e inferiore mancano. I margini sinistro e destro dovevano misurare mm 25. L'intercolumnio misura mm 20. La rigatura è del tipo 00A2 Leroy.

(90) I ff. 50-55 sono i bifogli 2-4 del fasc. 7, i ff. 57-72 sono i fascicoli 8 e 9, i ff. 73-80 sono il fasc. 10 (eccetto il bifoglio centrale 76-77 che appartiene al codice *h*).

(91) I ff. di *i* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 generalmente senza modifica, alcuni (50/55, 66/71) invece sono stati ruotati di 180° e altri non vennero ben centrati prima della rifilatura la quale ci ha privato di parte dei margini e del testo del *codex antiquior*.

(92) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. 59r.

(93) I ff. di *j* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 ruotandoli di 90° in senso orario e disponendo un foglio del *codex antiquior* come bifoglio del nuovo manufatto.

(94) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. [112v/107r].

Il codice è vergato in una maiuscola ogivale inclinata, localizzabile in area orientale e attribuibile verosimilmente al sec. IX-X.

Il codice contiene alcuni passi identificati : f. [112v/107r] (col. sx) *Ep. ad Tim. II* 1.5 (ἥτις ἐνῴκησεν) - 1.9 (καλέσαντος κλή[σει]) ; f. [110v/109r] (col. dx) *Ep. ad Tim. II* 4.1 (διαμαρτύρομαι) - 4.2 (μακροθυμίᾳ).

Non risulta possibile individuare la provenienza dei testi rimanenti (la maggior parte) poiché la scrittura è poco intellegibile, si può comunque affermare che si tratta di sezioni di un Praxapostolos ([95]), o semplicemente di una raccolta di epistole paoline.

Codice k [ff. 98, 105-06, 108, 111, 113] ([96])

La scrittura (tav. 3), parallela alla *scriptio superior* ([97]), è disposta su due colonne, in una superficie che doveva essere di mm 180 × 160 ([98]). Le righe per pagina potevano essere 25. L'interlinea misura mm 8. Il margine superiore misura mm 30, quello inferiore manca. Il margine sinistro misura mm 50, quello destro mm 17. L'intercolumnio misura mm 20. Non si riscontrano tracce di rigatura.

Il codice è vergato in una maiuscola ogivale inclinata, dal tratto sottile, anch'essa localizzabile in area orientale, attribuibile al sec. IX.

Il codice presenta alcuni termini o espressioni (f. 105v καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, κράζειν etc.) che inducono a credere che contenesse un'opera esegetica od omiletica.

*
* *

La varietà tipologica e contenutistica delle unità codicologiche palinseste può talora non essere particolarmente importante come dato singolo, ma costituisce, unitamente agli altri elementi, un'informazione ulteriore che favorisce una più estesa comprensione del manoscritto che

(95) Cf. *ODB*, III, pp. 1712-13, *s. v.* Praxapostolos.

(96) I ff. 98/105 sono il bifoglio esterno del fasc. 13, i ff. 106/113 e 108/111 (bifoglio 1 e 3) si alternano nel fasc. 14 con quelli del codice *j*.

(97) I ff. di *k* sono stati riutilizzati nel Plut. 57.26 ruotandoli di 180° e, ponendoli come bifogli, sono stati disposti con le colonne di scrittura verticali cosicché la *scriptio superior* risulta non solo parallela all'*inferior* ma anche perfettamente sovrapposta.

(98) Rilevazione effettuata sul f. [108r/111v].

abbiamo di fronte. Credo sia molto significativa la constatazione che per usufruire di un eterogeneo testo scolastico-grammaticale siano stati riutilizzati altri manoscritti di contenuto sacro e profano ; è facile capire che nei secoli si era verificato un mutamento di interessi culturali e ciò indusse a usare il materiale già posseduto per vergare altri tipi di testo più idonei alle necessità contingenti. Ardua risulta l'esposizione delle cause di tale metamorfosi, ma certamente lo smembramento di testi liturgici era ritenuto normale nel momento in cui o mutavano le disposizioni rituali e il formulario ecclesiastico o lo stato di conservazione e la difficile leggibilità impedivano la fruibilità.

Lo studio «archeologico» di sezioni eterogenee di manoscritti diversi e la loro giustapposizione in un nuovo codice, realizzato all'interno di uno stesso luogo di copia, ci concede la possibilità di analizzare e comprendere lentamente i processi di formazione e, molto marginalmente, la concezione medievale di codice, di libro e di tutto ciò che pertiene all'ambito bibliologico. Si noti infatti che solitamente quando i *codices antiquiores* sono vergati in grafie greche antiche essi sono di origine orientale mentre se i fogli contengono testi latini essi provengono da codici liturgici occidentali o da documenti.

Il contenuto del Laur. 57.26 si inserisce egregiamente all'interno della tipologia libraria dei testi utilizzati nell'insegnamento secondario come dimostra la ricchezza dei testi ivi contenuti che è riconducibile ad uno scopo pedagogico ([99]). Inoltre grazie alle ridotte dimensioni ([100]), come già sottolineato, risulta estremamente maneggevole, di facile consultazione e rapida fruibilità da parte del lettore.

Il Plut. 57.26, secondo lo *stemma codicum* di Donnet ([101]), deriva dallo stesso archetipo del Laur. S. Marco 318 ([102]), un altro codice proveniente

(99) Cf. anche G. Cavallo, *Il libro come oggetto d'uso nel mondo bizantino*, in *JÖB*, 31/2 (1981), pp. 395-423 ; 415.

(100) Ci si è volutamente astenuti dal menzionare il termine «formato» in quanto è noto che tale definizione risulta abbastanza ambigua poiché in essa confluiscono gli aspetti puramente dimensionali e il concetto relativo al modo mediante il quale si ottengono bifogli e fascicoli (cf. M. Maniaci, *Archeologia del manoscritto. Metodi, problemi, bibliografia recente*, Roma, 2002, pp. 104-105).

(101) Donnet, *op. cit.*, pieghevole dopo p. 154.

(102) Per una descrizione del codice vedi la Postilla al termine di questo lavoro ; il testo di Michele Sincello si trova sui ff. 70v-79v.

dalla Terra d'Otranto. Testimoni della tradizione testuale salentina ([103]) di Michele Sincello sono anche il già citato Laur. 90 sup. 18, il Ricc. 62 ([104]) e il Crypt. *Z. α.* XXIX ([105]). Dopo questo studio, con conseguente revisione della datazione un tempo proposta ([106]), esso assume, dal punto di vista ecdotico, un valore ben diverso da quello sinora assegnatogli dagli studi e in particolare da Donnet nella sua edizione critica.

La grammatica di Michele Sincello ([107]) è uno dei testi più letti e studiati in Italia meridionale : una sua copia era presente anche nell'*armarium* della scuola di Aradeo ([108]) e, poichè gli altri codici, ad oggi noti, di questo testo non possiedono le caratteristiche materiali per essere considerati libri di scuola, è suggestivo pensare che il nostro 'piccolo' codice,

(103) Cf. anche D. ARNESANO, *Il «Copista del Dioscoride». Un anonimo salentino del secolo XIII*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, 24 (2003), pp. 29-55 : 33 n. 27, dove si parla di una «famiglia salentina».

(104) Il manufatto, databile ai sec. XIV-XVI, contiene : (ff. 1r-213r) miscellanea letteraria e grammaticale greca e latina, cf. G. VITELLI, *Indice de' codici greci Riccardiani, Magliabechiani e Marucelliani*, in *Studi italiani di Filologia classica*, 2 (1894), pp. 471-570 : 511-515. Il codice è costituito di ff. <I-II>, 1-213. I fogli del manoscritto sono tutti cartacei (ff. 127-174 carta occidentale con esigue tracce di filigrane non identificabili) eccetto ff. 104, 126 pergamenacei. Esso misura mm 170/240 × 124/154 ed è un codice miscellaneo fattizio costituito da 7 unità codicologiche. Il testo di Michele Sincello, mutilo della parte iniziale, si trova sui ff. 127r-149v (= DONNET, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 [ln. 426] - 419) vergati in una minuscola corsiva di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse verticale, con contrasto modulare, incline a legature, sovrapposizioni e inclusioni, dai tratti sciolti, talora barocchegianti e con sensibile variazione di *ductus*, databile al sec. XIV : cf. anche ARNESANO, *op. cit.*, p. 33 n. 27.

(105) Cf. A. JACOB, in *Codici greci dell'Italia meridionale*, a cura di P. CANART - S. LUCÀ, Roma, 2000, p. 131 (= scheda nr. 59) ; ARNESANO, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-36.

(106) Questo codice era datato al sec. XIV ; si noti che nel lavoro di Donnet anche altri codici laurenziani presentano una datazione opinabile, come, ad es., il Plut. 90 sup. 18 databile alla seconda metà del sec. XV e datato invece al sec. XVI (DONNET, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

(107) Per un panorama generale cf. D. DONNET, *La place de la syntaxe dans les traités de grammaire grecque des origines au XIIe siècle*, in *L'antiquité classique*, 36 (1967), pp. 22-46.

(108) La lista dei libri della biblioteca si conserva sul ms. Par. gr. 549, f. 169v edita da A. JACOB, *Une bibliothèque mediévale de Terre d'Otrante (Parisinus gr. 549)*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 22-23 (1985-1986), pp. 285-315 : 296-297. A ln. 6 della lista si legge : «βιβλίον ἄλλο τῆς συντ[ά]ξ[εως]», cf. anche il commento di JACOB, *op. cit.*, (1985-1986), p. 303.

che raccoglie in sé varie opere grammaticali, sia stato proprio dentro lo scaffale di quella scuola pronto ad essere compulsato e studiato da parte di allievi più o meno diligenti.

I testi grammaticali, assai diffusi in Italia meridionale, dimostrano l'interesse verso gli strumenti basilari per la comprensione di qualsiasi tipo di testo letterario o patristico. In un'epoca nella quale si continua a scrivere in caratteri greci ma si pensa sempre più in lingua romanza (come dimostrano le numerose glosse, ad es. in dialetto salentino, che si trovano nei manoscritti) ([109]) è indispensabile possedere libri normativi ai quali ricorrere per capire i testi scritti in lingua e grafia greca.

Allorquando ci accingiamo a conoscere un testo antico ci coglie quel sublime fervore che deriva dalla compenetrazione degli elementi presenti e dalla compartecipazione di coloro che intorno al singolo manufatto si trovarono ad operare a vari livelli (l'artigiano delle pelli, lo scriba, il legatore, i possessori, i lettori et alii), ma noi abbiamo sempre il dovere di rendere il giusto tributo di onore a coloro che, nel precederci sul cammino umano, hanno lasciato all'umanità intera un'eredità non trascurabile e certamente degna di essere conosciuta. Ogni volta quindi che cerchiamo di dar loro voce è necessario porsi in continua comunicazione con il loro spirito e così acquisire quella sintonia che ci permette di svolgere un'opera meno imperfetta.

(109) Si noti, ad es., che sul f. 60v del Plut. 71.35 sotto una nota latina in grafia notarile di sec. XIII : «Vir nobilis et carissimus frater post salutem mandutam adicho / ca per la gratia de diu stan bene de la persona cue [?] desideru / de audire lu [?] semel et denuo semper me offere», si leggono due note «ὁ λόγος · λα δδεφινισζιόνε / ζόην ἡ ουσια εμψιχος εστι τικι» che si riferiscono alla parte terminale dell'*In Porphyrii Isagogen* di Ammonio; e poco sotto si legge la seguente glossa agli schemi presenti sul marg. inf. del foglio «ομωνύμων· εκίβοκου / συνωνύμων· ουνίβοκου», una annotazione simile si trova anche sul Par. gr. 116, f. 10v, segnalato da S. Lucà, *Il libro greco nella Calabria del sec. XV*, in *I luoghi dello scrivere da Francesco Petrarca agli albori dell'età moderna. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio dell'AIPD. Arezzo (8-11 settembre 2003)*, a cura di C. Tristano, M. Calleri e L. Magionami, Spoleto, 2006, pp. 331-373 : 360-361. La presenza di questi pur brevi testi (vedi anche quanto si dice sul Plut. 56.16 nella Postilla a questo lavoro) è notevole poiché costituiscono una testimonianza palese dell'attaccamento dei 'grichi' al mondo bizantino.

Postilla

A seguito dello studio degli oltre 90 codici italogreci conservati nelle collezioni fiorentine ([110]), compiuto nell'ambito del progetto *I grandi Bizantini : mille anni di storia* ([111]), mi sembra opportuno presentare qui alcune 'spigolature' laurenziane al recente repertorio di codici salentini ([112]) dove compaiono anche i seguenti codici laurenziani ([113]) che non possiedono caratteristiche tali da essere considerati provenienti dalla Terra d'Otranto :

Plut. 9.12, miscellanea teologica (Nicola di Metone, Nicola di Casole et alii) ([114]), è un ms. cartaceo (carta occidentale non filigranata) costituito da ff. I-<II>, 1-196, <I'> ; il codice misura mm 335 × 210 (212 × 120). La rigatura è eseguita a secco, sull'intero ms., secondo il tipo 10D1 Leroy. La scrittura è una minuscola corsiva, di piccolo modulo, ad asse inclinato a destra, cioè una '*Camillus-schrift*' eseguita dalla mano di Francesco Zanetti ([115]) e databile alla

(110) Il reperimento di tali manoscritti non si deve a uno spoglio sistematico dei fondi delle biblioteche : Medicea Laurenziana, Nazionale Centrale e Riccardiana, bensì alle segnalazioni presenti sulla bibliografia scientifica e ad alcune mie 'casuali' scoperte.

(111) Nato nel 2004, per celebrare il Millenario della fondazione dell'Abbazia di S. Nilo a Grottaferrata, si è concluso nel dicembre 2006; in questo periodo molteplici sono state le iniziative culturali tra le quali si annovera la catalogazione dei manoscritti greci prodotti nelle regioni dell'Italia meridionale ; consulta anche il sito http://www.comitatonazionalesannilo.it.

(112) D. Arnesano, *Il repertorio dei codici greci salentini di Oronzo Mazzotta. Aggiornamenti e integrazioni*, in *Tracce di storia. Studi in onore di mons. Oronzo Mazzotta*, a cura di M. Spedicato, Galatina, 2005, pp. 25-80.

(113) I manoscritti della Laurenziana si trovano in Arnesano, *op. cit.*, (2005), pp. 38-41.

(114) Cf. Bandini, *op. cit.*, (1764), pp. 406-408.

(115) Sull'identificazione di questo copista cf. P. Canart, *Varia Palaeographica*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, X, Città del Vaticano, 2003 (ST, 416), pp. 119-126 : 119-122 («Comment j'ai identifié le copiste François Zanetti») ; S. Lucà, *Il* Casan. *931 e il copista criptense Michele Minichelli (sec. XVI). Libri, testi ed eruditi nella Roma di Gregorio XIII*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 41, (2004), pp. 181-259: 213-214, tavv. 5-6, 12 ; A. Gaspari, *Il copista Camillo Zanetti* alias *Camillus Venetus. Studio paleografico e codicologico* (Tesi elaborata per il conseguimento del titolo di Dottore di ricerca in Paleografia greca e latina dell'Università degli Studi di Roma «La Sapienza», XIV ciclo [1999-2002], coordinato da L. Miglio, Università degli studi di Roma 'La Sapienza'), pp. 257-281.

metà del sec. XVI. Si tratta cioè della mano di quell'*instaurator* che troviamo su molti codici laurenziani, dove ha reintegrato o semplice parola (come nel Plut. 72.3, f. 93r) o vari fascicoli o come in questo caso ha vergato un intero codice ([116]).

Plut. 8.17, miscellanea crisostomica e teologica ([117]), è un ms. cartaceo (carta occidentale filigranata) costituito da ff. I, 1-466 ; il codice misura mm 223 × 145 (158 × 85). La rigatura è eseguita secondo il tipo 32D1 Leroy. Il codice è stato vergato, da varie mani, in una corsiva umanistica, di piccolo modulo, dal tratto agile e sciolto e databile alla seconda metà del sec. XV. La decorazione, in inchiostro rosa, è quella tipica umanistica ma si nota un *epsilon* con mano benedicente (f. 69v) e un *omicron* ittiomorfo (f. 149r), il manufatto è difficilmente localizzabile, gli elementi materiali non inducono ad attribuirlo alla Terra d'Otranto.

S. Marco 770, *Epimerismi* di Cherobosco, è un ms. pergamenaceo palinsesto costituito da ff. I-<II>, 1-202 ; misura mm 215 × 153 (170 × 120). I ff. 1-32, 65-72, 155-202 sono tratti da un codice in maiuscola ogivale inclinata databile al sec. IX ; i ff. 33-64, 73-154 provengono da un codice in minuscola «bouletée» databile al sec. X ([118]). Il codice è vergato in una minuscola corsiveggiante di modulo medio, ad asse leggermente inclinato a destra, con contrasto modulare, evidente in lettere come *omega*, *omicron*, *phi*, e nei segni di abbreviazione di *-ων*, databile al sec. XIII e di incerta localizzazione. I margini di molti fogli presentano *notabilia* di Zanobi Acciaiuoli. Si auspica comunque uno studio acribico del manufatto che permetta una migliore e più certa collocazione storico-culturale.

Si nota altresì l'assenza, non motivata, di 4 codici salentini, già segnalati nel lavoro di Mazzotta ([119]) :

Plut. 56.16, miscellanea grammaticale ([120]), è un ms. cartaceo, vergato in una minuscola corsiva, ad asse inclinato a destra, dai tratti rigidi e rozzamente ese-

(116) Cf. anche SPERANZI, *op. cit.*, (2005), p. 487 n. 74.

(117) Cf. BANDINI, *op. cit.*, (1764), pp. 358-362.

(118) Cf. M.L. AGATI, *La minuscola «Bouletée»*, Città del Vaticano, 1992 (Littera Antiqua, 9), pp. 101-102.

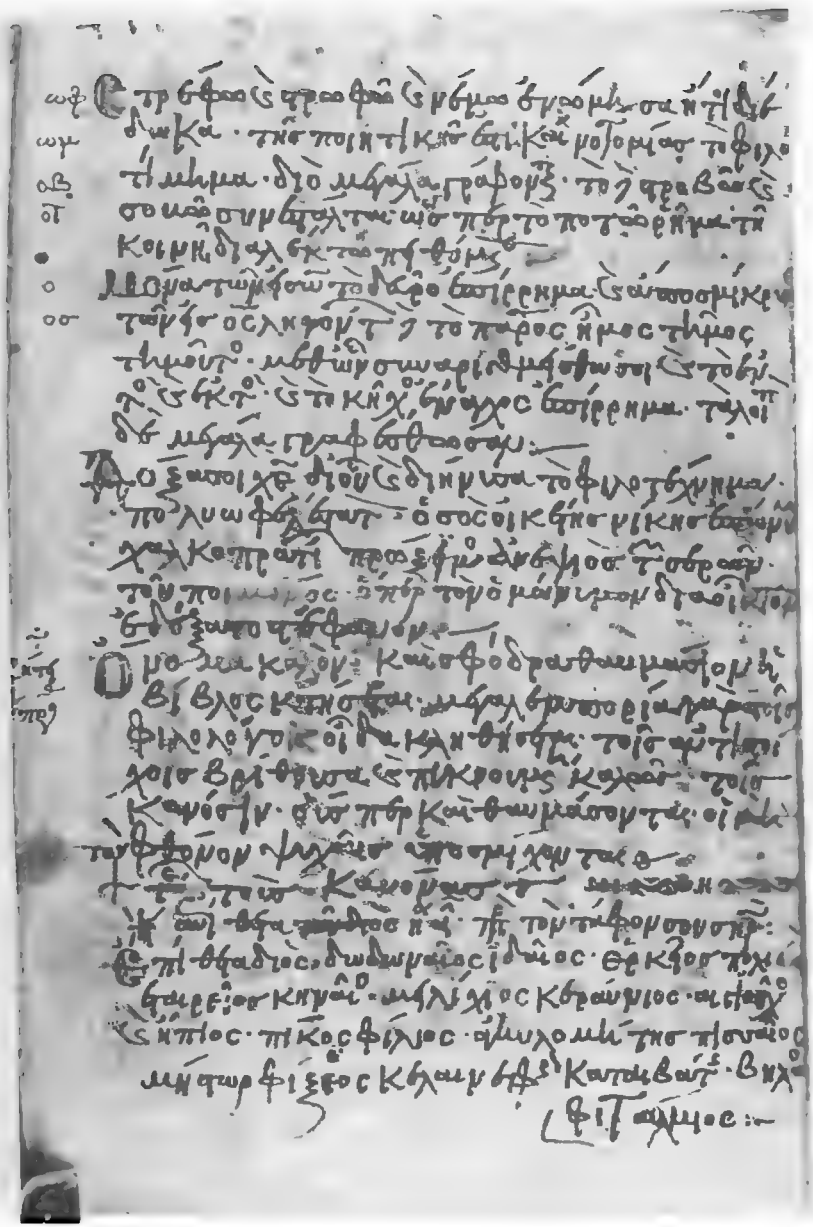
(119) O. MAZZOTTA, *Monaci e libri greci nel Salento medievale*, Novoli, 1989 (Scriptorium, 2), pp. 74, 76. Nell'elenco dello studioso si trova anche il Plut. 86.14 (nel lavoro di Arnesano esso non è indicato neppure tra gli esclusi), si tratta di un codice cartaceo vergato in epoca umanistica da Lorenzo di Francesco Simone Ciatti, (cf. D. SPERANZI, *Tra Creta e Firenze. Aristobulo Apostolis, Marco Musuro e il Riccardiano 77*, in *Segno e testo*, 4 (2006), pp. 191-210 : 204 n. 47).

(120) (ff. 1r-32r) Gregorius Pardus *De dialectis* inc. *Ἰδού σοι καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους ἐγχειρίζω* expl. [*εἰκὼν*] *τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐξίστασθαι ἢ τὸ μαίνεσθαι* ;

guita da parte di Nicola Antonio Pinnella a Soleto nel 1450 ([121]). Il copista medesimo ha apposto sull'interlinea o sui margini dei primi 11 fogli oltre a postille anche glosse in dialetto salentino come si può leggere su : f. 2r ln. 8 *παρὰ σφίσιν = δα κουϊστοι*, ln. 10 *οὐραῖον = λα καυδα*, ln. 11 *τροπαῖον = βιττόρια*, ln. 20 *κλοιός = λα κατένα ; φλοιός = σκοίτζα* ; f. 2v ln. 6 *συμφορὰν = ἀγγούσζε*, lln. 13-14 *αἰσθεμένοιο = ἀυδένδου*, ln. 17 *γνῶμην = βόλλια*, ln. 19 *πλεῖστον ὅμιλον = μουλτα κουμπαγγία* ; f. 3r lln. 2-3 *ἀκαρεῖ = σοΰββετου*, ln. 6 *πειράσθητι = πρόβατε*, ln. 9 *ὀσμή = ὅσιμου*, ln. 16 *κυρωθέν = φιρματο*, ln. 19 *ἐχώρουν = σε παρτίανου* ; f. 3v ln. 2 *πίνοιεν = βέβανο*, ln. 21 *κώλῳ = μεσουρα* ; f. 4r lln. 1-2 *ἑλλᾶς = λα γρετζια, ἐξερημωθείς = δεσερτάτα*, ln. 8 *ξυμβῆ = αφρούντα*, ln. 11 *μεγάθυμοι = μαννάνιμοι* ; f. 4v ln. 4 *σκάφοι = βάρκε*, ln. 15 *ἐφεξόμενοι = ασσεττανδουσι*, ln. 20 *κλητός = γλοριούσου*, lln. 21-22 *ἀγγελθεῖσα = αννουντζιαθα* ; f. 5r ln. 1 *στερρὸς = φέρμε*, lln. 4-5 *πέμπω = μάνδα*, ln. 22 *τῇ δ'ὑστεραία = αλλα υλτιμα*, ln. 23 *ἐπέπλεον = νατάβανου*, f. 5v ln. 1 *πρόστιθέασιν = ἀσζοῦγγουνου*, ln. 8 *ἑταῖρον = αμίκου* ; f. 6r lln. 5-6 *σκόπελοι = σκόλλιοι, ἀμφὶς = ἰντζίρκα*, ln. 14 *ἐνάλαξεν = σκαββιάνδου*, ln. 17 *κελευσμάτων = κουμανδατίβοι*, ln. 22 *οὐχ'ἑκᾶς = νον λουντάνου* ; f. 6v ln. 8 *ἀγαθός = φόρτε*, ln. 22 *ἀφαυρότερος = μειονι βαλεντε* ; f. 7r ln. 3 *ἀχρεῖος = βεσοννιούσου*, ln. 6 *ὠμόν = κροδέλε*, ln. 9 marg. est. *ββαοινεττα / σκυπτρον*, ln. 9 *χραίσμη = ἀββεσόνια*, ln. 12 *ἐπώνυμος = σούπρα νουμινατο*, ln. 20 *βίαν = φορτζα* ; f. 7v lln. 22-23 *ξυμμαχίαν = βαττάλλια, ἀπολιπόντας = ἀββανδονάνδου*, ln. 25 *προδότας = τραδετούροι* ; f. 8r ln. 14 *ἔγκλημα = πεκκατου*, ln. 15 *τοῦπος = δέττου* ; f. 8v ln. 6 *ξυνετρίβη = σε κουμ-*

(ff. 33r-47v) Herodianus *Schemata* inc. *Σχῆμά ἐστι ἐξάλλαξις φράσεως* expl. *μελανόχροος οὐλοκάρηνος* ; (ff. 48r-59r) Tryphon *De figuris* inc. *[Φ]ράσις ἐστὶ λόγος ἐγκατάσκευος* expl. *[παροιμία] μήτ' ἐμοὶ μέλι μήτε μέλιττα*. (ff. 59v-62v ln. 23) Id. *De affectionibus dictionum* inc. *Τὰ τῆς λέξεως πάθη* expl. *τὰ γὰρ μονοσύλλαβα περισπᾶται* ; (ff. 62v ln. 24-64r ln. 5) Anonymus *De pedibus et metris versuum* inc. *Ποὺς ἐστὶ μετρικὸν σύστημα συλλαβῶν* expl. *καὶ βραχείων ἑπτάχρονον οἷον καλλίξεινος* ; (ff. 64r ln. 6-71v ln. 9) Helia Charax *de diversis metris* inc. *Δέον ἐπίστασθαί σε ὅτι τὸ ἰαμβικὸν μέτρον* expl. *οἷον κάστορά θ'ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν πολυδεύκεα.*

(121) Come attesta la sottoscrizione di f. 32r : *Ἐτελειώθησαν αἱ παρόντες διάλεκτοι ἐν μηνὶ νοεμβρίῳ ἡμέρα δ΄ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς ἐν ὥρα ι" ἡμέρα δ΄ διὰ χειρὸς Νικολάου Ἀντωνίου Πιννέλλα, τῆς πόλεως κομητάτου σολεντιανοῦ καλουμένης διὰ χάριτος θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰωάννου Ἀντωνίου πρίνκηπος ταραντίνου ἅμα σολεντοὺς καὶ Λυππίας κόμητος ἔγραψα τὰς παρούσας διαλέκτους. ἔτος ἀπὸ κόσμου κτίσεως ,ϛτνθ συντρεχώντων ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε΄ εὐτυχούσης.* Una forma abbreviata si trova anche su f. 71v lln. 11-12 : *γεγραμμένα περὶ χειρὸς Νικολάου Ἀντωνίου Πιννέλλα ἀπὸ χώρας σολεντοὺς*; cf. Jacob, *Les écritures* cit., p. 279 ; A. Jacob, *Une mention d'Ugento dans la Chronique de Skylitzès*, in *REB*, 35 (1977), pp. 229-235 : 234 n. 29.



Tav. 4. – Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteo 57.26, f. 112v (UV).
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φράνσε, lln. 9-10 *οἱ μὲν κατωκάρα δεσμοῖσι δέδενται = καὶ οὗτοι κουλλα κάπα ιν ττερρα σαλλεγάνα*, ln. 15 *παίονα = βαττούτου*, *ἰλλύριον = βενετζιάνου* ; f. 9r lln. 7-8 *βέλτιστον = μελλιόρε*, ln. 13 *ὁπλίτας = λοι αρμάτι*, ln 22 *νοστήσι = τόρνα* ; f. 9v ln. 7 *ἐν βατράχοις = μαραγόττοι*, ln. 10 *πινύτος = σατζέντε*, ln. 13 *ἦδος = καντου*, lln. 16-17 *παρέχειν = δαρε* ; f. 10r ln. 23 *ἐν ἀίδαο δόμοισιν = δὲ λου ινφέρνου* ; f. 10v ln. 1 *μυρίνας = μουρτέλλε*, ln. 3 *κολόκυνθα = κουκούτζα*, ln. 5 *γναφέα = λαβάρε*, ln. 6 *κεφαλαλγίαν = δολόρε δε λα κάπα*, lln. 7-8 *περασκοῦσι = φινεσκουνο*, ln. 14 *συναλιφαῖς = κουμπρενδεντε*, ln. 20 *θαρσαλέον = φεδουτζιαβελε* ; f. 11r ln. 14 *ἐδοκέομεν = πεντζάβαμου* ; f. 11v ln. 23 *ἀπ' ὤρεος = δα λα καμπαννια*, ln. 26 *πόλοι = κουμβερτζαντι*.

Plut. 58.2 (ff. 46-103) miscellanea filosofica ([122]) all'interno di un ms. cartaceo pluriblocco fattizio. La scrittura dei ff. 46r-101r è una minuscola calligrafica, di piccolo modulo, ad asse verticale, con contrasto modulare, dai tratti esili e con qualche vezzo barocco. Le iniziali presentano talora ispessimenti in rosso e un modulo leggermente maggiore rispetto alle altre lettere. Questa sezione è salentina e fu legata insieme ad altri fascicoli, vergati da 'Giovanni di Corone' prima dell'apertura al pubblico della Biblioteca Laurenziana ([123]).

Plut. 71.11, miscellanea filosofica ([124]), è un ms. cartaceo (carta occidentale non filigranata) vergato in una minuscola di piccolo modulo, ad asse leggermente inclinato, con contrasto modulare e dall'aspetto barocco e abbastanza arruffato ; sensibile è la differenza tra la scrittura del testo e quella del commento ([125]) Le iniziali, profilate a semplice inchiostro, sono di modulo maggiore e arricchite di vezzi puramente barocchi (come anche la fascia di intestazione di f. 28r). Su f. 1v, inoltre, Zanobi Acciaiuoli ha scritto : «n.° 77 Prolegomena incerti in Porphiri voces».

(122) Per una descrizione completa del codice cf. *Aristoteles graecus. Die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles*, untersucht und beschrieben von P. Moraux, D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, J. Wiesner, I, *Alexandrie-London*. Berlin - New York, 1976, pp. 206-207.

(123) La questione è ampiamente trattata da D. Speranzi, *Per la storia della libreria medicea privata : Ianos Laskaris, Sergio Stiso di Zollino e il copista Gabriele*, [c.s.].

(124) Per una descrizione completa del codice cf. *Aristoteles graecus* cit. pp. 228-230. Sull'origine salentina cf. G. Cavallo, *La cultura italo-greca nella produzione libraria*, in *I Bizantini in Italia*, a cura di G. Pugliese Carratelli. Milano, 1982, pp. 497-612 : 604 ; Jacob, *op. cit.*, (1985-1986), p. 307.

(125) Questa stessa diversità grafica è visibile anche sui ff. 1r-58v del Plut. 71.35, vergati da Ciriaco Prasiano di Gallipoli ; cf. anche Arnesano, *op. cit.*, (2003), pp. 44-45 ; D. Arnesano, *Aristotele in Terra d'Otranto. I manoscritti fra XIII e XIV secolo*, in *Segno e testo*, 4 (2006), pp. 149-190 : 159-161.

Conv. Soppr. 10, miscellanea patristica ([126]), è un ms. cartaceo (carta occidentale filigranata) costituito di ff. II-V, 1-255, I'-IV', databile al sec. XIV. La scrittura dei ff. 1r-18r ln.17, 19r-36v, 158r-166v, 214r ln.16-fine è una minuscola corsiveggiante, di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse verticale, con contrasto modulare, con legature talora audaci (vedi f. 10r ln.1) e tra le lettere si nota *theta* maiuscolo con bottone al centro del tratto mediano. I ff. ff. 37r-100v mostrano una grafia corsiveggiante, di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse leggermente inclinato a sinistra, con contrasto modulare. La scrittura dei ff. 101r-156r ln.8 è una corsiva, di modulo medio, ad asse inclinato a destra, con moderato contrasto modulare, dai tratti rigidi e talora pesanti. I ff. 156r ln.8-157v è una corsiva, di modulo medio, ad asse inclinato a destra, con moderato contrasto modulare, dai tratti rigidi e incerti. La scrittura dei ff. 169r-214r è una corsiveggiante, di modulo medio, ad asse inclinato a destra, dai tratti spessi e rigidi. I ff. 217r-240v presentano una grafia corsiva, di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse inclinato a destra, con contrasto modulare, dai tratti sciolti ed evoluti. La scrittura dei ff. 241r-255r è una corsiva, di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse inclinato a destra, con moderato contrasto modulare, dai tratti spezzati e rigidi. Sui ff. 18r ln.18-fine, 36v, 54r, 116v, 166v-168v, 214v-216v, 255v è intervenuta una mano corsiva, di piccolo modulo, ad asse inclinato a destra, con contrasto modulare e incline a legature, inclusioni e sovrapposizioni. Su f. 87v si trova inoltre un disegno di figura maschile si legge : «ὁ ἁγίος δύμητριος ο πολύελεος» (sic), si tratta dell'immagine di S. Demetrio di Tessalonica ([127]) con la corazza, la clamide, la chioma recisa e la fronte scoperta, esso porta sulla mano destra la spada estratta dalla vagina tenuta con la sinistra ([128]).

(126) Esso contiene : (ff. 1r-18r) Nicolaus de Casulis *Expositio cur primo sabbato* (PG 39.1821-1840) ; (ff. 19r-255r) antologia patristica ; cf. E. Rostagno - N. Festa, *Indice dei codici greci laurenziani non compresi nel Catalogo del Bandini*, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 1 (1893), pp. 130-232 : 136-137.

(127) Egli è commemorato nei Sinassari il 26 ottobre, cf. *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, a cura di E. Follieri, II, Bruxelles, 1980 (Subsidia hagiographica, 63), pp. 60-61; in suo onore si conoscono anche componimenti anonimi conservati in mss. salentini : sul Vat. gr. 1276, f. 35r, cf. A. Acconcia Longo - A. Jacob, *Une anthologie salentine du XIVe siècle : le Vaticanus gr. 1276*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 17-19 (1980-1982), pp. 149-228 : 196 ; e sul Plut. 58.2, f. 5r ln. 7, cf. A. Acconcia Longo - A. Jacob, *Poesie di Nicola d'Otranto nel Laur. 58.2*, in *Byz.*, 54 (1984), pp. 371-379 : 375.

(128) Cf. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 4, col. 556-565 ; G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, Firenze, 1995, col. 345-348 nr. 108.

Ai manoscritti sopracitati si devono inoltre aggiungere :

f. 193 del **Plut. 5.18**, *Psalterium*, codice pergamenaceo costituito di ff. <I>, 1-257, <I'-II'>. Esso misura mm 153 × 112 (105 × 70). La scrittura, del nucleo antico, è una minuscola informale del sec. XI. I titoli sono in maiuscoletta in inchiostro aureo. I ff. 1-28, 35, 37, 44, 51, 66, 142-143, 152, 164, 188, 233-257 sono stati reintegrati da Francesco Zanetti a metà del sec. XVI. Il f. 193 è stato reintegrato nel sec. XIII da una mano in barocca otrantina (si nota : il *beta* «a cuore», la legatura a staffa di *rho-omicron/iota*), riutilizzando un foglio (con una rifilatura che ha asportato parte del testo) contenente il testo del *Prognostikon* di Ippocrate ([129]) (di sicura identificazione troviamo su f. 193r : sez. 3 ([130]) ; su f. 193v : sez. 7 ([131])) vergato in una minuscola «*en as de pique*» (databile al sec. X-XI) di piccolo modulo, ad asse verticale, dai tratti esili. I capilettera del *Psalterium* sono di modulo maggiore e decorati (rosso, blu e oro) alcuni dei quali particolarmente notevoli ([132]) ; una fascia policroma (blu, oro e verde) è presente su f. 74r ([133]). Il manufatto, prodotto verosimilmente in area metropolitana, è stato poi portato in Italia meridionale dove la decorazione è stata ritoccata secondo stilemi italioti.

Plut. 72.6, databile al sec. XV*ex.*, contiene : (ff. 1r-80r) ps.-Alexander Aphrodisiensis *In Aristotelis Sophisticos elenchos commentarium* ([134]). Il codice è costituito di ff. I, 1-80, I'. I fogli del manoscritto sono tutti cartacei (ff. 12-80 carta occidentale con filigrana Briquet ([135]) 15376 identica a quella di Plut. 58.2 ff. 46-

(129) L'identificazione è stata segnalata dal prof. A. Guida in *Παλίμψηστος. News from* Rinascimento virtuale – Digitale Palimpsestforschung. Rediscovering written records of a hidden European cultural heritage, Zaragoza, 2004, p. 46.

(130) *Œuvres complètes d'Hippocrate, traduction nouvelle avec le texte grec en regard* [...], par É. LITTRÉ, II, Paris, 1840, pp. 118-122.

(131) *Œuvres complètes* cit., II, pp. 124-130.

(132) Ff. 30r, 31r, 32v, 36v, 39r, 41r, 50v, 53r, 57r, 59v, 60v, 63v, 65v, 69r, 74r, 75v, 77r, 78r, 78v, 81v, 84r, 85v, 88r, 89r, 95v, 98r, 112v, 117v, 118v, 120r, 129v, 131v, 133v, 135v, 137v, 139r, 140v, 149v, 151v, 154v, 155v, 157v, 158v, 161r, 163r, 165r, 167v, 173r, 187v, 194r, 198r, 206r, 214r, 215v, 217v, 225v.

(133) Cf. J. LEROY, *Le Parisinus gr. 1477 et la détermination de l'origine des manuscrits italo-grecs d'après la forme des initiales*, in *Scriptorium*, 32 (1978), pp. 191-212 : 196 n. 41.

(134) *Alexandri quod fertur in Aristotelis Sophisticos elenchos commentarium*, ed. M. WALLIES, Berolini, 1898 (Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca, II.3), pp. 1-198; su f. 1r lln. 3-16 *proemium*.

(135) C. M. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Genève, 1907, (rist. *The New Briquet-Jubilee Edition*, by A. Stevenson, I-IV, Amsterdam, 1968).

103). Il codice misura mm 312 × 213 (212 × 125), ed è costituito da un'unica unità codicologica di fascicoli così disposti : 1 × 13 (11 : 7 + 6 controguardia + I-11 ; la controguardia è un foglio sciolto) ; 1 × 9 (20 : 5 + 4, f. 13 senta riscontro) ; 6 × 10 (80). La rigatura è eseguita, sui ff. 12-80, a mina di piombo secondo il tipo V 00A1 Leroy ([136]). La scrittura dei ff. 12-80 è una minuscola calligrafica, di piccolo modulo, ad asse verticale, con contrasto modulare, dai tratti esili e con qualche vezzo barocco (si tratta della stessa mano che ha vergato i ff. 46r-101r del Plut. 58.2) ([137]). I ff. 1r-11v sono stati restaurati nel sec. XVI da Francesco Zanetti. Le iniziali presentano talora ispessimenti o riempimenti in rosso e un modulo leggermente maggiore rispetto alle altre lettere.

S. Marco 318, miscellanea di testi ascetici, grammaticali e patristici ([138]), databile al sec. XIII-XIV ([139]). Il codice è costituito di ff. 1-79, i fogli del manoscritto sono tutti cartacei (carta occidentale non filigranata) ; esso misura mm 190 × 132 (155 × 100), ed è costituito da un'unica unità codicologica di fascicoli così disposti : 1 × 3 (3 : 2 + 1, f. 2 senta riscontro), 1 × 4 (7), 1 × 2 (9), 4 × 8 (41), 1 × 2 (43), 1 × 8 (51), 1 × 4 (55), 1 ×2 (57), 1 × 8 (65), 1 × 6 (71), 1 × 8 (79). La rigatura è assente. La scrittura dei ff. 1r-v ln. 18, 3r-79v è una

(136) I tipi speciali U e V del lavoro di Leroy (cf. J.-H. SAUTEL, *Répertoire de réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin. Base de données établie par Jacques-Hubert Sautel à l'aide du fichier Leroy et des catalogues récents à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (CNRS)*, Turnhout, 1995 [Bibliologia. Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia, 13], pp. 27, 255-257, 317-320) sono quelli che lasciano la maggiore libertà d'azione al copista delineando semplicemente lo specchio di scrittura. In particolare nei codici italogreci delle collezioni fiorentine sono attestate le seguenti tipologie : Plutei 4.22 (ff. 1-13, 16-70 : V 00A1, ff. 14-15 : V 00A2) ; 5.36 (ff. 8-117 : V 00D2) ; 32.20 (V 00A1) ; 32.31 (V 00A1) ; 56.16 (V 00A1) ; 57.3 (V 00A1) ; 58.2 (ff. 46-101 : V 00A1) ; 58.25 (ff. 1-2, 4-6 : V 00D2, ff. 3, 7-12, 23-42 : V 00D1, ff. 13-22 : V 00D3) ; 59.45 (ff. 1r-69r : V 00D1, ff. 69v-115v : V 00D3) ; 71.11 (V 00D1) ; 71.35 (V 00D1) ; 72.16 (V 00D1) ; 72.19 (V 00D1) ; 72.22 (V 00D1) ; 80.18 (V 00D1) ; 86.15 (ff. 1-144 : V 22A1b, ff. 150-177r, 179-184: V 00D1) ; 90 sup. 18 (ff. 1-40 : V 00D1, ff. 41-47 : V 00D2) ; S. Marco 301 (U 10/1) ; Pandette, (cass. I ff. 442-448, cass. II ff. 1-7 : V 00A1) e Ricc. 55 (V 00D1). L'uso di queste tipologie dimostra il desiderio di conservare un'antica tradizione, comune alle aree periferiche, che si riscontra anche in manufatti arabi dei secc. VII-IX ; cf. L. PERRIA, *Libri e scritture tra Oriente bizantino e Italia meridionale*, in *RSBN*, n.s. 39 (2002) (= *Giornata di studio in ricordo di Enrica Follieri [Roma, 31 maggio 2002]*), pp. 157-187: 174-175.

(137) Sull'intero codice cf. SPERANZI, *op. cit.*, [c.s.].

(138) ROSTAGNO-FESTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

(139) Sull'origine salentina cf. CAVALLO, *op. cit.*, (1982), p. 605.

minuscola corsiva, di modulo piccolo, ad asse leggermente inclinato a destra, con contrasto modulare e incline a legature, inclusioni e sovrapposizioni, dai tratti barocchegianti. I ff. 1v ln. 19-2v ln. 12 sono vergati in una corsiva di modulo medio-piccolo, ad asse inclinato destra, dai tratti spezzati. Le fasce di intestazione sono a intrecci in rosso carminio, colore usato anche per le iniziali ispessite. Su f. 9v una mano rozza ha posto annotazioni varie. Il bibliotecario di San Marco, Zanobi Acciaiuoli, ha infine annotato i ff. 2v, 30v-31v, 52v.

Davide BALDI.

RIASSUNTO

L'analisi codicologica e paleografica del ms. otrantino Laur.Plut.57.26 ha permesso di datarlo alla fine del sec. XII o inizi del XIII e di accrescere il suo valore filologico per la tradizione del testo di Michele Sincello.

Uno degli undici *codices antiquiores*, di cui il palinsesto Laur. è costituito, è un importante testimone (sec. XI) degli ultimi versi (410-680) del V libro degli *Halieutica* di Oppinano la cui sequenza viene qui chiarita.

SUMMARY

Codicological and palaeographical analysis of ms. Laur.Plut.57.26 has allowed to date this manuscript from Terra d'Otranto to the end of 12th or beginning of the 13th century and increase its philological value for the textual tradition of Michael Syncellus.

One of the *codices antiquiores* which compose this palimpsest manuscript is an important witness (11th c.) of *Halieutica* V 410-680 by Oppianus. It has been possibly to clarify the sequence of this text.

MICHEL PSELLOS
PANÉGYRIQUE 1 : TRADUCTION PRINCEPS ET COMMENTAIRE

INTRODUCTION

Le discours qui fait l'objet de cette étude est l'un des sept panégyriques conservés de Michel Psellos adressé à l'empereur Constantin IX Monomaque (1042-1055). Il a été publié par C. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, t. V, Venise-Paris, 1876, pp. 106-117 et par G. T. Dennis, *Michaelis Pselli Orationes panegyricae*, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1994, pp. 1-18. Au XVIIe s., le Père François Combefis (1605-1679) en a donné une traduction latine dont on trouvera une transcription à la suite du commentaire.

Un élément de datation interne (l'éléphant et la girafe offerts par le calife égyptien et exhibés devant le peuple de Constantinople) permet de situer la rédaction du texte dans les années 1053-1054 (1).

Le discours s'ouvre sur une invocation grandiloquente, *Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε*, qui, d'une part, introduit la métaphore solaire, filée au long du texte et dans la comparaison finale et, d'autre part, donne un caractère hymnique à l'exorde, ainsi que le suggère le traité *Περὶ τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν* de Ménandre le Rhéteur en mettant sur un même plan l'empereur et le dieu : «comme nous nous concilions la divinité par des hymnes et des louanges, nous en faisons de même de l'empereur par des discours» (2).

Dans la suite de l'exorde, Psellos suit un autre conseil prodigué par Ménandre, qui consiste à recourir à la métaphore agonistique : «tu peux conférer de la grandeur à ton sujet en disant qu'il est difficile d'en venir à bout et que tu t'es lancé dans un concours dont il n'est pas aisé de sortir vainqueur par un discours» (3). Et l'exemple cité par le Rhéteur («de

(1) Voir ci-dessous le développement dans le commentaire aux paragraphes 17 et 18.

(2) MÉNANDRE, II, 369, 5-7 : *ὥσπερ οὖν τὸ κρεῖττον ὕμνοις καὶ ἀρεταῖς ἱλασκόμεθα, οὕτω καὶ βασιλέα λόγοις.*

(3) *Ibid.*, 368, 9-11 : (...) *μέγεθος περιτιθεὶς τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὅτι δυσέφικτος, καὶ ὅτι καθῆκας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀγῶνα οὐ ῥᾴδιον κατορθωθῆναι λόγῳ...*

même qu'il est impossible de prendre la mesure de la mer infinie avec nos yeux, de même il est difficile de faire le tour de la renommée de l'empereur dans un discours» (4)) n'est pas sans rappeler les mots de Psellos : «(...) je n'ai que des actions petites pour peser les vôtres qui sont grandes et qu'un bref discours pour donner la mesure de votre grandeur infinie» (5).

Le deuxième paragraphe reprend cette métaphore du concours ou du combat, mais cette fois, ce n'est plus l'orateur qui se trouve dans la position du jouteur, mais la philosophie, le droit et la rhétorique personnifiés, qui, rongés par l'inquiétude (*ἀγωνιᾶσαι*), abandonnent avant le concours (*πρὸ τῶν ἀγώνων* ; relevons en passant la figure étymologique entre les deux termes), devant la supériorité de Monomaque. Si Ménandre préconise l'emploi de cette métaphore principalement dans l'exorde, Psellos y recourt dans d'autres parties du discours : il est ainsi de nouveau question du «concours», auquel l'orateur se doit de prendre part, au début des paragraphes 19 et 21 et le verbe *νενικήκαμεν*, en référence à la démonstration à laquelle vient de se livrer Psellos sur la pertinence de sa comparaison entre le soleil et Monomaque, clôture, au dernier paragraphe, la métaphore agonistique amorcée dans l'exorde.

Plus largement, Psellos affectionne les comparaisons ayant trait aux jeux, à la lutte, aux courses hippiques (6). De telles images se retrouvent dans le troisième paragraphe : l'empereur, monté sur le char de l'État, éclipse ses rivaux, comme le soleil le fait des autres luminaires (notons, à ce propos, l'emploi combiné des deux images récurrentes du discours, celle de l'*ἀγών* et celle de l'empereur-soleil) et, que ce soit à la course ou dans les sports de combat, il triomphe de tous ses adversaires.

La suite du discours est consacrée à l'éloge des vertus et des actions du souverain, à commencer par son rôle religieux (§ 4). Monomaque, nous dit Psellos, voua son âme à Dieu et à l'Église et comme souvent quand il s'agit de monter en épingle la piété de l'empereur, l'orateur emprunte ses

(4) *Ibid.*, 368, 23-369, 2 : *ὥσπερ δὲ πελάγους ἀπείρου τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μέτρον οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν, οὕτω καὶ βασιλέως εὐφημίαν λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον.*

(5) PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 1, 17-19 éd. Dennis : *τοῖς μικροῖς τὰ μεγάλα σταθμώμενος, καὶ λόγῳ βραχεῖ τῷ σῷ ἀπειροπλάστῳ μεγέθει παραμετρούμενος.*

(6) Cf. É. RENAULD, *Étude de la langue et du style de Michel Psellos*, Paris, 1920, p. 485 et p. 494 où sont recensés nombre d'exemples.

comparaisons et ses références aux Écritures : allusion à la parabole du fils prodigue et au veau gras, mention du «sacrifice non sanglant» (la messe) (7) et comparaison avec Élie. Et cette piété se manifeste sous plusieurs formes : l'empereur est loué pour sa révérence à l'égard du Patriarche (§ 10), sa philanthropie, vertu christique, puis vertu royale par excellence (§ 20) et sa générosité à l'égard des moines des grands centres (§ 21).

Puis, c'est l'action politique de l'empereur qui est exaltée par le panégyriste : sa réforme du mode de recrutement des sénateurs et des fonctionnaires, son rôle dans la réorganisation de l'enseignement de la philosophie et du droit, et son activité dans le domaine judiciaire (§ 6-7).

Dans le paragraphe 8, Psellos reprend un *topos* théorisé par Ménandre, celui de la vertu de justice ou d'équité (*ἡ δικαιοσύνη*). Le Rhéteur la considère comme une «partie de la philanthropie» et lui donne un sens plus large qui englobe la clémence envers les ennemis, la mesure dans le châtiment, la bénignité à l'égard des sujets et l'accessibilité (8). Il convient, précise-t-il encore, de mettre en évidence la plus grande équité des lois promulguées par l'empereur (9). Or, ce sont bien là les qualités chan-

(7) D'après SKYLITZÈS, p. 477, l. 64-69 éd. Thurn, Constantin IX fit augmenter les revenus de l'église Saint-Georges des Manganes, où «on n'offrait à Dieu le sacrifice non sanglant qu'aux grandes fêtes ou encore le samedi et le jour du Seigneur», pour qu'on «célébrât tous les jours le saint office». La générosité de Monomaque est illustrée par une mosaïque de Sainte-Sophie qui le représente donnant une bourse d'or à l'Église. À l'origine, il s'agissait du portrait de Romain III (ou peut-être de Michel IV), mais la tête et le nom de l'empereur furent modifiés. Cf. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *The Mosaïc Panel of Constantine IX and Zoe in Saint Sophia*, dans *REB*, 36, 1978, pp. 219-232 (= N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade*, Brookfield, 1992, n° XV) et A. CUTLER - J.-M. SPIESER, *Byzance médiévale (700-1204)*, Paris, 1996, pp. 326-327.

(8) MÉNANDRE, II, 374, 28-32 et 375, 8-10 : *μόριον δὲ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ὅτι νικήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἠμύνατο τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἀδίκων ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐμέρισε κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὰς πράξεις τιμωρίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ* [...] *καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ ἥμερον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπαινέσεις, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους φιλανθρωπίαν, τὸ εὐπρόσοδον.*

(9) *Ibid.*, 375, 24-28 : *ἐρεῖς τι καὶ περὶ νομοθεσίας, ὅτι νομοθετεῖ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκους τῶν νόμων διαγράφει, δικαίους δὲ αὐτὸς θεσπίζει· τοιγάρτοι νομιμώτεροι μὲν οἱ νόμοι, δικαιότερα δὲ τὰ συμβόλαια τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

tées par Psellos : Monomaque est un parangon de justice, digne de siéger dans le tribunal divin et dont les verdicts réjouissent même les condamnés (§ 15), et sa mansuétude l'incite à pardonner à l'usurpateur qui tenta de le renverser (§ 8). Et ne faut-il pas voir une forme de cette accessibilité (*τὸ εὐπρόσοδον*) dont parle Ménandre dans les lignes du paragraphe 9 où Psellos fait part des conversations légères qu'il tient avec l'empereur ? De même, au paragraphe 15, l'orateur s'interroge devant tant d'affabilité : le titre de roi convient-il vraiment à notre empereur ?

La sobriété et la pudeur manifestées dans le deuil de l'impératrice, ainsi que l'évocation de son souvenir, rappellent la vertu de tempérance (*ἡ σωφροσύνη*) telle que la définit Ménandre. En effet, c'est dans l'examen de ce *topos* qu'il est recommandé de louer le mode de vie de l'empereur et de son épouse, et de relever les mérites de l'impératrice que l'on pourra présenter comme la co-régente de l'Empire ([10]). C'est bien ce que fait Psellos dans le paragraphe 11 : «Vous avez vous-même fait fléchir, sinon les cieux, comme Dieu, au moins les règles les plus hautes qui président à l'empire, et vous avez condescendu jusqu'à les soumettre aux volontés et aux décisions de l'Impératrice». Et Zoé siège désormais parmi les puissances célestes, mais son alter ego, sa sœur Théodora, est demeuré sur terre aux côtés de Monomaque (§ 12).

Pour mettre en évidence les qualités militaires de l'empereur, Psellos mentionne les navires que l'on a construits et munis de tours, engins de guerre d'une puissance jamais vue, capables de renverser le monde (§ 13). D'ailleurs, les puissants et les rois de tous horizons en sont réduits à se soumettre à l'autorité de Constantin IX (§ 14), puisque l'empire byzantin a étendu sa domination à la terre entière (§ 16), et de partout affluent les cadeaux les plus extraordinaires, comme l'éléphant (§ 17) et la girafe (§ 18). L'idée de la préséance de Byzance dans la hiérarchie des nations est largement répandue à cette époque, qui correspond à l'apogée de l'empire, du milieu du Xe siècle au milieu du XIe : les rois et les princes étrangers, selon leur importance, sont considérés comme les «frères» ou les «fils» de l'empereur ou sont désignés comme de simples «amis» ([11]).

(10) *Ibid.*, 376, 9-13 : *εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀξίας εἴη καὶ τιμῆς μεγίστης ἡ βασιλίς. ἐρεῖς τι καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν ἐνθάδε· ἣν θαυμάσας ἠγάπησε, ταύτην κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ ἔστιν ἄλλο οἷδε γυναικεῖον φῦλον.*

(11) Cf. H. AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1975, pp. 46-56.

C'est cette conception qui sous-tend les développements de Psellos dans les paragraphes 14 et 16.

Pour opérer une transition entre les parties de son discours, l'orateur recourt à plusieurs reprises à la figure rhétorique de l'aporie (ou dubitation) qui consiste à feindre le doute ou l'embarras ou à affirmer ignorer ce que l'on va pouvoir dire ([12]) : au début du paragraphe 19, Psellos fait mine d'être essoufflé ([13]) et invite chacun, philosophe, orateur, militaire et tout homme possédant un talent particulier, à lui prêter main-forte. Le procédé est identique au paragraphe 21 où Psellos appelle à l'aide les moines des différentes montagnes saintes. Une nouvelle aporie, permettant d'introduire la comparaison finale, ouvre le paragraphe suivant : «Mais que faire encore ? Comment m'arrêter ? Comment interrompre le cours de mes pensées ? [...] Mais puisque je ne peux réprimer l'inspiration divine, je rentre en moi pour vous contempler même face à votre rival».

Et le rival en question, c'est le soleil, qui se verra surpassé par Monomaque, tant en beauté, en grandeur, en éclat, que dans leur marche respective (§ 23-24).

Le discours se conclut sur le constat de la pertinence de la comparaison développée par Psellos, et sur un vœu. Si Ménandre préconise de formuler une prière dans la péroraison pour que, par exemple, le souverain règne le plus longtemps possible et que ses enfants et leurs descendants lui succèdent ([14]), Psellos s'écarte de cette recommandation et, en s'inspirant de Platon puis de Synésios, souhaiterait voir l'empereur associer la philosophie à son gouvernement.

(12) Cf. H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 3ème éd., Stuttgart, 1990, § 776-778, pp. 383-384. Ménandre cite ce procédé comme transition possible entre l'exorde et le corps du discours : l'orateur peut faire semblant de ne pas savoir par quel point commencer son éloge (MÉNANDRE, II, 369, 16-17 : *οἷον ὡς διαποροῦντος τοῦ λέγοντος ὅθεν χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐγκωμίων ποιήσασθαι.*).

(13) Même métaphore dans *L'éloge de Constantin Lichoudès*, dans SATHAS, *MB*, IV, p. 400, 2 : le style s'emporte dans la plaine et manque de souffle dans la montée. Cf. É. RENAULD, *Étude... o. l.*, p. 482.

(14) MÉNANDRE, II, 377, 28-30 : *ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχὴν ἐρεῖς αἰτῶν παρὰ θεοῦ εἰς μήκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, διαδοθῆναι εἰς παῖδας, παραδοθῆναι τῷ γένει.* Traditionnellement, c'est sur une prière ou une invocation que s'achève le panégyrique. Cf. L. PERNOT, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, tome I, Paris, 1993, pp. 621-625.

TRADUCTION ([15])

Discours en l'honneur de l'empereur et seigneur, Constantin Monomaque

1. Roi-Soleil : qui donc me reprocherait de vous adjoindre ce nom qui sied si bien à votre personne ? Car n'est-ce pas tant de l'orbite de vos vertus que du tour vivace de votre esprit, de la grandeur de votre nature et de l'éclat de votre beauté que vous illuminez la terre entière ? Mais que soient à la mesure de ma perception les rayons que vous lancez aujourd'hui : arrêtez-vous au milieu du jour, et montrez-vous à votre périgée ([16]), sans vous rendre inaccessible par les scintillements de votre lumière aurorale afin de ne pas éblouir de votre splendeur extrême ([17]). C'est une force plus divine que vous conférerez, et vous inciterez à regarder en face avec plus de confiance votre lumière ineffable. Car si, pour les discours que je vous consacre, vous ne m'emplissiez pas vous-même d'un élan d'origine divine et si, en provoquant les accouchements secrets de l'âme, vous ne faisiez pas de moi un être, pour ainsi dire, enthousiaste, comment pourrais-je être inspiré par vos mérites : je n'ai que des actions petites pour peser les vôtres qui sont grandes et qu'un bref discours pour donner la mesure de votre grandeur infinie ([18]).

(15) Le texte traduit, sauf mention particulière, et la distribution en paragraphes sont repris de l'édition G. T. DENNIS, *Michaelis Pselli orationes panegyricae*, éd. Teubner, Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1994, pp. 1-18.

(16) Le périgée est le point de l'orbite d'un corps céleste le plus proche de la Terre (opposé à «apogée»). Dans son *Éloge de Syméon Métaphraste* (*Orat. hagiograph.* 7, 130-132, éd. Fisher), Psellos recourt à une métaphore semblable : comme le soleil qui, dans sa révolution, tantôt s'approche, tantôt s'éloigne de nous, Syméon ne se tient pas à l'écart des affaires de l'État : *Τοῦ μὲν οὖν ἡλιακοῦ κύκλου τὸ μέν ἐστιν ἑτέρωθι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὅλος ἦν καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν.*

(17) La divinité, que ce soit Zeus apparaissant à Sémélé (APOLLODORE, III, 4, 3) ou Yahvé à Moïse (*Ex.*, 33, 18-20), ne peut se manifester à l'homme dans toute sa gloire et sa splendeur. Le passage n'est pas sans rappeler la description que fait Proclos de l'épiphanie du Premier Dieu, comparée à un lever du soleil face auquel l'homme ne peut garder les yeux ouverts : PROCLOS, *Théologie platonicienne*, II, 11, p. 64, 21-23 : [...] *οἷον ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα προσκυνήσαντες μεμυκόσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἀντωπεῖν οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν)*... Voir aussi la note 14, p. 122 de l'éd. Saffrey-Westerink.

(18) Cf. É. RENAULD, *Lexique choisi de Psellos*, Paris, 1920, s. v. *ἀπειρόπλαστος*. Le mot est signalé comme étant un néologisme de Psellos.

2. Au zénith de vos mérites et dans tout votre rayonnement splendide, vous êtes dans une position inaccessible tant dans la beauté que dans la grandeur. Or, la philosophie, le droit et la rhétorique, la première issue du ciel, les deux autres de sphères proches de la terre, comme d'un commun accord, ont convergé maintenant pour vous vers un même point non pour juger ou éprouver vos actes – car qui est plus droit que le cordeau ? –, mais pour les voir et les admirer, et offrir en cadeau les belles-lettres à celui qui les a magnifiées. Ils se dressent tous trois, comme vous le voyez, fort inquiets, le souffle court, trempés de sueur ; et avant le concours, ils jettent l'éponge ([19]) et font la démonstration de leur défaite. Néanmoins, ils n'ont pas modifié leur manière d'être ; la philosophie, d'ailleurs, porte ses regards sur la beauté intérieure et se charge du sens du discours ; le droit, quant à lui, dans sa position élevée, dresse la tête et se targue de porter les tablettes de Zeus ; la rhétorique, enfin, diserte et plaisante, est parée avec recherche et fait étalage de sa grande faculté de séduction et de persuasion par la parole. Ainsi donc, elle composera des discours pleins d'enjouement et de charme et quand elle aura dressé la généalogie de votre famille dans ses deux branches, double sera le titre qu'elle aura à l'admiration. Elle contribuera aussi à votre éloge en commençant par votre patrie. Elle louera votre procession vers l'être, et des merveilles qui viendront alors, elle s'extasiera ; elle dira un mot de votre beauté et de son éclat ; elle s'attachera à vous, aux sources de votre esprit et aux flots de votre langage ; elle se délectera de votre caractère et de l'harmonie de votre corps ; elle conférera un caractère divin à votre richesse, à l'ampleur de votre prospérité et à l'abondance de votre puissance. Que dire de plus ? Elle vous révélera ses mystères, présages de bon augure, oracles cachés, prédictions manifestes, connaissances secrètes sur ses pouvoirs, et elle y ajoutera enfin pour couronner le tout, ce lever divin que fait votre gouvernement.

3. De cela peut-être et de plus encore, la rhétorique traitera, à moins qu'elle ne fasse mentir son pouvoir. De telles données, la philosophie, elle, ne les intégrera pas à ses préliminaires parce qu'elles ne contribuent pas à créer une image vivante de la vertu, mais d'autres, pour ne pas avoir l'air de redire et de ressasser les mêmes choses, et elle ne souffrira pas de

(19) *Ἀπαγορεύειν* est le terme technique désignant l'abandon d'un lutteur au pancrace. Cf. M. POLIAKOFF, *Studies in the Terminology of the Greek Combat Sports*, Meisenheim, 1982, p. 10.

vous considérer maintenant dans une autre position que celle de prince. Car, empereur très divin, dès que vous fûtes, à la manière d'un astre lumineux, monté sur le char de l'Empire, tous ceux qui semblaient des étoiles furent aussitôt éclipsés, et avant même de démontrer votre force à la conduite, comme un vainqueur aux jeux Olympiques, vous avez été couronné pour des victoires sur tous et dans toutes les disciplines. En effet, de même que, quand le soleil à partir de l'orient fait mine d'entamer sa course, on aurait quelque raison de croire que tous les autres luminaires mettent pied à terre, ainsi, quand vous eûtes pris en mains les rênes de l'Empire, il n'y eut personne de l'équipe adverse pour oser courir sur la même ligne ou contre vous ; pour vous, le pentathlon d'ailleurs avait été un triomphe ([20]), et le pancrace avait pris fin puisque personne n'était descendu avec vous dans l'arène.

4. Tel fut votre prélude au pouvoir, telle la proclamation de votre autorité, tel votre prologue à l'art de gouverner. Plus tard, alors que vous accomplissiez les sacrifices de victoire, vous avez surpassé de beaucoup Empédocle par la magnificence de votre offrande. En effet, puisqu'en tant que pythagoricien celui-ci s'abstenait de toute nourriture animale, il fit confectionner un bœuf de plantes aromatiques, puis, l'ayant placé sur le bûcher, il remplit la terre attique de parfums indiens. Et désormais c'est un sacrificateur de type nouveau que, dans nos chants en grec, nous avons en la personne du philosophe. Vous qui avez rassemblé la terre entière à votre cérémonie solennelle, ce que vous avez offert à Dieu en sacrifice, comme prémices de votre gouvernement, c'est l'âme qui est la vôtre, en substituant au veau gras ([21]), celui qui a été aussi sacrifié en votre honneur, une victime immolée sans verser de sang. Oui, en associant à la cérémonie les nouveaux arrivants, comme il est juste de le faire, vous faites jaillir pour eux les sources du bonheur, vous mettez au jour les filons aurifères enfouis et vous faites sortir des fleuves entiers aux eaux calmes des sources de l'Empire ; puis, après avoir enjoint aux nuages de se remettre à féconder [la terre], à la manière d'un Élie ([22]), vous avez ouvert le ciel jusqu'alors bouché et comme vous avez formé une nouvelle mer de grâces pures, il n'est personne que vous n'ayez purifié de leurs flots.

5. Après avoir ainsi célébré la fête qui regroupait le peuple entier, vous avez aussi offert en second lieu comme prémices des cratères beaucoup

(20) Je retiens la leçon de C. SATHAS : *κατώρθωτό*.
(21) Cf. *Luc*, 15, 23.

plus vénérables qui versaient plus largement [encore] le nectar que j'ai moi-même bu à satiété et grâce auquel je suis compté au nombre des bienheureux. Je vais montrer comment.

6. Il semblait qu'autrefois la source du bonheur et du malheur se transmettait par héritage et que les enfants recevaient des pères les diverses vicissitudes de la fortune qu'ils léguaient aux petits-enfants. Mais vous qui avez été le premier à bouleverser cette discrimination néfaste au plus haut point et à équilibrer la balance de la prospérité suivant le mérite plutôt que la naissance, vous avez changé le lot qui nous est assigné. Et l'on peut voir nombre de gens autrefois dépourvus d'ailes prendre leur essor et voler au plus près de votre lumière. Il n'en est point, parmi ceux qui se distinguaient dans chaque science ou art ou dans toute autre faculté, que vous n'ayez honorés. Votre mérite à vous, c'est d'avoir traité avec révérence le premier philosophe parce qu'il se passe de principes, le mathématicien parce qu'il étudie les formes, le physicien parce qu'il a découvert comme prémisses les éléments premiers des corps, le scientifique parce qu'il recourt aux données essentielles, le dialecticien parce qu'en raisonnant il progresse adroitement par syllogismes, le sophiste parce qu'il manie ingénieusement les raisonnements artificieux, le musicien parce qu'il sait les lois des accords et le rythmicien parce qu'il connaît le rapport entre les temps.

7. C'est vous aussi qui avez organisé le droit parce qu'il est l'ordre qui régit les États et qu'il établit des distinctions dans une matière infinie en assignant aux affaires des moments particuliers en guise de limites. Vous avez également aspiré à la rhétorique parce qu'elle défend habilement le pour et le contre et pour sa variété dans les styles et les combinaisons. Vos louanges sont allées à l'archer dont le tir fait mouche, au lanceur de javelot qui atteint sa cible, au général capable de maintenir en rangs les boucliers de la phalange, au chef de file plein d'audace et au commandant de l'arrière-garde qui protège l'armée. Votre admiration s'est portée sur la force physique, la bravoure de l'âme, l'invention de machines, la volubilité de la langue, la beauté du discours, la puissance de l'art, la grandeur du savoir, la construction d'ouvrages, l'acuité d'esprit, la constance de la pensée ([23]), la fleur de la pudeur, la franchise antique, l'éloquence du

(22) Cf. 1 *Rois*, 18, 41-45.

(23) Même expression (*βεβηκὸς φρόνημα*) dans *Orat. paneg.* 14, 22 et *Theologica*, t. I, *op.* 102, p. 403, l. 32. Cf. É. RENAULD, *Lexique... o. l.*, s. v. *βαίνω*.

silence et l'éloquence préférable au silence ; toutes ces qualités, vous cherchez à les posséder en propre et toutes ont servi à l'édification de votre personne. Car c'est ainsi que Dieu a fait de votre âme une empreinte malléable qui puisse être retravaillée avantageusement dans tous les domaines, recevoir toute forme d'aptitude et être remodelée aisément dans tous les champs de la raison.

8. Quand je vous observe en train de donner audience aux ambassadeurs des nations étrangères et que je réfléchis à la façon dont vous gérez les affaires, je considère que vous incarnez exactement la rhétorique et la méthode de l'habileté. Quand il s'agit pour vous d'assigner les charges, de juger les procès et de rendre les décisions, je me figure ce qu'est la justice divine et je suis transporté devant le tribunal impartial. Lorsque je vous examine lors des assemblées pour l'élection de magistrats, j'admire votre intelligence, votre jugement empreint de raison et l'infaillibilité de votre esprit. Quand je porte attention à vos bienfaits, j'y vois l'Océan Atlantique, les fleuves sortant de l'Eden et la source intarissable de Dieu. Quand je vous regarde alors que vous êtes contraint de châtier les Titans qui bandent leur arc vers le ciel pour vous percer de traits au plus profond de la nuit, vous le fils de Dieu – car c'est ainsi qu'il faut vous appeler –, quand je vois le couteau affûté, l'épée étincelante, les charbons incandescents, le feu ardent projetant son éclat, quand je vois le tyran précipité dans le gouffre tête la première, relevé pour être passé au fil l'épée, jeté à terre et livrant ses yeux aux bourreaux, aussitôt, je le vois, vous changez d'avis, vous vous réconciliez avec le meurtrier et vous avez un regard indulgent pour la main tyrannique.

9. Quand je vous écoute discourir, j'entends la langue de Démosthène, celle de Périclès, celle de Polémon, celle de Platon, l'éloquence de Lysias, la sirène d'Isocrate, la douceur d'Hérodote, la langue d'or de Dion : je me bouche les oreilles, je suspends le cours de mes pensées de peur d'être englouti dans le tourbillon de vos paroles. Lorsque je vous rencontre pour des badinages, mazette ! que de charmes et d'enchantements ! c'est là le chant de Pindare, la lyre de Sapho, la séduction d'Orphée, la Calliope d'Homère, la langue d'Anacréon, la muse de la musique ! quel plaisir m'envahit ! comme je suis fasciné par votre sourire ! comme je fonds de joie ! Quand je vous regarde réfléchir, tantôt fronçant les sourcils, tantôt obéissant à votre esprit, je me représente les portraits de Xénocrate, les portraits d'Héraclite, qui y avaient en somme imprimé leur caractère et l'avaient empreint de leur gravité. Oh ! que de

fois j'ai orné mes propres discours des fleurs de votre langage, que de forces j'y ai récoltées, que de savoir-faire j'y ai recueilli, que de procédés j'y ai affinés ! J'omets tout le reste.

10. Quand je vois votre déférence à l'égard du grand Patriarche que vous avez oint de l'huile d'allégresse et sur qui vous avez versé le chrême de la consécration jusqu'à la barbe et au vêtement, je pense à l'humilité de David à l'égard de Samuel, puisque vous ne leur cédez en rien.

11. Je vous ai vu aussi, devant les malheurs qui frappaient vos amis, pleurer et laisser échapper une plainte contenue. En effet, de la tristesse qui accompagna la mort de l'Impératrice, la postérité ne garde aucune impression d'exagération. Et si vous me promettez en cet instant seulement de dominer votre douleur, nous nous attarderons un peu à évoquer son souvenir. Mais voici que vous vous troublez à nouveau et que vous faites disparaître le visage du soleil derrière le nuage du chagrin. Vous avez vous-même fait fléchir, sinon les cieux, comme Dieu, au moins les règles les plus hautes qui président à l'empire, et vous avez condescendu jusqu'à les soumettre aux volontés et aux décisions de l'Impératrice. Mais il n'y avait là qu'un masque, et sa mort a prouvé que tout cela s'en était allé. Oh ! source intarissable des larmes ! pouvoir indicible des yeux ! Même les nuages se sont lassés de déverser leurs pluies d'abat, même les fleuves au cours éternel se sont alors arrêtés de couler, même la dureté des pierres a cédé aux gouttes d'eau (24). Vous-même vous êtes une source de pleurs jaillissants, et vous germez la chevelure rase, vous croissez tout en vous étiolant, vous fleurissez tout en dépérissant. Le temps de l'oubli n'a pas prise sur vous car sa mémoire, que vous avez plantée une fois pour toutes dans votre âme, vous l'arrosez de larmes et vous la cultivez comme une plante vivace. Car tout ce que vous regardez vous ramène à elle : l'église, le tombeau, la pourpre. Chaque fois que vous contemplez son portrait, vous vous figurez sa silhouette dans votre âme. Sous sa coiffe, vous modelez à nouveau son visage sacré ; sous son habit, l'harmonie de son corps ; chaque fois que vous songez à l'Île, marque de l'injustice, vous quittez le palais en cinglant toutes voiles au vent. Et allant jusqu'à regretter – comment le dire ? comment en avoir la

(24) Procédé rhétorique de l'*ἀδύνατον* : évocation d'une impossibilité naturelle devenue réalité. Cf. H. LAUSBERG, *o. l.*, § 1218, p. 588. Plus généralement, sur le thème de l'*ἀδύνατον*, voir H. V. CANTER, *The Figure of ἀδύνατον in Greek and Latin Poetry*, dans *AJP*, 51, 1930, pp. 32-41 et E. DUTOIT, *Le thème de l'adynaton dans la poésie antique*, Paris, 1936.

force ? – sa prison, vous en avez fait une résidence impériale. Et désormais, comme un phare, l'Île brille au loin pour les marins qui regagnent le port et tend la main à ceux qui viennent du large en les guidant sur la voie la plus sûre pour Rome.

12. Quel est donc sur ce point l'engagement de la philosophie ? Que l'Impératrice s'est jointe aux puissances qui entourent Dieu, que partout elle est à votre côté et qu'elle vous escorte. Mais désirez-vous voir de vos propres yeux cette personne divine ? Ce que vous en avez, ce ne sont pas des apparences floues, des ombres indistinctes, mais sa sœur du même sang ([25]), son empreinte, sa parfaite effigie. C'est à elle de vous représenter la vertu et la beauté de l'Impératrice.

13. Mais je vais revenir sur un point. Lorsque j'observe sur la mer les tours munies de rames, pareilles à des collines et à des éminences dirigées sur l'élément liquide par des milliers d'avirons, je m'imagine qu'avec ces machines, fruits de votre ingéniosité, ce sont les sommets des montagnes qui se mettent en branle. Et l'enthousiasme me transporte devant la puissance indicible de la chose, et je redoute que ce mouvement n'entraîne l'univers entier et que je ne sache plus dans quelle direction me tourner.

14. Quand je vois les brillants généraux perses, mèdes et babyloniens venus se ranger sous votre autorité comme sous l'effet d'un mécanisme, je crois être au nombre des rêveurs et j'écarquille les yeux. Qu'en est-il de vous ? Gagnez-vous sur eux un poids plus lourd que le destin ? Il s'en faut de beaucoup. Car cela, c'est le fait des Darius, Xerxès, Cyrus et autres Okhos ([26]), eux qui ont souillé leurs mains du sang de leurs parents. Vous, au contraire, vous leur tendez la main, vous partagez avec eux votre nectar et allez jusqu'à leur accorder votre amitié. Et pour laisser le reste, comment n'être pas saisi d'admiration devant vos conseils empreints de sagesse grâce auxquels les enfants des puissants, à la manière des descendants de certains Géants, se sont rendus spontanément dans votre ville et y ont formé une partie de votre administration.

15. Mais «comment vous appeler pour s'adresser correctement à vous ?» ([27]) Sire ? Je vois bien votre qualité dans la science du comman-

(25) Théodora.
(26) Surnom du roi achéménide Artaxerxès III (359-338 av. J.-C.).
(27) DÉMOSTHÈNE, *Discours 18 (Sur la Couronne)*, 22.

dement, mais où sont l'enflure du succès, le faste de la monarchie, le dédain envers la foule et la fanfaronnade ? Général ? Vos victoires sont évidentes, nulle part la fierté qu'on en pourrait tirer. Juge ? Mais par ailleurs, je vois le condamné se réjouir du verdict ; comment un juge pourrait-il avoir le même résultat ? ([28]) Architecte ? La persistance de vos ouvrages dépasse les limites de l'architecture. Bâtisseur ? Quel Archimède a modifié l'équilibre des éléments ? Qui a inondé la Libye assoiffée ? Qui a détourné des fleuves entiers et les a ramenés à un seul canal, dont il fait monter puis redescendre le niveau ? Qui a entrepris d'arrêter et de mettre en mouvement l'élément liquide à sa guise ?

16. Pour ma part, j'admire également vos autres réalisations et les mots me manquent pour vous décerner ma couronne d'éloges ; vous préservez d'ailleurs pour nous l'appareil de la monarchie, dont votre nom n'est point le démenti, pas plus que vous ne faites mentir vous-même le patronyme que vous portez : voilà qui plus que tout a davantage fait ma stupéfaction. Et maintenant, les frontières de l'empire ne sont plus ni les fleuves de notre connaissance ni les Colonnes célèbres ni les îles et les continents connus, mais nous plaçons les bornes là où nous le voulons et, si nous choisissions d'aller au-delà, ne nous resterait-il pas à oser franchir les profondeurs de la matière ? Mais si, à l'intérieur de telles frontières, certaines provinces ont obtenu du pouvoir, il ne faut pas s'en étonner. Car elles ne sont ni dressées contre nous ni opposées, elles constituent au contraire des parties et des membres de l'Empire tout entier et les confins de sa totalité. Car même si l'on parle des provinces des Égyptiens, de celle des Éthiopiens, des Indiens, des Scythes, des Sauromates et des Hyperboréens eux-mêmes, dont le territoire a pour sommet le pôle terrestre, ce sont des parties de l'Empire que vous gouvernez. C'est pourquoi, chacun est venu d'un endroit différent avec en cadeau, non comme autrefois des soieries du pays des Sères, des étoffes brochées d'or ou des pierres vertes qui reflètent les teintes du printemps, mais des espèces d'animaux que ces peuples possédaient en plus grand nombre que nous et dont ils refusaient d'octroyer aux empereurs précédents ne serait-ce que les empreintes.

(28) Même idée exposée dans *Chrono.*, VI, 165, t. II, pp. 52-53 éd. Renauld : quand Monomaque jugeait une affaire, il était difficile de différencier vainqueur et perdant.

17. Et maintenant quand je vois un éléphant, qu'autrefois je plaçais au rang de légende et auquel je ne croyais pas, conduit par son cornac en plein milieu de l'amphithéâtre, un éléphant à la peau invulnérable et dure comme le fer, à la taille immense, à l'aspect étrange et au pas en rapport avec la masse, reposant sur ses pattes comme sur des colonnes inébranlables, utilisant sa trompe comme une main, qu'il plie et recourbe vers sa mâchoire inférieure, j'imagine la fierté de l'Indien juché sur la bête quand elle tient sa trompe plus d'une coudée au-dessus de sa tête et j'en ris doucement, mais évidemment le spectacle m'enthousiasme et je partage la joie de la patrie d'avoir eu l'honneur d'un tel tableau.

18. Et quand je regarde cet être mi-chameau mi-panthère ou mi-biche mi-chameau, simple et composé, procéder par hautes foulées, dresser le cou mécaniquement puis l'abaisser à nouveau, bipède en même temps que quadrupède suivant l'énigme du Sphinx, ne pas utiliser ses quatre pattes alternativement et tour à tour pour avancer, mais les lancer deux par deux et chaque paire l'une après l'autre, je suis stupéfait que les Egyptiens et les Éthiopiens, qui sont fascinés par la bête comme par un être supérieur, aient toléré qu'on le vît fouler le sol romain. Mais quelle qu'en soit la portée, remettons le sujet pour l'instant : car il y a là matière à une sorte de discours sacré exprimé par des symboles.

19. Mais moi, qu'ai-je à être épuisé déjà avant le concours, alors que je viens à peine de m'atteler à la tâche ? Venez-moi en aide, vous tous qui avez bu aux mêmes cratères des belles-lettres que moi. Car si le souffle me manque alors que je me trouve encore au pied de la montagne, qu'adviendra-t-il de moi lorsque j'aurai attaqué l'ascension ? C'est pourquoi, je n'oserais l'entreprendre – il faudrait être fou –, mais je me contenterai des premiers vallonnements. Et même pour cela, aidez-moi et apportez à l'empereur chacun à votre tour votre contribution propre comme votre écot à la louange : les philosophes, la philosophie dans le comportement ; les orateurs, le beau langage ; les experts en matière de lois, la science des lois ; les généraux, la puissance dans les conseils et les avis ; les musiciens, l'harmonie de caractère ; les hommes pénétrants, vifs et doués de mémoire, la supériorité dans la perspicacité et l'intelligence, avec l'infaillibilité de la mémoire ; les gens prompts et fougueux, l'assurance dans la rapidité de l'intellect ; la jeunesse, la vieillesse de l'âme ; la vieillesse, l'intensité et l'infatigabilité de la pensée. À cela, ajoutez encore : la sagesse en matière de théologie, la source où puise la philanthropie, la balance de la justice, la grandeur d'âme face aux événements funestes,

l'impassibilité devant les aléas, la modération dans la décision, l'exactitude dans la conception, la mesure dans la magnificence et la magnificence dans la mesure.

20. Mais quand je vous vois vous élever dans la magnificence, vous glorifier de l'appareil du gouvernement et mettre en scène le pouvoir, c'est au milieu des nuées que je vous regarde siéger et donner audience au cœur des ténèbres et de la tempête, et divines sont les voix que je crois entendre. C'est pourquoi, je ne pénètre pas dans ces aveugles ténèbres mais je me tiens au loin au milieu de l'assemblée, de peur d'être frappé par des paroles dures comme par des pierres. Mais quand je vous vois dans l'attitude du philosophe et délaissant la mise en scène, j'y vois en même temps une ineffable descente de Dieu et l'insondable profondeur de Son humilité. Car si vous n'avez pas lavé les pieds de vos amis, vous avez par ailleurs baisé les plaies des malades et choyé les pustules blanchâtres comme des perles et les tumeurs enflammées comme des pierres pareilles au charbon et brillant comme le feu.

21. Et pourquoi, vous qui menez droit vers Dieu le cours ([29]) de la vie monastique, ne participeriez-vous pas pour moi à la cérémonie et ne seriez pas mes aides dans ce concours d'un genre nouveau ? N'est-ce pas lui qui vous pousse à l'action et vous donne des ailes pour la contemplation, lui qui baise vos cheveux sales et qui change vos haillons en robe de pourpre ? Oui, mettez votre sceau sur mon discours, vous, le mont Sinaï, le mont Kyminas ([30]), l'Athos aux cimes altières et l'Olympe du grand nord : s'il n'y a pas été reçu comme hôte, ceux d'entre vous qui ne se lavent pas et qui couchent à même le sol, il les a invités à goûter l'hospitalité du palais impérial.

22. Mais que faire encore ? Comment m'arrêter ? Comment interrompre le cours de mes pensées ? Car à peine avais-je, dans la mesure où dans l'ombre je le pouvais, entamé votre éloge que j'avais changé de sentiment ; je ne sais comment dire, me voilà inspiré et pris d'un irrépressible élan. Mais puisque je ne peux réprimer l'inspiration divine, je rentre en moi pour vous contempler même face à votre rival. Que d'autres vous mesurent à ce qu'ils voudront et fassent une comparaison détaillée, même

(29) Même emploi métaphorique du terme δρόμος pour désigner la vie monastique chez Jean CLIMAQUE, *Liber ad pastorem*, 12 dans *PG*, 88, col. 1189.

(30) Voir ci-dessous le commentaire au paragraphe 21.

si le rapprochement que je fais semble être nouveau et inégal, c'est en vous plaçant à côté du soleil que pour ma part je rendrai claire la similitude.

23. Il se caractérise par la beauté, la grandeur, la forme sphérique et le mouvement double : l'un, au-dessus de la nature, en raison de la révolution de l'univers, l'autre, au niveau de la nature, je veux dire celui qui le dirige vers l'orient et vers l'occident. Qu'en est-il pour vous ? N'êtes-vous pas beau par excellence parmi les fils des hommes ? ([31]) Ne participez-vous pas à la beauté première en raison de la forme de votre âme ? N'avez-vous pas la grandeur intelligible, grâce à laquelle vous foulez les portiques célestes ? N'avez-vous pas l'intellect qui se meut sur une orbite circulaire, n'êtes-vous pas égal et semblable à vous-même ? N'êtes-vous pas l'extrême centre, comme le mouvement premier et indivisible de l'Âme, l'Intellect circulaire qui embrasse l'Âme, la ligne des vertus qui y mènent ? N'êtes-vous pas vous-même un cercle qui se meut lui-même et qui est mû par autrui, tantôt à partir de l'est, celui du premier soleil, tantôt à partir du couchant, celui de la terre et des régions basses de la nature ? N'êtes-vous pas inspiré, transformé entièrement et mû par la volonté de Dieu ?

24. Qu'en est-il de votre physique ? Comme rival et adversaire du soleil, vous étincelez de votre chevelure d'or, vous flamboyez de couleurs inimitables, vous resplendissez de beautés mystérieuses, vous brillez d'éclats indicibles. N'êtes-vous pas soleil tout entier, n'êtes-vous pas plus lumineux que lui ? Je le dirais pour ma part. Fort bien. Il s'en va périodiquement dans chaque lieu, tantôt montant vers le nord, tantôt écarté vers le sud en hiver. Qu'y a-t-il là de nouveau ? Car cela est aussi le fait de la gent ailée. Notre empereur, lui, d'un seul des points de l'orient remplit le monde d'un éclat ineffable. Quant à moi, je puis découvrir en vous quelque chose de plus : le soleil effectue un mouvement oblique et incliné, s'arrêtant deux fois droit dans la zone équinoxiale, tandis que votre mouvement est sans inclination, votre course droite et inflexible. De plus, le soleil passe sous la Terre pour revenir à son point de départ, alors que vous ne vous couchez pas et restez toujours sur la surface terrestre. Et si un jour vous deviez en venir à disparaître au couchant, je crains que ce ne soit l'anéantissement de l'univers entier et l'extinction de ses luminaires.

(31) *Ps* 44, 3.

25. Nous avons donc ainsi pour notre part rendu compte avec pertinence de la comparaison et sans doute sur le terrain avons-nous eu le dessus sur un point. Quant à vous, Sire, puissiez-vous aimer la philosophie de plus en plus et en faire la parure de l'Empire : elle n'a pu se ménager un lieu où se localiser sur terre, parce qu'elle a un siège à côté de Dieu, mais c'est l'esprit qu'elle a tiré au sort pour domicile ; et si vous avez le pouvoir de lui faire une place, quand elle y descend, vous deviendrez Dieu vous-même et réussirez à nous rendre pareil.

COMMENTAIRE

§ 1.

Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε. Les mots qui ouvrent le discours annoncent la métaphore qui jalonne le texte : l'empereur est l'égal de l'astre solaire. En plus de l'exorde (§ 1) et de la péroraison (§ 23-24), que la structure annulaire du discours fait se répondre, plusieurs éléments viennent rappeler la métaphore initiale : l. 21, *ὑπεραστράπτων λαμπρῶς* (éclat du soleil) ; l. 56-57, *ὁμοῦ τε τοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἷα δή τις φωστὴρ ἐπιβέβηκας ἅρματος* (évocation du quadrige d'Hélios) ; l. 60-62, *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡλίου διφρηλατεῖν ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἐοικότος ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν ὀχημάτων τοὺς λοιποὺς φωστῆρας εἰκότως ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν* (*idem*) ; l. 99, *ἐγγύτατα τοῦ σου περιϊπταμένους φωτός* (lumière solaire) ; l. 179, *τῷ τῆς λύπης νέφει τὴν ἡλιῶσαν ὄψιν ἠφάνικας* (visage du soleil masqué par les nuages).

Ce motif est ancien (32) et fréquent chez les panégyristes (33). Comme le fait remarquer L. Pernot, les images associant la personne du souverain au soleil

(32) Cf. les exemples cités par L. PERNOT, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, t. I, Paris, 1993, p. 414, note 448 : ARISTOPHANE, *Ois.*, 1709-1712 ; le poème en l'honneur de Démétrios de Phalère (qualifié d'*ἡλιόμορφος*) pour son accession à l'archontat (309/308 av. J.-C.) par Castorion (ATHÉNÉE, XII, 542 e ; T. BERGK, *Poetae lyrici graeci*, III, p. 635 ; D. L. PAGE, *Poetea melici graeci*, p. 447 ; H. LLOYD-JONES – P. PARSONS, *Supplementum hellenisticum*, Berlin-New York, 1983, p. 145) ; l'hymne à Démétrios Poliorcète, conservé par un passage de Douris (F. JACOBY, *FGrH.*, II, A, pp. 141-142, frg. 13) transmis par Athénée (ATHÉNÉE, VI, 253 d-e) et composé en 290 av. J.-C. par Hermoclès ou Hermippos (cf. ATHÉNÉE, XV, 697 a) : T. BERGK, *o. l.*, III, pp. 674-675 ; J. U. POWELL, *Collectanea alexandrina*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 173-175 ; vers 9-12 : *Σεμνόν τι φαίνεθ', οἱ φίλοι πάντες κύκλῳ, | ἐν μέσοισι δ' αὐτός, | ὅμοιον ὥσπερ οἱ φίλοι μὲν ἀστέρες, | ἥλιος δ' ἐκεῖνος*. (Pour une image semblable, cf. HORACE, *Satires*, I, 7, 24-25 : *solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubris / appellat comites.*) À propos de cet hymne, cf. V. EHRENBERG, *Athenischer Hymnus auf Demetrios Poliorketes*, dans *Die Antike*, 7, 1931, pp. 279-

«sont très riches, car elles connotent, alternativement ou simultanément, l'éclat de la gloire, l'idée d'un modèle à imiter (de même que les astres guident les navigateurs) et les vertus de justice, de *philanthrôpia*, de *pronoia* (suivant la conception traditionnelle d'Hélios comme témoin de toutes les actions et inlassable dispensateur de tous les biens)» (34).

L'originalité dont fait ici preuve Psellos réside dans l'emploi de l'expression *Βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος*, récurrente dans les textes astrologiques (35) et chez les philosophes néoplatoniciens. Le concept de la royauté cosmique du soleil est sous-tendu par l'ordonnancement des planètes selon le système dit «chaldéen» : Lune, Mercure, Vénus, Soleil, Mars, Jupiter, Saturne. Le soleil occupe donc le quatrième rang, c'est-à-dire la position médiane parmi les sept sphères célestes qui semblent l'entourer et l'escorter dans sa marche. Les astrologues ont donc présenté le soleil comme le roi des astres, avançant protégé par sa garde, à la manière des souverains terrestres. Cette comparaison est développée notamment par Philon d'Alexandrie : «Je l'appelle 'médian', non seulement parce qu'il [le soleil] détient la région médiane, selon l'avis de certains, mais parce qu'il est servi et gardé par des écuyers des deux côtés, en raison de sa dignité, de sa grandeur, des avantages qu'il procure à toutes les créatures terrestres» (36). En outre,

297 (repris dans V. EHRENBERG, *Polis und Imperium*, Zurich-Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 503-519), K. SCOTT, *The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, dans *AJP*, 49, 1928, pp. 137-166 et pp. 217-239 (surtout pp. 229-232 et p. 239). Pour d'autres exemples : SÉNÈQUE, *Consol. à Polybe*, 7, 2 ; 13 ; Dion CHRYSOSTOME, I, 24, 71 ; III, 11, 57 et surtout 73-81 ; XL, 15.

(33) Une image similaire est citée à titre d'exemple dans la partie consacrée au *βασιλικὸς λόγος* du second traité de Ménandre le Rhéteur, à propos de la *φύσις* : MÉNANDRE, II, 371, 16-17. Cf. PACATUS, *Panég. de Théodose*, 21, 5 éd. Galletier ; CORIPPE, II, 137-158 et spécialement le vers 149 (*solis habens speciem...*) ; EUSÈBE, *Éloge de Constantin*, 3 et 6, p. 201 et pp. 211-212 éd. Heikel (Cf. P. MARAVAL, *Eusèbe de Césarée. La théologie politique de l'Empire chrétien. Louanges de Constantin*, Paris, 2001, pp. 95-96 (+ n. 3) et pp. 117-119) ; SYNÉSIOS, *Discours sur la royauté*, 17 et 26, p. 40 et p. 57 éd. Terzaghi (= 17 et 26, p. 422 et p. 442 éd. Garzya). Pour ce qui est de la période byzantine, voir les exemples cités par H. HUNGER, *Prooimion : Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, Vienne, 1964, pp. 75-80, où il est principalement question des exordes de discours (Psellos n'est pas cité).

(34) L. PERNOT, *o. l.*, p. 415.

(35) Cf. JULIEN DE LAODICÉE, *Catalogus codicum astrologicum graecorum*, I, p. 136, 1 : *Ἥλιος Βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου* ; HARPOCRATION : *Πάντων ἀστέρων βασιλεύς ἐστιν ὁ Ἥλιος* (C. GRAUX, *Lettre inédite d'Harpocration à un empereur*, dans *RPh*, 2, 1878, p. 77, § 38).

(36) PHILON D'ALEXANDRIE, *Quis rerum diuinarum heres sit*, 223 éd. Harl : *Μέσον δ' αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον ἐπεὶ μέσην ἐπέχει χώραν, ὡς ἠξίωσάν τινες, καλῶ,*

les philosophes néoplatoniciens retrouvèrent l'idée de la royauté solaire sous la plume de Platon : «... ils [les deux soleils que Glaucon doit se représenter] règnent, l'un sur le genre et le monde intelligibles, l'autre sur le monde visible...» (37). Aussi l'expression *Βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος* (ou *Ἥλιος Βασιλεύς*) est-elle reprise par Porphyre (38), Proclos (39), et bien sûr Julien dans son *Discours sur Hélios-Roi* (40). Elle apparaît également dans le *Corpus hermeticum* (41) et dans les papyrus magiques (42).

L'épithète *Βασιλεύς* est aussi usitée dans les dédicaces religieuses à Hélios, comme cette épigramme votive de Thessalie datée de la fin du IIIe ou du début du IIe s. av. J.-C. (*Ἀελίωι πρώτωι Βασιλεῖ...*) qui, semble-t-il, en constitue la plus ancienne occurrence (43).

ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑπασπιζόντων ἑκατέρωθεν ἀξιώματος ἕνεκα καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ὠφελειῶν, ἃς τοῖς ἐπιγείοις ἅπασι παρέχει. Cf. Id., *De opificio mundi*, 56 éd. Arnaldez : *τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας τὸ κράτος ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεδίδου τῷ ἡλίῳ, οἷα μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ.* Pour d'autres exemples où le soleil est présenté comme un roi au milieu des astres, cf. F. Cumont, *Théologie solaire du paganisme romain*, dans *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XII, 2ème partie, 1913, p. 453 n. 1 et p. 454 n. 1 et 2.

(37) Platon, *République*, VI, 509 d : *καὶ βασιλεύειν τὸ μὲν νοητοῦ γένους τε καὶ τόπου, τὸ δ' αὖ ὁρατοῦ...* Cf. Proclos, *Théologie platonicienne*, II, éd. Saffrey-Westerink, Paris, 1974, p. 95 n. 2.

(38) *Lettre à Anébon*, 30 éd. Faggin, 2.8c éd. Sodano (Cf. Eusèbe, *Prépa. évang.*, V, 10, 1-5 et Théodoret, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, III, 66-67).

(39) Cf. notamment *Théologie platonicienne*, II, 4 (t. II, p. 32, l.7 éd. Saffrey-Westerink), *Commentaire au Timée*, III, p. 131, l. 28 et p. 227, l. 29 (éd. Diehl) ; *Hymne* I, 1. Sur le Soleil dans l'œuvre de Proclos, voir H.-D. Saffrey, *La dévotion de Proclus au Soleil*, dans *Le néoplatonisme après Plotin*, Paris, 2000, pp. 179-191.

(40) Julien, *Discours sur Hélios-Roi*, XI [IV], 130 B éd. Lacombrade, p. 100 : «Je suis un serviteur du Roi-Soleil» (*καὶ γάρ εἰμι τοῦ βασιλέως ὀπαδὸς Ἡλίου*). Sur l'hymne à Hélios de Proclos et le discours de Julien, cf. W. Fauth, *Helios megistos : zur synkretischen Theologie der Spätantike*, Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1995, pp. 121-164.

(41) *Corpus hermeticum*, traité V, 3 éd. Nock-Festugière (avec la note 10).

(42) K. Preisendanz - A. Henrichs, *Papyri graecae magicae*, t. II, 2ème éd., Stuttgart, 1974, XII, l. 264-265, p. 76 et IV, l. 640-642 ; cf. W. Fauth, *o. l.*, p. 116.

(43) Cf. A. Tziaphalias, *Εφορεία προϊστορικών και κλασικών αρχαιοτήτων Λαρίσης*, dans *AD*, 32, 1977, 2ème partie, p. 138, n° 18 et E. Voutiras, *Zwei Thessalische Epigramme*, dans *ZPE*, 61, 1985, pp. 288-290. En Grèce, on retrouve l'expression *Ἥλιος Βασιλεύς* dans une inscription d'Hermione du

Le soleil ainsi paré du titre de roi, il restait, en retour, à accorder aux souverains celui d'Hélios ou de *Sol*, puisque leur autorité terrestre trouvait une correspondance dans la royauté cosmique de l'astre suprême. Et l'astrologie avait bien établi le lien qui unissait le roi au soleil (44) : «la doctrine que le sort des états comme celui des individus est lié au cours des astres, avait eu pour corollaire celle que le chef des planètes était le maître de la Fortune des rois. C'était lui qui les élevait sur le trône ou les en précipitait, qui leur assurait les triomphes ou leur infligeait les désastres. *Sol* est considéré comme le compagnon (*comes*) de l'empereur et comme son préservateur (*conservator*) personnel» (45). Depuis la plus haute antiquité, le soleil est l'astre tutélaire des souverains : les Pharaons (46), les monarques hellénistiques (47) et plus tard les rois Sassanides (48), tous se sont placés sous son patronage. Dans le monde latin, le premier empereur à recevoir le titre de *Νέος Ἥλιος* fut Caligula (49), imité plus tard par Néron (50), Caracalla et

IIIe s. apr. J.-C. : *IG*, IV, 700 et voir les corrections de M. J. JAMESON, *Inscriptions of Hermione, Hydra and Kasos*, dans *Hesperia*, 28, 1959, p. 115, n° 10. *Ἥλιος Βασιλεὺς* est associé à Apollon dans une inscription de Phrygie, *SEG*, I, 463 : *[Λητ]οίδῃ Σώζοντι καὶ Ἡελίῳ βασιλῆι*. Voir également les corrections apportées par F. ZUCKER, *Ein angebliches Zeugnis für eine syrisch-hellenistische Götterdreiheit*, dans *APF*, 15, 1953, pp. 61-70 concernant une inscription syrienne où l'on a cru trouver une adresse au roi Soleil (Cf. L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique*, dans *REG*, 68, 1955, p. 274, n° 242).

(44) Cf. par exemple, VETTIUS VALENS, *Anthologies*, I, 1. Voir J.-F. BARA, *Vettius Valens d'Antioche. Anthologies, Livre I*, Leiden, 1989, pp. 38-40.

(45) F. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, t. I, Bruxelles, 1899, pp. 288-289.

(46) Le Pharaon est conçu comme le «fils de Rê». Cf. S. MORENZ, *Egyptian Religion*, traduit de l'allemand par Ann E. Keep, Londres, 1973, pp. 33-41 et C. LALOUETTE, *Au royaume d'Égypte. Le temps des rois-dieux*, Paris, 1991, pp. 143-150 et pp. 182-186.

(47) En tant que successeurs des Pharaons, les Ptolémées sont eux aussi «fils de Rê». Cf. C. PRÉAUX, *Le monde hellénistique*, t. I, 2ème éd., Paris, 1987, pp. 259-261. Pour des représentations figurées des souverains hellénistiques pourvus d'attributs solaires, cf. D. SVENSON, *Darstellungen hellenistischer Könige mit Götterattributen*, Francfort, 1995, pp. 19-27.

(48) Le roi Sapor se fait appeler *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* (AMMIEN, XVII, 5, 3). Cf. H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo, 1953, réimpr. New Rochelle-New York, 1982, pp. 37-47.

(49) Dans une inscription de Cyzique. Cf. *IGR*, IV, 145 et W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecorum*, t. II, 3ème éd., Leipzig, 1917, n° 798.

(50) *IG*, VII, 2713, l. 35 et *IGR*, III, 345.

Geta (51). Antonin et Commode (52) se montrèrent enclins à intégrer la théologie solaire dans la religion officielle et l'héliolâtrie connaîtra son avènement au IIIe siècle sous le règne d'Aurélien qui fit ériger à Rome un temple en l'honneur de *Sol inuictus*. Dès le règne d'Auguste, que l'iconographie officielle représente orné de la couronne radiée, comme le seront ses successeurs, la conception de l'Empereur-Soleil, s'impose comme un élément central du culte impérial (53).

L'Empire converti au christianisme, la métaphore solaire, issue en partie de cultes païens, subsista pourtant, car elle prit un sens nouveau, enrichi d'une interprétation christique. La religion chrétienne a hérité de l'idée ancienne et naturelle que la divinité est lumineuse et a fait du Christ «la lumière du monde» (*Jean*, 8, 12). Ainsi est-il assimilé au soleil dans de nombreux discours et hymnes. Citons, entre autres exemples, Méliton qui, dans son traité *Sur le baptême*, appelle le Sauveur «soleil du levant» (54), Clément d'Alexandrie qui parle du Christ comme du «soleil de la résurrection» (55). En outre, l'expression tirée de *Malachie* 3, 20, «soleil de justice» (*ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης* ou *sol iustitiae*), désignant le Christ, devint au fil des siècles une «métaphore ordinaire de la rhétorique ecclésiastique» (56). Le Pseudo-Cyprien, quant à lui, établit un rapprochement entre création du soleil et naissance du Christ (57). Songeons encore simplement à la correspondance entre la date de Noël et celle où était fêtée la naissance de *Sol inuictus* (58). Dans ce même ordre d'idées, l'auteur du traité

(51) B. V. HEAD, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Ionia*, éd. par R. S. Poole, Bologne, 1964, p. 89, n° 292 ; Cf. P. RIEWALD, *De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione*, Halle, 1912, p. 315.

(52) Cf. J. BEAUJEU, *La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire*, Paris, 1955, pp. 320-325 et pp. 385-386.

(53) Sur la mystique solaire à Rome, cf. P.-M. MARTIN, *Le soleil comme agent de souveraineté. Recherches sur les fondements italo-étrusques de la mystique solaire à Rome*, dans *Les astres. Actes du colloque international de Montpellier 23-25 mars 1995*, t. I, Montpellier, 1996, pp. 113-130.

(54) MÉLITON, *Fragments*, VIIIb, 4 éd. Perler, p. 232, l. 43 : *ἥλιος ἀνατολῆς*. Il conclut par ces mots : *μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*.

(55) CLÉMENT D'ALEXANDRIE, *Protreptique*, 9, 84, 2 : *ὁ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἥλιος*.

(56) F. CUMONT, *Textes et monuments... o.l.*, p. 355 ; cf. entre autres exemples : ATHANASE, *Quaestiones in scripturam sacram*, dans *PG*, 28, col. 736, 21 ; Jean DAMASCÈNE, *Homilia in transfigurationem Domini*, dans *PG*, 96, col. 565, 23 ; THÉODORET, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, dans *PG*, 80, col. 1432, 42.

(57) PS.-CYPRIEN, *De Pascha computus*, 19, p. 266 éd. Hartel : «*O quam praeclara et diuina Domini prouidentia ut in illo die quo factus est sol, in ipso die nasceretur Christus*».

(58) Cf. H. USENER, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, 3ème éd., Bonn, 1969, pp. 348-350 et B. BOTTE, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*, Louvain, 1932, réimpr. 1961, pp. 59-67.

appartenant au corpus des 38 homélies latines regroupées sous le nom de Jean Chrysostome (59), rapproche l'appellation *Dies Natalis Inuicti*, donnée à la fête solaire célébrée le 25 décembre, du fait que le Christ soit revenu vainqueur de la mort, et le *sol inuictus* du *sol iustitiae* (60).

Byzance, l'héritière chrétienne de l'Empire romain, unira les deux conceptions (61) : la symbolique solaire du pouvoir impérial d'une part et d'autre part, la figure du Christ-Hélios, telle qu'elle apparaît dans la littérature chrétienne (62) et dans les représentations figurées (63). À partir du IVe s. et du règne de Constantin, des éléments empruntés au culte impérial romain, à l'héliolâtrie et au christianisme entrent en résonance, de sorte que se crée un réseau de correspondance entre le *basileus*, image du soleil sur la terre, le dieu *Sol inuictus* du culte païen et le Christ, *sol iustitiae* (64).

Plus tard, la liturgie impériale, héritée de l'ancienne Rome et imprégnée de christianisme, se fera l'écho de cette symbolique solaire, notamment lors des cérémonies d'acclamation comme l'*anateilon* et la *prokypsis*. Le *Livre des cérémonies* de Constantin Porphyrogénète nous indique à quelles occasions l'*anateilon* était chanté : la nomination d'un César ou d'un nobilissime, un *deximon* (cérémonie de réception au Palais) et à l'Hippodrome. Le peuple invitait alors la

(59) Édition de ce texte dans B. Botte, *o. l.*, pp. 88-105. Cf. W. Wenk, *Zur Sammlung der 38 Homilien des Chrysostomus Latinus*, Vienne, 1988, pp. 23-24

(60) Ps.-Chrysostome, *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*, l. 434-437, p. 105 : «*Sed et inuicti natalem appellant. Quis utique tam inuictus nisi dominus noster qui mortem subactam deuicit ? Vel quod dicant solis esse natalem ipse est sol iustitiae...*». Sur la problématique du Christ-Sol/Hélios, cf. F. J. Dölger, *Sol salutis. Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Alterum*, Münster, 1920, pp. 259-318.

(61) Cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *Oriens Augusti – Lever du Roi*, dans *DOP*, 17. 1963, p. 151 : «The sun-kingship of the Byzantine emperors, therefore, was not only a residuum of Hellenistic-Roman tradition but also a reflection of the sun-kingship as represented by the Christian God».

(62) Cf. Épiphane, *Homilia in diuini corporis sepulturam*, dans *PG*, 43, col. 440, 34 : *Θεὸς ἥλιος Χριστὸς* ; Constantin Porphyr., *Livre des cérémonies*, II. 40 éd. Reiske, p. 683, 2 : *ἐξ ἡλίου Χριστοῦ*.

(63) Comme la mosaïque découverte à Rome lors de fouilles au Vatican. Cf. J. Toynebee - J. W. Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations*. Londres, 1956, p. 73, pp. 116-117 et la planche 32.

(64) Cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *o. l.*, p. 152 : «it may appear like a belated reminder of that 'triangle' of Roman Emperor, *Sol inuictus*, and *Sol iustitiae*, which described — as it were, in shorthand — the final settlement between emperor cuit, pagan solar henotheism, and Christian monotheism during the fateful age of transition, the fourth century». Sur la période charnière du IVe s., cf. L. de Giovanni, *Costantino e il mondo pagano*, 2ème éd., Naples, 1982, pp. 105-149.

personne acclamée à «se lever» (*ἀνάτειλον*), comme le fait le soleil ([65]). La cérémonie de la *prokypsis*, quant à elle, semble dériver de l'*anateilon* et date de la période des Comnènes. Elle tient son nom de la plate-forme de bois supportée par des piliers sur laquelle paraissait la famille royale lors des fêtes de Noël et de l'Épiphanie ([66]). Les hymnes qui accompagnaient la cérémonie invoquaient l'empereur sous le nom de Soleil, réminiscence du culte impérial romain, mais aussi évocation du Christ-Hélios dont le *basileus* est le représentant sur terre et l'imitateur (*Χριστομιμητής*) ([67]). La *prokypsis* se donnait également lors de certaines fêtes palatines, comme les couronnements et les mariages. C'est d'ailleurs dans le contexte d'un épithalame célébrant le mariage de Jean Vatazès et de Constance, la fille de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen, en 1244 que Nicolas Eirenikos reprend l'expression *Βασιλεὺς Ἥλιος* : «Roi-Soleil, Géant, infatigable dispensateur de la lumière, œil du monde, flambeau des Romains, levez-vous, levez-vous ; que tardez-vous encore ?» ([68]). Avant lui, Théodore Prodrome (XIIe s.) s'adresse à Jean Comnène avec la même épithète : «Vous avez paru, vous avez paru, splendeur de l'Orient, divin Roi-Soleil, et vous illuminez la création...» ([69]). Cette apostrophe, *θεῖε ἥλιε βασιλεῦ*, fera partie des expressions chères aux poètes et aux rhéteurs byzantins jusqu'à la chute de l'Empire ([70]).

Cette rapide mise en perspective aura permis de montrer, je l'espère, que les mots du panégyriste Psellos dans l'exorde de ce discours sont en réalité riches de significations sur les plans astrologique, philosophique et religieux.

(65) Constantin PORPHYR., *Livre des cérémonies*, II, 52 et 90 éd. Vogt. Cf. E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *o. l.*, pp. 156-158.

(66) Cf. O. TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, 2ème éd., Darmstadt, 1956, pp. 112-123 et H. P. L'ORANGE, *o. l.*, pp. 110-113. Voir également M. JEFFREYS, *The Comnenian Prokypsis*, dans *Parergon*, 5, 1987, pp. 38-53 et les remarques de W. HÖRANDNER, *Court Poetry : Questions of Motifs, Structure and Function*, dans AA. VV., *Rhetoric in Byzantium : Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, éd. par Elisabeth Jeffreys, Aldershot, 2003, pp. 77-79.

(67) Cf. H. P. L'ORANGE, *o. l.*, p. 109.

(68) Cf. A. HEISENBERG, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*, Munich, 1920, pp. 97-112. Pour le texte de l'hymne, cf. p. 104, v. 102-104 : *Ἥλιε γίγα βασιλεῦ, ἀκάματε φωσφόρε, | τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀφθαλμὲ καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λύχνε, | ἀνάτειλον, ἀνάτειλον, τί τοῦ λοιποῦ βραδύνεις.*

(69) Théodore PRODROME, *Poème* 4, 32-33, éd. Hörandner : *Ἀνέτειλας, ἀνέτειλας λαμπρὸν ἐκ τῆς ἑώας, | ἥλιε θεῖε βασιλεῦ, καὶ δαδουχεῖς τὴν κτίσιν...* ; dans les œuvres de Théodore Prodrome, l'empereur est souvent appelé du nom de soleil : *ἥλιε Ῥώμης* (*Poème* 1, 1 ; *Poème* 12, 5 et 24) ou *ἥλιε Ῥωμαίων* (*Poème* 9, 21) et un intéressant *ἥλιε ἀστεράναξ* (*Poème* 42, 1).

(70) Cf. E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *o. l.*, p. 150.

À d'autres reprises, Psellos se plaira à comparer Constantin Monomaque au soleil, notamment dans le portait qu'il dresse de cet empereur dans la *Chronographie* (71) et dans l'exorde du panégyrique 4 (où est reprise l'expression *κύκλος τῶν ἀρετῶν* de la ligne 5).

D'ailleurs, Psellos semblait tant affectionner ce type de métaphore qu'il finit par susciter la raillerie : dans le *Timarion*, dialogue satirique à la manière de Lucien daté du XIIe s., le *βυζάντιος σοφιστής* (Psellos), par ailleurs réduit au rôle de secrétaire du tribunal d'Hadès (72), se voit gratifié, par les âmes des rhéteurs admiratifs de son talent, du titre qu'il accordait autrefois à Constantin Monomaque, *Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε* (73).

τὰς κρυφίους τῆς ψυχῆς ὠδῖνας. Sans doute faut-il chercher l'origine de cette expression dans le passage du *Théétète* où Socrate définit la maïeutique (74), expliquant qu'il surveille le travail d'enfantement non pas des corps, mais des âmes (150b). Dans tout le passage, le verbe *ὠδίνειν* (148e, 151a) et le substantif *ὠδίς* (149d, 151a) apparaissent chacun à deux reprises. Aussi n'est-il pas étonnant de trouver l'expression *ψυχῆς ὠδίς* sous la plume des néoplatoniciens Proclos et Damascius (75), au sens d'«effort pour acquérir une connaissance». Les mêmes mots figurent chez des auteurs chrétiens : Grégoire de Nysse, dans une homélie sur l'Ecclésiaste (76), et Théodoret de Cyr, commentant l'épître de Paul

(71) PSELLOS, *Chronographie*, VI, 124 et 126, t. II, pp. 29-31 éd. Renauld : Constantin est dépeint d'abord comme un soleil à l'éclat affaibli lors de son agonie, puis, remontant le cours du temps, Psellos le montre dans sa splendeur.

(72) R. ROMANO, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione*, Naples, 1974, p. 86, § 41 (texte et traduction repris dans *La satura bizantina*, a cura di Roberto Romano, Turin, 1999, pp. 108-175).

(73) *Ibid.*, p. 90, § 45. L'auteur du dialogue se montre par ailleurs d'une ironie féroce à l'encontre de Psellos à qui il refuse une place parmi les philosophes siégeant dans le royaume des morts. Cf. J. DRASEKE, *Michael Psellos im «Timarion»*, dans *BZ*, 6, 1897, pp. 483-490.

(74) PLATON, *Théétète*, 148e-151d. Ailleurs dans le corpus platonicien (PLATON, *Lettre II*, 313a), on trouve une expression proche de celle qui nous occupe, *ἡ ὠδὶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ*, qui désigne le désir de l'âme de connaître la qualité des premiers principes et de ses efforts pour y parvenir. Sur ce passage et son influence sur les néoplatoniciens et sur le terme *ὠδίς* de façon plus générale, cf R. KLIBANSKY - C. LABOWSKY, *Procli commentarium in Parmenidem*, Londres, 1953, pp. 87-88.

(75) PROCLOS, *Théologie platonicienne*, II, 9, p. 58, 27 éd. Saffrey-Westerink (cf. *Ibid.*, I, 1, p. 8, 12) ; ID., *Commentaire au Parménide*, 1191, 9 éd. Cousin : *Dix problèmes concernant la providence*, 10, 1 éd. Boese (III, 10 éd. Isaac) et DAMASCIUS, *Commentaire au Parménide*, 310, 26 éd. Ruelle.

(76) GRÉGOIRE DE NYSSE, *Homélies sur l'Ecclésiaste*, 6, 5, 380 éd. Alexander. L'auteur affirme se référer à Isaïe (*Is.* 26, 17 : *καὶ ὡς ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίζει τοῦ*

aux Romains (77). Psellos reprendra cette métaphore du travail d'enfantement de l'âme à plusieurs reprises (78).

§2.

τὰς τοῦ Διὸς δέλτους. L'une des prérogatives de Zeus est le maintien de l'ordre et de la justice (79). Sa fille Dikè (la Justice) a pour tâche de lui rapporter les fautes et les manquements des hommes (80). C'est dans ce rôle qu'elle apparaît dans un fragment d'Eschyle où elle explique au chœur qu'il relève de sa fonction d'inscrire sur la tablette de Zeus (*ἐν δέλτῳ Διός*) les péchés commis par les mortels (81). Plus tard, Euripide fait allusion à cette conception pour la tourner en dérision dans un fragment de *Mélanippe* (82). L'expression *ἐκ τῶν Διὸς δέλτων ὁ μάρτυς* (*litt.* «un témoin qui dépose d'après les tablettes de Zeus»), pour désigner un témoignage dont on ne peut remettre en cause la véracité, est devenue proverbiale (83).

αὕτη τοιγαροῦν λόγους ἱλαροτάτους συνθήσεται... ταύτην τοῦ κράτους ἀνατολήν. Ce passage concernant les attributions de la rhétorique suit à la lettre les rubriques mentionnées dans le traité II de Ménandre le Rhéteur où sont énumérés les différents *topoi* du discours panégyrique : la patrie (*ἡ πατρίς*), la famille (*τὸ γένος*), la naissance de l'empereur et les prodiges qui l'accom-

τεκεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδῖνι αὐτῆς ἐκέκραξεν, οὕτως ἐγενήθημεν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου διὰ τὸν φόβον σου, κύριε), pourtant, si le contexte du verset est bien celui de l'enfantement et de ses douleurs, nulle part n'apparaît l'expression *ψυχῆς ὠδίς*. La citation de Grégoire est donc très approximative.

(77) THÉODORET DE CYR, *Interpretatio epistulae ad Romanos*, dans *PG*, 82, col. 224, 52.

(78) PSELLOS, *Theologica*, t. I, *op.* 4, l. 129, *op.* 56, l. 57, *op.* 96, l. 29-30 éd. Gautier.

(79) M. P. NILSSON, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, 3ème éd., Munich, 1967, p. 823.

(80) HÉSIODE, *Trav.*, 256-260.

(81) *TrGF*, III, frg. 281a éd. Radt (= *P. Oxy.*, 2256, 9a), v. 21 : *γράφουσα] τὰ<μ>πλακήματ' ἐν δέλτῳ Διό[σ*. Cf. H. LLOYD-JONES, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Londres, 1971, pp. 99-100.

(82) F. JOUAN - H. VAN LOOY, *Euripide. Fragments*, t. VIII, 2ème partie, Paris, 2000, p. 381, v. 2 (= frg. 506 Nauck) : *Δοκεῖτε... ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς γράφειν τιν' αὐτά...* ; Cf. F. SOLMSEN, *The Tablets of Zeus*, dans *CQ*, 38, 1944, pp. 27-30 (= *Kleine Schriften*, I, Hildesheim, 1968, pp. 137-140) et H. SCHWABL, art. *Zeus* dans *R.E*, *Suppl.* 15, 1978, col. 1292, l. 66-1293, l. 10.

(83) LUCIEN, *De mercede conductis*, 12 ; cf. E. LEUTSCH - F. G. SCHNEIDEWIN, *CPG*, Göttingen, 1839-1851, réimpr. Hildesheim, 1965, II, p. 381, 67c et III, p. 162, 68. L'image des tablettes de Zeus est reprise par Psellos : *Orat. forenses et acta*, 3, l. 81 éd. Dennis et *Orat. min.* 14, l. 92 éd. Littlewood.

pagnent (ἡ γένεσις), les dispositions naturelles (ἡ φύσις) ([84]). Les *topoi* des actions liées aux différentes vertus du prince, également définis par Ménandre, interviendront plus loin dans le discours.

γενεαλογήσασα ἑκατέρωθεν. Constantin IX appartient à «l'antique souche des Monomaque», pour reprendre les termes de Psellos ([85]), et Michel Attaliate le qualifie d'«aristocrate et de rejeton de la Cité» ([86]). Le nom de cette famille dérive évidemment de l'épithète μονομάχος (qui combat seul à seul, en combat singulier) dont fut orné le premier Monomaque connu, le patrice Nicétas qui aurait occupé la charge de stratège de Sicile durant le règne d'Irène (797-802) ([87]). Au cours des siècles, on retrouve des représentants de cette lignée à divers postes de l'État, comme un certain Paul Monomaque envoyé en ambassade à Bagdad par Constantin VII en juin 945 ([88]). Aux xe et xie s., la famille, bien établie parmi l'aristocratie civile, est propriétaire de quelques biens immobiliers à Constantinople ([89]) et fournit plusieurs hauts fonctionnaires ([90]), à l'exemple de Pothos, protospathaire et juge de l'Hippodrome et Théodose, père du futur Constantin IX, juge lui-aussi, qui fut soupçonné de tremper dans une conspira-

(84) Ménandre, *Traité II*, 369, 18-371, 17 éd. Russell-Wilson. Cf. M.-H. Quet, *Conseils de Ménandre le Rhéteur pour l'élaboration d'un «discours du Prince», à la fin du IIIe siècle*, dans *L'Éloge du Prince, de l'Antiquité au temps des Lumières*, sous la direction d'Isabelle Cogitore et Francis Goyet, Grenoble, 2003, pp. 81-89 et sur la question de la généalogie dans le panégyrique, cf. F. Chausson, *La généalogie du Prince dans la pratique de l'éloge impérial aux IIIe-VIe siècles*, dans *L'Éloge du Prince... o. l.*, pp. 105-123.

(85) Psellos, *Chrono.*, VI, 14, t. I, p. 124 éd. Renauld : ῥίζης ἀρχαίων τῶν Μονομάχων.

(86) Attaliate, p. 18 éd. Bekker, p. 15, 2-3 éd. Pérez Martin : ἀριστοκρατικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θρέμμα τῆς Πόλεως.

(87) Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, *La vie du patrice Nicétas*, dans *TM*, 3, 1968, pp. 316-317 et AA. VV., *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, t. III, Berlin-New York, 2000, n° 5424, pp. 418-420.

(88) Skylitzès, p. 241, 29-30 éd. Thurn.

(89) A. Kazhdan - S. Ronchey, *L'aristocratia bizantina dal principio dell'XI alla fine del XII secolo*, Palerme, 1997, p. 332 et A. Kazhdan, art. *Monomachos*, dans *ODB*, II, New York-Oxford, 1991, p. 1398.

(90) Winkelmann dénombre 13 Monomaque occupant diverses hautes fonctions durant les xie et xiie s. Cf. F. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien zur herrschenden Klasse von Byzanz im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1987, p. 210. Plusieurs d'entre eux sont connus par leurs sceaux. Cf. A. Kazhdan - S. Ronchey, *o. l.*, p. 369 et G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1884, p. 552 et p. 681.

tion sous Basile II (91), ce qui valut à son fils, ajoute Psellos, la méfiance du pouvoir en place et l'exil dans l'île de Mytilène, de 1035 à 1042 (92).

τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον. Dans un autre panégyrique, Psellos dit que Constantin et son père sont tous deux originaires de «la cité de Dieu» (93). Au VIe s., la ville d'Antioche fut rebâtie, après un tremblement de terre, par Justinien et rebaptisée Theoupolis (94). Faut-il pour autant, à la suite de P. Gautier (95) et de G. T. Dennis (96), conclure à l'origine antiochéenne des Monomaque ? Car si c'est bien sous le nom de Theoupolis (en un seul mot) que Psellos mentionne la ville syrienne en dressant la liste des conciles (97), ailleurs (98), l'expression *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλις* désigne Jérusalem (la terrestre et la céleste) et plus particulièrement le mont Sion, reprenant en cela le langage scripturaire (99). D'autre part, une allégorie connue fait de Constantinople la nouvelle Jérusalem (100) et de sa population le peuple élu d'Israël (101). Par un élargissement de la comparaison, Constantinople se voit donc qualifiée de l'épithète «cité de Dieu», attribuée auparavant à Jérusalem. Dans le discours composé à l'occasion de l'inauguration de l'église Saint-Georges Tropaiophore, Jean Mauropous fait l'éloge du nouvel édifice, partant, de la capitale entière, en ces termes : «Tous convergent de leurs propres pas vers la Sainte Sion, cette métropole de piété, votre nouvelle Jérusalem dont Dieu

(91) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 15, t. I, p. 125 éd. Renauld. Cf. B. FLUSIN - J.-C. CHEYNET, *Jean Skylitzès. Empereurs de Constantinople*, Paris, 2003, p. 352, n. 7.

(92) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 17, t. I, p. 126 éd. Renauld.

(93) PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 6, 57-58 éd. Dennis : *μητρόπολις δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλις ἐστί.*

(94) Cf. G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria, from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton, 1961, p. 529.

(95) P. GAUTIER, *Basilikoi logoi inédits de Michel Psellos*, dans *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 33, 1980, p. 723 et p. 727.

(96) G. T. DENNIS, *Imperial Panegyric : Rhetoric and Reality*, dans AA. VV., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, éd. par Henry Maguire, Washington, 1997, pp. 137-138.

(97) PSELLOS, *Poemata* 5, 24-25.

(98) *Ibid.*, 23, 194-195 ; 54, 576 et 593.

(99) *Ps* 45, 5 ; 47, 2-3 ; 86, 3 (psaume dans lequel Sion est présentée comme la mère des hommes et des princes (cf. *Is* 1, 26 : *μητρόπολις πιστὴ Σιών*) ; peut-être est-ce dans ces deux textes qu'il faut chercher la source de Psellos pour le passage du discours 6 où il est question de la patrie d'origine des Monomaque père et fils.).

(100) Cf. PSELLOS, *Orat. min.* 35, l. 50 éd. Littlewood.

(101) MAUROPOUS, *Discours n° 181*, § 10, l. 3, p. 140 éd. Lagarde.

et vous êtes les architectes et les artisans...» ([102]). Cette métaphore est annoncée par celle de la «cité de Dieu» ([103]), qui intervient plus haut dans le texte, pour désigner l'église du Tropaiophore.

τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρόοδον. Expression appartenant au langage néoplatonicien (que l'on retrouve ailleurs dans l'œuvre de Psellos sous une forme plus complète : *ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρόοδος* ou *ἡ πρόοδος ἐκ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι εἰς τὸ εἶναι* ([104]), désignant le passage du non-être à l'être, c'est-à-dire la génération ou la naissance, ainsi que le définit Jean Damascène : «La génération et la dissolution diffèrent : la génération est la procession du non-être vers l'être ; ce qui n'était pas auparavant existe» ([105]). L'expression apparaît également dans l'œuvre de Proclos ([106]) et chez Origène ([107]).

τὰ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ θαύματα. Comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, il s'agit ici du *topos* décrivant les circonstances exceptionnelles qui accompagnent la naissance de l'empereur. Psellos nous renseigne sur ce signe prophétique dans deux autres panégyriques à l'adresse de Constantin Monomaque : il s'agit du dessin d'une croix entre les sourcils, accompagné d'une lumière éclatante ([108]).

§ 3.

κατώρθωτό σοι ὁ πένταθλος καὶ ἤννστο τὸ παγκράτιον... Dans le portrait qu'il brosse de Constantin Monomaque, Psellos, dépeignant la force physique de l'empereur, dit qu'il était «absolument sans rival au pentathlon» ([109]). Cette épreuve, composée de cinq disciplines (saut, course à pied, disque, javelot et lutte) faisait partie du programme traditionnel des jeux Olympiques ([110]). Le

(102) *Ibid.*, § 10, l. 6-8, p. 140 : *πάντες οὗτοι συντρέχουσι ποσὶν αὐτομάτοις ἐπὶ τὴν Σιὼν τὴν ἁγίαν, τὴν πιστὴν μητρόπολιν ταύτην, τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ σου τὴν νέαν, ἧς θεός τε καὶ σὺ δημιουργοὶ καὶ τεχνῖται...*

(103) *Ibid.*, § 5, l. 6, p. 139 : *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ πόλις αὕτη.* Cf. J. LEFORT, *Rhétorique et politique : trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047*, dans *TM*, 6, 1976, p. 297.

(104) PSELLOS, *Philos. min.*, t. II, *op.* 23, p. 98, l. 25 et *Theologica*, t. I, *op.* 48, p. 183, l. 36-37. Pour l'expression simple, cf. *Philos. min.*, t. I, *op.* 42, p. 150, l. 50.

(105) JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *Dialectique*, 62, l. 22-23 (*recensio fusior*), éd. Kotter : *Διαφέρει δὲ γένεσις καὶ φθορά· γένεσις μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρόοδος· ὅπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν πρότερον, τοῦτο γίνεται.*

(106) PROCLOS, *Théologie platonicienne*, III, 8, p. 33 éd. Saffrey-Westerink ; ID., *Commentaire au Cratyle*, 99 éd. Pasquali.

(107) ORIGÈNE, *Scholia in Matthaeum*, dans *PG*, 17, col. 289, 35.

(108) PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 2, 456-457 et *orat. paneg.* 6, 61-64 éd. Dennis.

(109) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 125, t. II, p. 30 éd. Renauld : *ὅλως πρὸς τὸ πένταθλον ἀπαράμιλλον.*

terme *πένταθλος* («pentathlonien» ou «vainqueur du pentathlon») est également usité dans le sens d'«athlète exceptionnel» et, métaphoriquement, peut se rapporter aux ascètes, comme les stylites ([111]). Sport de combat d'une rare violence mêlant boxe et lutte, le pancrace passionnait les foules et son vainqueur jouissait d'un grand prestige ([112]). Cette métaphore sportive peut être rapprochée de l'image de l'empereur athlète et lutteur hors pair, telle qu'elle prévalait à propos de Basile Ier. Les chroniqueurs ont relaté l'épisode du combat qui opposa le futur empereur à un convive bulgare lors d'un banquet à la cour de Bardas ([113]). Et même si l'anecdote a tout l'air d'être un doublon, Génésios place un événement similaire plus tard durant le règne de Basile qui, débarrassé de ses atours royaux, s'en va affronter incognito un lutteur bulgare à la palestre ([114]).

Psellos utilise à son endroit la même métaphore agonistique du penthalon et du pancrace dans un discours apologétique à ceux qui lui enviaient l'honneur d'*ὑπέρτιμος* et qu'il avait, dit-il, réduits au silence après un âpre combat dans les disciplines les plus variées (course, lutte, lancer du disque et du javelot, tir à l'arc) : «je suis sorti vainqueur du pentathlon et du pancrace» ([115]).

§ 4.

εἶτα θύων τὰ ἐπινίκια, μακρῷ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τῷ πολυτελεῖ τῆς θυσίας νενίκηκας... L'anecdote du sacrifice d'Empédocle nous est connue par le témoignage de Favorinos ([116]), rapporté par Diogène Laërce ([117]) : «Quant à moi, j'ai trouvé dans les *Mémorables* de Favorinos qu'Empédocle a sacrifié aux théores un bœuf fait de miel et de farine». Mais ici, Psellos reprend presque mot pour mot, au moins dans sa première partie, un passage d'Athénée ([118]), également

(110) M. Lee, *The Program and Schedule of the Ancient Olympic Games*, Hildesheim, 2001, pp. 40-47.

(111) Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *A patristic Greek Lexicon*, s. v. *πένταθλος*, Oxford, 1961.

(112) Cf. M. Poliakoff, *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, New Haven-Londres, 1987, pp. 54-63.

(113) Théophane Continué, V, 12, pp. 229-230 éd. Bekker ; Skylitzès, p. 123, 3-124, 31 éd. Thurn ; Génésios, IV, 26.

(114) Génésios, IV, 40. Cf. M. Poliakoff, *Studies... o. l.*, pp. 149-160.

(115) Psellos, *Orat. min.*, 9, 46-47 : *τὸν πένταθλον διηγωνισάμην καὶ τὸ παγκράτιον.*

(116) Favorinos, frg. 38 éd. Barigazzi (= frg. 21 éd. Mensching).

(117) Diogène Laerce, VIII, 53 : *ἐγὼ δ' εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι Φαβωρίνου ὅτι καὶ βοῦν ἔθυσε τοῖς θεωροῖς ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων.*

(118) Athénée, I, 5e éd. Desrousseaux (= I, 3e éd. Gulick) : *Πυθαγορικὸς ὢν καὶ ἐμψύχων ἀπεχόμενος, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ἀρωμάτων βοῦν ἀναπλάσας διένειμε τοῖς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν ἀπαντήσασιν.*

mentionné dans la *Souda* ([119]) : «Puisqu'en tant que pythagoricien, il s'abstenait de toute nourriture animale, il confectionna un bœuf fait de myrrhe, d'encens et de plantes aromatiques les plus précieuses qu'il partagea entre les participants de la fête». Peut-être l'histoire a-t-elle été inspirée par un fragment des *Purifications* d'Empédocle ([120]) où il est question de sacrifices substitutifs (animaux figurés, myrrhe, encens, miel) faits à Kypris.

§ 5-6.

Οὕτω δὲ δὴ τὴν πάνδημον ταύτην τετελεκὼς ἑορτήν* [...] *ἐγγύτατα τοῦ σου περιϊπταμένους φωτός.

Constantin Monomaque se distingua par une politique novatrice d'ouverture sociale. Il décréta, nous dit Psellos dans l'éloge funèbre de Jean Xiphilin, qu'il ne fallait plus tenir compte de la naissance et de l'origine sociale, mais des mérites de chacun dans le recrutement des sénateurs et des fonctionnaires de l'État : «L'empereur jugea bon de ne pas accorder de promotions selon la naissance aux gens qui occupaient des charges et à ceux qui étaient en poste dans les tribunaux, ni de remplir le Sénat et les instances judiciaires et décisionnaires de l'État uniquement de gens issus des premières familles, mais aussi des autres parties de la société, si certains de leurs membres se montraient dignes et plus à même que les autres d'accomplir cette tâche» ([121]). Constantin, ajoute Psellos, voulut aussi supprimer l'aspect héréditaire de la fonction de sénateur : «Il trouvait absurde [...] de maintenir comme une loi inflexible et une règle immuable la présence successive d'une famille [dans la classe sénatoriale]» ([122]). Même s'il reconnaît avoir été le premier à profiter de ces nouvelles dispositions ([123]), Psellos ne se prive pas

(119) *Souda*, A731 art. *Ἀθήναιος*, éd. Adler.

(120) Empédocle, 31 B 128, 4-10 (= Porphyre, *Abst.*, II, 21, 3 et 27, 7) : *τὴν οἵ γ' εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀγάλμασιν ἱλάσκοντο | γραπτοῖς τε ζώοισι μύροισί τε δαιδαλεόδμοις | σμύρνης τ' ἀκρήτου θυσίαις λιβάνου τε θυώδους, | ξανθῶν τε σπονδὰς μελίτων ῥίπτοντες ἐς οὖδας· | ταύρων δ' ἀκρήτοισι φόνοις οὐ δεύετο βωμός, | ἀλλὰ μύσος τοῦτ' ἔσκεν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστον, | θυμὸν ἀπορραίσαντας ἑ<ν>έδμεναι ἠέα γυῖα.* Cf. J. Bollack, *Empédocle. Les purifications. Un projet de paix universelle*, Paris, 2003, pp. 86-88 et pp. 131-132. Voir également M. Detienne, *Les jardins d'Adonis*, Paris, 1972, pp. 111-113.

(121) Psellos, *Éloge funèbre de Xiphilin*, éd. Sathas, MB, IV, p. 430, 28 - 431, 2 : *Ἔδοξε τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μὴ κατὰ γενεαλογίαν τοὺς ἐν τέλει προϊέναι καὶ ὅσοι τῷ βήματι πλησιάζουσι, μηδ'ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων μόνον γενῶν τὴν συγλητικὴν πληροῦσθαι βουλὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν δημοσίων ἀρχεῖα καὶ ὅσα περὶ νόμους τε καὶ ψηφίσματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑτέρας μερίδος, εἴ τινες δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εὐδόκιμοι πρὸς ταῦτα φανεῖεν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καταλληλότεροι.*

(122) *Ibid.*, p. 431, 7-8 : *ἄτοπον μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο* [...], *ὥσπερ νόμον τινὰ ἀπαραίτητον καὶ ἀνεξάλλακτον ὅρον, μόνην τὴν τοῦ γένους σώζειν διαδοχήν.*

(123) *Ibid.*, p. 431, 13-14 : *προλαμβάνω μὲν ἐγὼ τὸν νῦν εὐφημούμενον...* Cf. *Orat. paneg.* 1, § 5.

de fustiger ailleurs la politique de Monomaque : «Bien qu'il existât un ordre des honneurs dans le corps de l'État et que fût imposée une règle immuable aux promotions, il bouleversa celui-là et annula celle-ci et il s'en fallut de peu qu'il ne fît entrer dans le Sénat toute la foule de l'agora et des vagabonds ; cette mesure, il ne l'appliqua pas qu'à un plus ou moins petit nombre, mais tout de suite, d'un seul son de voix, il les éleva tous aux dignités les plus hautes» ([124]).

À la suite de Psellos, les chroniqueurs ont diversement commenté les mesures et la prodigalité de Constantin IX : alors que Michel Attaliate ([125]) et Jean Skylitzès ([126]) se contentent de rapporter les faits sur un ton neutre, Zonaras fustige la trop grande libéralité de Constantin : «Il faisait sans discernement ni plan réfléchi des distributions de dignités et d'argent, il accordait avec largesse des honneurs même à ceux qui ne méritaient pas d'en être gratifiés et s'il est arrivé que les trésors impériaux fussent vides, il n'en a fait aucun cas» ([127]).

Pourtant, selon les pointages effectués par J.-C. Cheynet, les reproches de Psellos à l'encontre des distributions massives de dignités ne se justifient pas : «La libéralité de Monomaque s'est illustrée, semble-t-il, beaucoup plus par l'augmentation du nombre des sénateurs bénéficiaires de *rogai* que par une accélération des promotions. [...] On ne peut donc pas parler de vraie dévaluation des dignités accordées, en dépit de l'assertion contraire de Psellos, déclarant que tous

(124) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 29, t. I, p. 132, éd. Renauld : *ἀμέλει τοι τάξιν ἐχούσης τῆς τιμῆς ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ὅρου τινὸς ἐπικειμένου ἀμεταθέτου τῆς ἀναβάσεως, οὗτος ἐκείνην μὲν συγχέας, τοῦτον δὲ ἀφελών, μικροῦ δεῖν τὸν ἀγοραῖον καὶ ἀγύρτην δῆμον ξύμπαντα κοινωνοὺς τῆς γερουσίας πεποίηκε, καὶ τοῦτο οὗ τισιν ἢ πλείοσι χαρισάμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ μιᾶς φωνῆς ἅπαντας εἰς τὰς ὑπερηφάνους μετενεγκὼν ἀρχάς.*

(125) ATTALIATE, p. 18 éd. Bekker, p. 15, 6-8, éd. Pérez Martin : *Εὐεργετικώτερος δὲ τῶν προβεβασιλευκότων ὁ Μονομάχος ἀποδειχθεὶς καὶ πάντας σχεδὸν βασιλικοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ δωρήμασι φιλοτίμοις ἀποσεμνύνας, ἠγάθυνε τὸ ὑπήκοον.* Monomaque se montra un empereur plus libéral que ses prédécesseurs et honora tout le monde de dignités quasi impériales et de dons généreux, il fut bon pour ses sujets.

(126) SKYLITZÈS, p. 423, 49-51 éd. Thurn : *Καὶ ἤδη τῶν σκήπτρων γενόμενος ἐγκρατής, πάντας μὲν τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς βαθμοῖς ἀξιωμάτων κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου προεβίβασεν ἀξίαν, καὶ χρυσίου δὲ διανομαῖς τὸ πλῆθος ἐφιλοτιμήσατο.* Dès qu'il eut pris en sa possession les sceptres, il promut tous les sénateurs dans l'échelle des dignités selon le rang de chacun et honora le peuple de distributions d'or.

(127) ZONARAS, III, p. 616, 16-617,2 éd. Büttner-Wobst : *Καὶ ὃς αὐτίκα οὐ σὺν λόγῳ οὐδὲ μετά τινος ἔμφρονος οἰκονομίας οὔτε τὰς τῶν ἀξιωμάτων ἐποιεῖτο τιμὰς οὔτε τὰς τῶν χρημάτων διανομάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς χύδην παρεῖχε καὶ οἷς μὴ προσῆκεν αὐτὰς ἐχαρίζετο καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς θησαυροὺς εἰ αὐθημερὸν ἐκκενωθῆναι συμβέβηκεν, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τι πρᾶγμα λελόγιστο.*

ceux que Constantin Monomaque fit entrer au Sénat furent élevés aux dignités les plus hautes» ([128]).

σύ γε καὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἐσεβάσθης φιλόσοφον ὅτι μὴ δεῖται ἀρχῶν... Sans doute faut-il voir dans ce passage une allusion à la «politique éducative» de Monomaque. Nous savons que c'est sous son impulsion que furent réorganisées les écoles : la direction des études juridiques fut confiée à Xiphilin et Psellos se vit gratifié de subventions de l'État pour dispenser son enseignement de la rhétorique et de la philosophie, principalement. Par ailleurs, les deux écoles continuèrent à assurer une formation de base dans les trois matières ([129]).

τὸν πρῶτον φιλόσοφον, τὸν ἐν μαθήμασιν, τὸν φυσικόν, τὸν ἀποδεικτικόν, τὸν διαλεκτικόν, τὸν σοφιζόμενον. Psellos évoque, dans une énumération dont il est coutumier ([130]), le système aristotélicien de classification des sciences en distinguant la métaphysique (*ἡ πρώτη φιλοσοφία*), des mathématiques et de la physique ([131]) et en y incluant l'apodictique ([132]), la dialectique et la

(128) J.-C. CHEYNET, *Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle*, dans *Byz.*, 53, fasc. 2, 1983, p. 457 n. 18. Cf. M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204. A Political History*, Londres-New York, 1984, p. 45, ID., *The Byzantine State on the Even of the Battle of Manzikert*, dans *BF*, 16, 1991, pp. 20-23 et P. LEMERLE, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, pp. 288-290.

(129) Sur l'enseignement sous Monomaque, cf. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque*, dans *TM*, 6, 1976, pp. 223-243 ; P. LEMERLE, *o. l.*, pp. 195-248 ; G. WEISS, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos*, Munich, 1973, pp. 65-76 ; A. KAZHDAN - A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Londres, 1985, pp. 121-130 ; P. AGAPITOS, *Teachers, Pupils and Imperial Power in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, dans AA. VV., *Pedagogy and Power. Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, éd. par Yun Lee Too et Niall Livingstone, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 170-191.

(130) Cf. l'éloge de Jean Mauropous où Psellos, en louant les connaissances acquises par Mauropous en matière de philosophie (ἐπιστήμη), mentionne les syllogismes, la dialectique, l'apodictique et toutes les parties de la logique et même la sophistique : *orat. paneg.* 17, 299-314 éd. Dennis.

(131) Cf. ARISTOTE, *Métaphysique*, E 1, 1025b3-1026a32 et K 3, 1060b31-1061b33 où apparaissent en plus dialectique et sophistique et ID., *De l'âme*, 403a29-403b19 où sont explicitées les différences entre le physicien, le dialecticien, le mathématicien et le métaphysicien (ὁ πρῶτος φιλόσοφος). Ce passage sera commenté par Jean Philopon (*In Aristotelis de Anima Libros Commentaria. Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 15, Berlin, 1892, pp. 57-58) dont Psellos reprendra les termes dans un de ses opuscules philosophiques (*op.* 13, pp. 37,18-38,13 éd. O'Meara).

(132) La science démonstrative (*ἡ ἀποδεικτικὴ ἐπιστήμη*) est définie par Aristote dans les *Seconds Analytiques*. Cf. notamment *Seconds Analytiques*, A. I, 6, 74b5-75a37.

sophis-tique. Dans le panégyrique 5 en l'honneur de Monomaque ([133]), Psellos loue l'empereur, promoteur de la philosophie et de la science en général, en des termes similaires : il est à nouveau fait mention de la syllogistique, de la dialectique, de l'apodictique et, comme dans notre passage, de la métrique (*ἀριθμῶν ἀναλογίαι*) et de la musique (*μουσικῶν ἁρμονίαι*).

Derrière tous les spécialistes cités dans ces lignes, sans doute faut-il voir dessinée en filigrane la figure de Psellos, *ὕπατος* (ou *πρόεδρος*) *τῶν φιλοσόφων*, et l'on pourrait même s'amuser à faire entrer sous chaque «rubrique» les titres de l'un ou l'autre de ses écrits. Outre ses œuvres philosophiques, pensons à sa *Dissertation sur le rythme* (*Προλαμβανόμενα εἰς τὴν ῥυθμικὴν ἐπιστήμην*) ou ses *Lettres sur la musique* ([134]).

§7.

τὴν νομοθετικὴν κεκόσμηκας ὅτι... C'est au tour de l'activité de Monomaque dans le domaine juridique d'être louée : d'une part, la réorganisation de l'enseignement du droit par l'ouverture d'une école gratuite et publique, placée sous la direction du *νομοφύλαξ* Jean Xiphilin ([135]) et d'autre part (du moins y vois-je une allusion dans les mots *τῆς ἀπείρου ὕλης εἰδοποιός, πέρατα ὡσανεὶ τοὺς μερικοὺς χρόνους περιτιθεῖσα τοῖς πράγμασι*), la création du tribunal de l'*ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων* «qui avait pour mission de résoudre les problèmes juridiques que lui présentaient les juges des provinces et de vérifier si les décisions que ceux-ci émettaient, et dont ils lui envoyaient copie, étaient conformes à la loi» ([136]). Ce tribunal «n'était pas une cour d'appel mais plutôt un bureau admi-

(133) PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 5, 88-92 éd. Dennis.

(134) Cf. C. HANNICK, *Byzantinische Musik*, dans H. HUNGER, *Die hochspraliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, t. II, Munich, 1978, pp. 187-188 et p. 214 pour la liste des éditions des *Lettres*. La *Dissertation* a été éditée par J. CAESAR, *Michael Psellos des jüngeren Einleitung in die griechische Rhythmik*, dans *Rheinisches Museum*, 1, 1842, pp. 620-633. Cf. C. HANNICK, *o. l.*, p. 188, n. 30.

(135) J. Lefort date de 1047 la promulgation de la Novelle (pour les éditions du texte, cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, t. II, Munich-Berlin, 1925, n° 863, pp. 5-6 et P. LEMERLE, *o. l.*, p. 207, n. 28) marquant la fondation de l'école de droit dans le complexe du monastère de Saint-Georges le Tropaiophore, dans le quartier des Manganes (J. LEFORT, *o. l.*, pp. 279-280). Cf. P. LEMERLE, *o. l.*, pp. 207-212 ; W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XIe siècle : Xiphilin et Psellos*, dans *TM*, 7, 1979, pp. 1-103.

(136) N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle (1025-1118)*, dans *TM*, 6, 1976, p. 134 (= N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Byzantium... o. l.*, n° X). Voir également pp. 148-149. Ces renseignements viennent de Michel Attaliate (pp. 21-22 éd. Bekker, p. 17, pp. 24-18, 1 éd. Pérez Martin) qui décrit le contenu de la charge de ce *σέκρετον δικῶν ἰδιωτικῶν* (bureau des causes privées).

nistratif, répondant avant tout au souci de centraliser et de contrôler l'administration provinciale» (137).

La première partie de la phrase qui ouvre ce paragraphe sera reprise presque mot pour mot (sans, toutefois, la figure étymologique entre *κεκόσμηκας* et *κόσμος*) dans un panégyrique à l'adresse de l'impératrice Théodora : *σὺ καὶ τὴν νομοθετικὴν ἠγάπησας, ὅτι τῆς πολιτείας κόσμος ἐστί.* (138).

τὸν τοξότην, τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν, τὸν στρατηγὸν, τὸν πρωτοστάτην, τὸν οὐραγὸν. Pour monter en épingle l'admiration supposée de Monomaque pour les gens d'armes, Psellos recourt à nouveau à une de ses énumérations caractéristiques. Les termes techniques se rapportant à l'ordre et la formation des armées sont définis dans le petit traité de Psellos, *Περὶ πολεμικῆς τάξεως* : «le commandant de l'armée qui se tient en tête est appelé protostate (chef de file), celui qui est en queue, *ouragos* (serre-file) et celui du milieu, hémilochite (commandant d'une demi-file)» (139).

§ 8.

δεινότητος μέθοδον. La *δεινότης* (habileté ou virtuosité) est l'une des sept catégories du style dans le système d'Hermogène le Rhéteur. Elle résulte de l'emploi correct de toutes les autres (clarté, grandeur, beauté, vivacité, caractère, sincérité) et constitue de fait la catégorie suprême (140). Le traité *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* (*La méthode de l'habileté*), dont le contenu est détaillé dans les *Catégories du style* (141), devait apporter un complément à la théorie rhétorique d'Hermogène, mais le texte transmis sous ce titre dans le corpus hermogénien n'est pas celui annoncé, pas plus qu'il n'est de la plume du rhéteur de Tarse (142).

τὸ ἀδέκαστον δικαστήριον. L'expression «tribunal impartial (ou incorruptible)» désigne bien évidemment la justice divine et semble remonter à Philon

(137) H. Ahrweiler, *Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles*, Athènes, 1960, pp. 70-71.

(138) Psellos, *Orat. paneg.* 11, 117-118 éd. Dennis.

(139) Psellos, *Περὶ πολεμικῆς τάξεως*, dans Psellos, *De operatione daemonum cum notis Gaulmini. Accedunt inedita opuscula Pselli*, éd. Boissonade, Nuremberg, 1838, réimpr. Amsterdam, 1964, p. 121 : *καὶ τοῦ λόχου ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἱστάμενος λοχαγὸς καὶ πρωτοστάτης αὐτῷ καλείσθω· ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος οὐραγός· ὁ δὲ μέσος ἡμιλοχίτης.* Cf. aussi A. R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus. The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*, Vienne, 1986, p. 50 et p. 73 ; Psellos, *Chrono.*, I, 32, t. I, p. 20 éd. Renauld ; Id., *Orat. minor.*, 8, p. 31, l. 38-63 où Psellos emprunte son développement aux traités de tactique d'Arrien, d'Élien et d'Asclépiodote.

(140) Cf. M. Patillon, *La théorie du discours chez Hermogène le Rhéteur: Essai sur la structure de la rhétorique ancienne*, Paris, 1988, pp. 270-278.

(141) Hermogène, *Catégories du style*, p. 378, 12-380, 3 éd. Rabe.

(142) M. Patillon, *o. l.*, pp. 216-218.

d'Alexandrie ([143]). Par la suite, elle sera abondamment utilisée par Jean Chrysostome ([144]).

τοὺς εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ τόξον ἐντείνοντας. L'expression dérive du proverbe *εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύεις* (tu tires une flèche en direction du ciel) qui signifie «se lancer dans une action qui n'a aucune chance d'aboutir», comme la flèche n'a aucune chance d'atteindre sa cible dans le ciel ([145]). Elle se rapporte ici au *τύραννος* (c.-à-d. l'usurpateur) et ses comparses, nouveaux Titans se rebellant contre les dieux, qui ont eu la folie de penser que leur conspiration pouvait renverser l'empereur.

ἐν σκοτομήνῃ κατατοξεύσωσιν. Ces mots sont tirés du Psaume 10, 2, verset dans lequel les pécheurs bandent leur arc (*ἐνέτειναν τόξον* ; ce sont d'ailleurs les termes employés par Psellos peu avant) pour, dans l'obscurité, percer de traits les cœurs droits.

ὅταν ἴδω τὸν τύραννον... Sous le terme de «tyran» est généralement désigné l'usurpateur qui se dresse contre l'empereur légitime ([146]). Je ne pense pas qu'il faille voir derrière le personnage évoqué ici Michel V, comme le suggère G. T. Dennis. En effet, Constantin Monomaque ne joua aucun rôle dans le renversement du Calfat : ce n'est qu'environ deux mois après la chute de ce dernier qu'il fut rappelé à Constantinople par Zoé pour l'épouser et accéder à la charge suprême. Et s'il faut mettre un nom sur ce *τύραννος*, je me range à l'avis de Jean-Claude Cheynet qui cite notre passage parmi les sources se rapportant à la révolte de Léon Tornikios ([147]). De toutes les tentatives de renversement qui émaillèrent le règne de Monomaque, c'est celle qui fut le plus près de réussir et qui marqua le plus fortement les esprits des contemporains ([148]). Après un premier coup de

(143) PHILON, *De plantatione*, 108.

(144) Cf. notamment Jean CHRYSOSTOME, *Ad pop. Antioch.*, II, dans *PG*, 49, col. 41 ; *Exp. in Psal. IV*, dans *PG*, 55, col. 52 ; *Exp. in Psal. CX* , col. 284 et *Exp. in Psal. CXLVII*, col. 482.

(145) Cf. *CPG*, I, p. 68, 46 et D. K. KARATHANASIS, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates*, Lamia, 1936, p. 82, n° 157.

(146) Cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 106 et 123, t. II, p. 19 (+ n. 5) et 29 éd. Renauld, pour qualifier Léon Tornikios. Voir J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris, 1990, pp. 177-184.

(147) *Ibid.*, n° 65, pp. 59-61.

(148) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 107, t. II, p. 20 éd. Renauld : «J'ai entendu dire des soldats eux-mêmes et de quelques personnes plus âgées que jamais aucun de ceux qui ont revêtu la tyrannie n'a porté l'audace au point de s'apprêter à dresser des machines devant la Ville [...] ; la stupeur et la confusion s'étaient donc emparées de tous et il semblait que la prise de toute la cité serait chose aisée».

main avorté, mené dans la région d'Andrinople au printemps 1047, Tornikios, Arménien cousin maternel de Constantin IX, fort du soutien de la majeure partie des troupes d'Occident, se fit proclamer empereur et mit le siège devant Constantinople en septembre de la même année. Pris au dépourvu, Constantin rappela ses armées d'Orient, stationnées alors en Ibérie pour repousser une incursion barbare. En attendant leur retour, il fallait tenir. On disposa alors la population sur les murs de la ville et on réunit les quelques soldats qui se trouvaient dans la capitale (un millier d'hommes environ). Dans un geste inconsidéré, l'empereur ordonna à cette troupe de bric et de broc de tenter une sortie face à l'ennemi. Elle fut rapidement mise en déroute et la panique s'empara des Constantinoplitains qui désertèrent les remparts et les portes de la ville. Mais au lieu de poursuivre son assaut, Tornikios battit curieusement en retraite, sans doute pour éviter les pillages qui lui auraient valu la haine de ses futurs sujets et en pensant que la population n'allait plus tarder à se ranger à ses côtés. Cela donna le temps à Constantin de réorganiser ses défenses et de déployer des armes de jet. Quelques jours passèrent et face à cette résistance nouvelle, la confiance commença à s'étioler dans le camp de l'usurpateur et les défections se firent nombreuses parmi ses alliés, si bien qu'il finit par lever le siège. Dans leur repli vers la Thrace et la Macédoine, les rebelles assiégèrent sans succès la ville de Rhaidestos, restée fidèle à l'empereur, avant de regagner Andrinople d'où Tornikios dut fuir, sous la pression des troupes d'Orient lancées à sa poursuite. Finalement, lui et son second Jean Batatzès furent pris et ramenés à Constantinople où ils furent aveuglés, le soir de la fête de Noël 1047. Ce châtiment donna lieu à des discussions entre l'empereur et ses conseillers, certains inclinant à la clémence. Ce fut, dans un premier temps en tout cas, la position de Monomaque : Psellos nous dit que l'empereur avait fait la promesse à Dieu de ne pas exercer de représailles à l'encontre de ceux qui s'étaient rebellés contre lui ([149]) et Jean Mauropous, dans le discours qu'il prononça dans l'église du Trophaiophore le 29 décembre 1047, lors de la célébration de la victoire, affirme

La révolte de Léon Tornikios est relatée par PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 99-123, t. II, pp. 14-30 éd. Renauld, ATTALIATE, pp. 23-30 éd. Bekker, pp. 18-23 éd. Pérez Martin, ZONARAS, III, pp. 625-631 éd. Büttner-Wobst, SKYLITZÈS, pp. 438-442 éd. Thurn et dans le discours n° 186 éd. Lagarde de MAUROPOUS.

(149) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 123, t. II, p. 29 éd. Renauld. Cf. *Ibid.*, VI, 166, t. II, p. 53 éd. Renauld, où il est à nouveau fait mention de la mansuétude de Monomaque à l'égard de ceux qui ont comploté contre lui. La clémence de l'empereur est louée dans deux autres panégyriques : *orat. paneg.* 7, 103-108 et *orat. paneg.* 4, 278-383, long développement où Psellos narre, dans un langage allusif, une tentative de complot, dont l'instigateur n'est pas cité nommément, et la bienveillance de l'empereur à l'égard d'un calomniateur qui pourrait être Romain Boïlas (cf. *Chrono.*, VI, 139-155, t. II, pp. 38-47 éd. Renauld).

que Constantin regretta ce châtiment (150). C'est sans doute à cette hésitation de Monomaque que font allusion les dernières lignes du paragraphe 8 de notre panégyrique.

§ 9.

Ὅταν ὁμιλοῦντος ἀκούσω, τῆς Δημοσθένους γλώττης αἰσθάνομαι... Même type d'énumération à propos de l'impératrice Théodora dans le panégyrique 11, l. 25-29, où Psellos recourt à la même comparaison entre la langue des deux souverains et les «sirènes d'Isocrate» *σειρῆνες Ἰσοκρατικαί*). Dans les deux passages (auxquels nous pouvons ajouter *orat. paneg.* 4, 357), est cité parmi les modèles de rhétorique Polémon que nous pouvons identifier sans risque avec le sophiste de Laodicée. En effet, dans les panégyriques 4 et 11, Psellos lui attribue, à la suite de Philostrate (151), une qualité propre à son style : l'impétuosité (*ὁ ῥοῖζος τοῦ λόγου*).

βαβαὶ τῶν ἰΰγγων, τῶν θελκτηρίων. Dans une lettre à l'adresse du César Jean Doucas (où, d'ailleurs, on retrouve une comparaison entre le soleil et le destinataire en des termes qui rappellent l'exorde du panégyrique 1), apparaît à nouveau cette combinaison *ἴυγγες-θελκτήρια* (sous la graphie *θέλγητρα*) (152).

συνεσπακότι μὲν τὰς ὀφρῦς. Les sourcils froncés, ainsi que la barbe et le manteau d'étoffe grossière (153), sont les éléments traditionnels de la représentation du philosophe. Ainsi Timon, dans le dialogue du même nom, se gausse-t-il de Thrasyclès, de sa barbe étalée et de ses haussements de sourcils (154). Dans la langue familière et celle de la comédie, lever le sourcil est signe de vanité et de componction (155). Rien de tout cela ici. Psellos peint simplement la gravité de Monomaque plongé dans une intense réflexion.

τὰς Ξενοκράτους εἰκόνας ἀνατυποῦμαι, τὰς Ἡρακλείτου... La pose et l'attitude méditative des portraits de Xénocrate étaient devenues proverbiales.

(150) MAUROPOUS, *Discours n° 186*, § 69-70, pp. 193-194 éd. Lagarde.

(151) PHILOSTRATE, *Vie des sophistes*, II, 15.

(152) PSELLOS, *De operatione daemonum cum notis Gaulmini... o. l.*, p. 172 + n. 5 (= *PG*, 122, col. 1169-1172). Cette lettre a été rééditée (avec le n° 3, pp. 128-129) par P. GAUTIER, *Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées*, dans *REB*, 44, 1986, pp. 111-197. Sur le César Jean Doucas, frère de l'empereur Constantin X, cf. D. POLEMIS, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, Londres, 1968, n° 13, pp. 34-41.

(153) Cf. PLUTARQUE, *Isis et Osiris*, 3 (= *Mor.* 352 C), *Le flatteur et l'ami*, 7 (= *Mor.* 52 C) ; SYNÉSIOS, *Lettre 154*, p. 303, l. 40 éd. Garzya-Roques (cf. n. 29, p. 428).

(154) LUCIEN, *Timon*, 54.

(155) Cf. J. TAILLARDAT, *Les images d'Aristophane. Études de langue et de style*, Paris, 1962, p. 173.

Ces lignes sont à rapprocher d'un passage d'un opuscule à l'adresse de ses élèves où Psellos, usant de la même image, semble confondre Anaxagore et Xénocrate (156). La source commune pourrait se trouver chez Synésios : «Ils [les pseudo-philosophes] affectent un air de gravité, au-delà de celui de Xénocrate dans ses portraits» (157). Si les sources littéraires dépeignent la mine sombre et maussade qu'il arborait (158), on ne connaît pas de portraits sûrs du philosophe platonicien (159). Quant à Héraclite, on le disait d'un caractère hautain et méprisant, et enclin à la mélancolie (160). Sidoine Apollinaire évoque un type statuaire représentant le philosophe les yeux fermés par les larmes (161). D'après la description de Christodoros (fin du ve - début du vi^e^ s.), une statue d'Héraclite était exposée dans les bains du Zeuxippos à Constantinople (162).

§ 10.

τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα. Il s'agit de Michel Cérulaire, fait patriarche par Monomaque le 25 mars 1043. Psellos rédigea à la fois son éloge et son acte d'accusation lors d'un synode réuni par Isaac Comnène pour obtenir son éviction. Cérulaire mourut avant de passer devant ses juges, le 21 janvier 1059 (163).

(156) PSELLOS, *Orat. minor.* 24, p. 85, l. 31-32 éd. Littlewood (= PSELLOS, *De operatione daemonum cum notis Gaulmini... o. l.*, p. 149 + n. 2). Voir aussi PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VII, 47, t. II, p. 112 éd. Renauld : (à propos de l'attitude d'Isaac Comnène à l'égard des sénateurs) [...] *ἀλλὰ τὴν Ξενοκράτους ἰδέαν ἀκριβῶς μιμησάμενος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οἷον ἀνελίξας εἰς ἐνθυμήσεις...* Cf. É. RENAULD, *Étude... o. l.*, Paris, 1920, p. 451.

(157) SYNÉSIOS, *Lettre 154*, p. 303, l. 42 éd. Garzya-Roques. Voir également la note 30, p. 428 de l'édition Garzya-Roques.

(158) Diogène LAËRCE, IV, 6 : *σεμνὸς δὲ τά τ' ἄλλα Ξενοκράτης καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ἀεί* [...] ; ÉLIEN, *Histoire variée*, XIV, 9 ; PLUTARQUE, *Marius*, 2, 3 ; *Préceptes de mariage*, 28 (= *Mor.* 141 F) ; *Dialogue sur l'amour*, 23 (= *Mor.* 769 D).

(159) Cf. G. M. A. RICHTER, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, t. II, Londres, 1965, pp. 178-179 et K. SCHEFOLD, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Bâle, 1997, pp. 166-167 et p. 502 où sont présentés deux portraits qui pourraient être ceux de Speusippe et Xénocrate, les deux premiers successeurs de Platon à la tête de l'Académie.

(160) DIOGÈNE LAERCE, IX, 1 et 6. Voir également la figure d'Héraclite, «le philosophe qui pleure» dans LUCIEN, *Philosophes à l'encan*, 14.

(161) SIDOINE APOLLINAIRE, *Lettres*, IX, 9, 14 : *Heraclitus fletu oculis clausis.* Cf. G. M. A. RICHTER, *o. l.*, t. I, pp. 80-81. Pour d'autres représentations, cf. K. SCHEFOLD, *o. l.*, pp. 360-361, pp. 412-413, p. 535, p. 542.

(162) *Anthologie grecque*, II, 354-356. Les bains furent détruits lors de la révolte des Nika en 532. Sans doute la statue a-t-elle disparu en même temps. Cf. R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, Paris, 1950, pp. 215-216.

(163) Sur Michel Cérulaire, voir P. LEMERLE, *o. l.*, pp. 258-260 et F. TINNEFELD, *Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043-1058)*, dans *JÖB*, 39, 1989, pp. 95-127.

τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως ἔχρισας. Ces termes sont tirés du Psaume 44, 8 ([...] *διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ θεός σου, ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως...*), alors que les mots suivants (*τὸ τοῦ τελέσματος μῦρον ἐπέχεας ἄχρι πώγωνος καὶ ἐνδύματος*) font référence au Psaume 132, 2 (*ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα, τὸν πώγωνα τὸν Ἀαρὼν, τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ*). Le paragraphe se termine sur une allusion à l'onction de David par Samuel (*1 S.* 16, 1-13). Dans ces quelques lignes qui ont trait à la personne du patriarche Michel Cérulaire et qui ont pour but de mettre en évidence la piété de Monomaque, on dénombre donc pas moins de trois références scripturaires combinées.

§ 11.

Εἶδόν σε καὶ ἐπὶ φίλων δακρύσαντα συμφοραῖς... La compassion dont fait preuve Constantin IX est à nouveau mise en avant dans la *Chronographie* : «Pour ma part, une âme qui éprouve plus de sympathie pour autrui, je n'en ai jamais vue auparavant et aujourd'hui, je n'en constate chez absolument personne...» ([164]). Dans la suite du passage, pour monter en épingle la générosité et la philanthropie de l'empereur, Psellos place dans sa bouche des paroles qui reprennent le mot fameux d'Alexandre («Aujourd'hui, je ne me suis pas comporté en roi car je n'ai fait de bien à personne» ([165])), faussement attribué à Titus par une partie de la tradition ([166]) : «Il lui [Monomaque] semblait n'avoir pas été roi le jour où il ne s'était pas montré bienveillant et où il n'avait pas dévoilé la générosité de son caractère» ([167]).

τὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλίδος... L'impératrice Zoé est morte vers 1050, à l'âge de 72 ans ([168]). Elle fut enterrée dans l'église qu'elle fonda (sans doute s'est-elle contentée de rénover une église existante du même nom dans le complexe des Chalcoprateia), celle du Christ Antiphonète (*garant*) ([169]), à qui elle avait dédié

(164) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 169, t. II, p. 54 éd. Renauld : *Συμπαθεστέραν γοῦν ἔγωγε ψυχὴν οὔτε πρὶν ἑωράκειν, οὔτε νῦν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων κατανοῶ...*

(165) ARISTOTE, fr. 646, p. 409 éd. Rose (= *Vita Marc. Aristot.*, p. 431, 2) : *σήμερον οὐκ ἐβασίλευσα· οὐδένα γὰρ εὖ ἐποίησα.*

(166) Pour l'historique du mot dans les traditions latine et grecque, cf. J. SCHAMP, *Thémistios, Photios et la tradition du «diem perdidi»*, dans *Mélanges Norman*, *Τοποι*, supplément 7, pp. 159-178.

(167) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 169, t. II, p. 54 éd. Renauld : *ἐκεῖνος οὐδ' εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην βασιλεὺς ἐδόκει ἐν ᾗ μήτε τι φιλάνθρωπον ἐνεδείξατο μήτε τι τῆς φιλοτίμου παρεγύμνωσε γνώμης.*

(168) Cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 160, t. II, p. 50 éd. Renauld.

(169) ANONYME DE SATHAS, *MB*, VII, p. 163 : *θάπτεται λίαν φιλοτίμως καὶ βασιλικῶς ἐν τῷ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀνεγερθέντι ναῷ τοῦ Ἀντιφωνητοῦ.* Sur les pro-

une icône confectionnée de ses propres mains et de laquelle elle tirait des présages en interprétant les teintes que revêtait l'image sainte ([170]). Dans la *Chronographie* ([171]), Psellos revient sur le deuil de Monomaque et des honneurs quasi divins qu'il conféra à Zoé après sa mort, persuadé, à la vue d'un petit champignon qui avait poussé dans une fissure, que le Seigneur avait accompli un miracle sur sa tombe, afin que l'on sache que son âme était désormais au nombre des anges. À deux autres reprises, Psellos fait allusion au tombeau de l'impératrice : *orat. paneg.* 4, 464-466 et *orat. paneg.* 7, 91-92.

ἔκλινας γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ὡς θεός... Allusion au verset 10 du Psaume 17 : *καὶ ἔκλινεν οὐρανὸν καὶ κατέβη, καὶ γνόφος ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ* (intervention divine pour dissiper les eaux infernales).

ἂν τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας μαρτύριον τὴν νῆσον ἐνθυμηθῇς... Zoé fut exilée sur l'île de Prinkipo, la plus grande de l'archipel des Princes en mer de Marmara ([172]), par son fils adoptif Michel V le Calfat. Durant la nuit du 19 au 20 avril 1042, elle fut arrêtée, tonsurée et envoyée au monastère qui servait de lieu privilégié de réclusion pour les princesses. Au matin, Michel V ordonna au préfet de la Ville de lire à la population une proclamation qui justifiait son geste, ce qui déclencha une émeute, appuyée par le patriarche Alexis Stoudite. Sous la pression populaire, Michel V fit rappeler Zoé pour la présenter à la foule, mais il était trop tard pour lui et le 21 avril, il fut déposé et aveuglé ([173]).

δεσμωτήριον εἰς βασιλείους σκηνὰς μετεποίησας. Faut-il donner à l'expression *βασιλείους σκηνὰς* le sens de «palais» qu'elle peut prendre parfois ? La seule mention d'un bâtiment de ce type dans les Îles des Princes figure dans la chronique de Théophane ([174]) qui rapporte que l'empereur Justin II en fit construire un près du port de Prinkipo. Ce palais n'est pas connu autrement et il ne

blèmes de localisation et de l'existence d'une église du Christ Antiphonète sous Héraclius, cf. R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, Ire partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, t. III, Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 1969², pp. 506-507. Voir aussi P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris, 1996, p. 34 et p. 67.

(170) Cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 66, t. I, p. 149 éd. Renauld.

(171) *Ibid.*, VI, 183, t. II, pp. 60-61 éd. Renauld.

(172) Cf. R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975, p. 61 et pp. 68-70.

(173) Cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, V, 21-50, t. I, pp. 98-115 éd. Renauld ; SKYLITZÈS, pp. 418-421 éd. Thurn ; ZONARAS, III, pp. 609-612 éd. Büttner-Wobst ; ATTALIATE, pp. 13-17 éd. Bekker, pp. 11-14 éd. Pérez Martin. Voir également J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir... o. l.*, n° 56, pp. 54-55.

(174) THÉOPHANE, p. 243, 17-20 éd. de Boor.

semble pas en rester de traces ([175]). Constantin y fit-il exécuter de quelconques travaux ? Ou dans le monastère qui accueillit Zoé ? Ou dans un autre site de l'île ? Nous ne le savons pas. Aussi nous contenterons-nous, faute d'informations plus précises, de traduire *βασιλείους σκηνὰς* par une expression au sens relativement vague : «résidence impériale».

§ 13.

ὅταν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τοὺς ἐρεσσομένους πύργους θεάσωμαι... Les navires de guerre byzantins étaient équipés, au milieu du pont, de tours de bois, *ξυλόκαστρα*, sur lesquelles prenaient place des combattants chargés de lancer sur l'ennemi des pierres ou d'autres projectiles au moyen de balistes ([176]). Mais quelle est l'innovation (à laquelle il est également fait allusion dans le panégyrique 4, 384-400) apportée par Monomaque ? Je ne le sais pas. Peut-être est-ce une évocation des événements de juillet 1043 qui virent les Russes lancer une expédition sur mer contre Constantinople. Pour parer à cette attaque, Constantin IX ordonna en tout hâte la construction et l'armement d'une nouvelle flotte ([177]) (d'où la référence à Thémistocle dans le panégyrique 4), l'ancienne ayant été en grande partie détruite lors de l'incendie de l'arsenal en 1040 ([178]). Psellos et Cédrénos ([179]) nous fournissent des renseignements sur sa composition : quelques anciens bâtiments, des navires affectés au service de l'empereur et un petit nombre de trières nouvellement équipées, tous armés du feu grégeois. Contre toute attente, les Russes durent se retirer vaincus.

§ 15.

τίς ποταμοὺς ὅλους μετοχετεύσας εἰς μίαν συνήλασε σήραγγα... Aux dires de Psellos, Monomaque réalisa d'importants travaux d'adduction d'eau. Il en est question dans trois autres panégyriques : *Orat. paneg.* 3, 79-80 (l'empereur a doté la capitale du «fleuve qui sort de l'Eden»), 4, 406-414 et 5, 84-85

(175) Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople... o. l.*, p. 150 et Id., *Les Îles des Princes*, dans *EO*, 23, 1924, pp. 415-427.

(176) Voir la partie consacrée au combat naval du traité de Léon VI dans A. Dain, *Naumachica*, Paris, 1943, p. 20, § 7 (= *PG*, 107, col. 992). Voir également la paraphrase de Léon par Nicéphore Ouranos dans A. Dain, *o. l.*, p. 72, § 6.

(177) Il s'agit de la flotte impériale, chargée principalement de la défense de Constantinople et de la surveillance de la Propontide et de l'embouchure du Pont. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris, 1966, pp. 102-109.

(178) Cédrénos, II, p. 529 éd. Bekker : *ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐμπρησμὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐξαρτήσει, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, καὶ ἐνεπρήσθησαν αἱ ἐκεῖσε ἱστάμεναι πᾶσαι τριήρεις μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν παρασκευῆς.* Cf. E. de Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, Paris, 1963, p. 618, n° 11.

(179) Psellos, *Chrono.*, VI, 93, t. II, p. 10 éd. Renauld et Cédrénos, II, p. 552 éd. Bekker. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance... o. l.*, pp. 128-129.

(*ποταμοὶ πρὸς μίαν χαράδραν συγκλείοντες* : formulation proche des mots de notre paragraphe 15, ce qui permet d'éclairer le sens de *σῆραγξ*, que je comprends comme «canal» ou peut-être «canalisation souterraine», si je me réfère à la signification du terme dans un passage de Philostrate où il désigne un tunnel creusé sous l'Euphrate ([180])).

§ 16.

καὶ οὐ ψεύδεταί σε τὸ ὄνομα, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς καταψεύδῃ τῆς κλήσεως. Jeu de mots qui repose à la fois sur le nom de Constantin (allusion à Constantin Ier) et sur le patronyme *Μονομάχος* (et son sens premier de «personne qui se bat en combat singulier»), qui fait écho à *μοναρχίας* de la ligne précédente. Dans l'éloge de Constantin Lichoudès, Psellos joue pareillement sur les termes : «Il (Constantin IX Monomaque) porte le même nom que le fondateur (Constantin Ier) de cette cité céleste et son patronyme (Monomaque) lui sied si bien, à lui qui affronte seul les dangers du pouvoir ; il est le combattant le plus valeureux de tous et c'est en se battant en combat singulier pour la gloire commune de sa famille qu'il a reçu son surnom comme prix de sa bravoure» ([181]).

§ 17-18.

Constantin IX entretenait d'étroites relations avec les Fatimides, au grand dam de Psellos qui fustigea la trop grande déférence de l'empereur à l'égard du calife ([182]). Après le renouvellement pour dix ans du traité de paix byzantino-égyptien (1045/1046) ([183]), Constantin répondit favorablement à la demande du calife al-Mustansir et consentit à l'envoi d'une importante quantité de blé à l'Égypte, en proie à la famine suite à une crue du Nil. F. Dölger place dans le contexte de

(180) PHILOSTRATE, *Vie d'Apollonios*, I, 25 et I, 39.

(181) PSELLOS, *Éloge de Constantin Lichoudès*, dans SATHAS, *MB*, IV, p. 398, 28-399, 1 : *ὁ καὶ τὴν κλῆσιν ὁμώνυμος τῷ τὴν οὐρανόπολιν ταύτην οἰκίσαντι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν φερώνυμος, μόνος τοῦ κράτους προκινδυνεύσας. καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀξιόμαχος γεγονὼς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τοῦ γένους μονομαχήσας εὐκλείας, κἀντεῦθεν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὥσπερ ἀριστεῖον ἀνειληφώς.* . Voir également PSELLOS, *Éloge funèbre de Jean Xiphilin*, dans SATHAS, *MB*, IV, p. 430, 1-2 (jeu entre *Μονομάχος* et *ἄμαχος*) et PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 17, 426-427 pour un parallèle entre Constantin X Doucas et Constantin Ier (*ὁ τῷ μεγάλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ καὶ ὁμώνυμος καὶ ὁμότροπος...*). Cf. É RENAULD, *Étude... o. l.*, pp. 475-476. Pour un autre jeu de mots sur le nom Monomaque (reposant sur l'expression *θύειν τὰ ἐπινίκια*, «accomplir les sacrifices de la victoire», transformée en *θύειν τὰ Μονομάχεια*), cf. *Orat. paneg.* 4, 576-577 : *ἑόρταζε τοίνυν τὰ ἐπινίκια καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις κάταγε θρίαμβον καὶ στεφανωσάμενος θῦε τὰ Μονομάχεια.*

(182) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 190, t. II, p. 64 éd. Renauld.

(183) Cf. W. FELIX, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert*, Vienne, 1981, p. 114.

cette tractation l'ambassade qui offrit à l'empereur un éléphant et une girafe ([184]). Leur exhibition dans l'amphithéâtre de Constantinople eut un grand retentissement dans le public de la capitale et l'abréviateur de Timothée de Gaza au XIe siècle rapporte avoir lui-même assisté à ce spectacle ([185]). De tous les chroniqueurs relatant l'événement ([186]), c'est Michel Attaliate qui fournit le plus de précisions en multipliant les digressions d'ordre zoologique.

Il est à nouveau question de l'éléphant reçu par Monomaque dans le panégyrique 4 où Psellos se plaît à montrer l'éléphant s'agenouillant devant l'empereur, en symbole de l'allégeance des puissants ([187]).

ὅσα χειρὶ τῇ ῥινὶ χρώμενον. Cette comparaison figure déjà chez Aristote : «Les éléphants ont une trompe longue et puissante dont ils se servent comme d'une main» ([188]). Elle sera reprise par d'autres auteurs de traités zoologiques comme Timothée de Gaza ([189]) qui vécut sous le règne d'Anastase (491-518) et par Attaliate dont les mots sont quasiment ceux de Psellos : *κέχρηται δὲ τῇ ῥινὶ ὅσα καὶ χειρί* ([190]).

τὸ ἁπλοῦν ζῷον καὶ σύνθετον. Les Anciens considéraient la girafe comme un être hybride ([191]), ainsi que l'atteste son nom composé : *καμηλοπάρδαλις*

(184) Cf. F. DÖLGER, *Regesten... o.l.*, n° 912, p. 10. Les chroniques arabes datent de l'an 444 de l'Hégire (mai 1052-avril 1053) la crue du Nil qui occasionna famine et maladie. Il est loisible de penser que les négociations concernant l'envoi de blé avaient commencé vers avril 1053 et, par conséquent, de placer l'épisode de l'éléphant et de la girafe en 1053 (cf. E. DE MURALT, *o. l.*, p. 638) ou 1054 (comme le fait Dölger). Voir aussi W. FELIX, *o. l.*, pp. 119-120.

(185) M. HAUPT, *Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus*, dans *Hermes*, 3, 1869, p. 15, § 24 (= M. HAUPT, *Opuscula*, III, Leipzig, 1876, pp. 274-302). L'abréviateur fait ce commentaire personnel alors qu'il cite un événement similaire : le cadeau d'un éléphant et de deux girafes à l'empereur Anastase (Cf. GLYCAS, p. 93 éd. Bekker).

(186) SKYLITZÈS, p. 475 éd. Thurn, GLYCAS, p. 597 éd. Bekker, CÉDRÉNOS, II, p. 607 éd. Bekker, ATTALIATE, pp. 36, 21-38, 4 éd. Pérez-Martin, pp. 48-50 éd. Bekker.

(187) PSELLOS, *Orat. paneg.* 4, 155-165. Le motif n'est pas sans rappeler une anecdote rapportée par ÉLIEN, *Caract. des animaux*, XIII, 22 : quand le roi indien s'avançait pour rendre la justice, un éléphant s'inclinait devant lui. Voir aussi MARTIAL, *Spect.*, 17 : un éléphant se prosterne devant l'empereur, reconnaissant en lui un être divin.

(188) ARISTOTE, *Histoire des animaux*, 492b 18 : *Τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασιν ὁ μυκτὴρ γίνεται μακρὸς καὶ ἰσχυρός, καὶ χρῆται αὐτῷ ὥσπερ χειρί.*

(189) TIMOTHÉE DE GAZA, § 25 éd. Haupt : *ὅτι προβοσκίδα ἔχει, δι' ἧς πάντα ποιεῖ ὡς διὰ χειρός.*

(190) ATTALIATE, p. 37, 6 éd. Pérez-Martin, p. 49, 2 éd. Bekker.

(191) Les descriptions sont relativement nombreuses : DIODORE, II, 51, 1 : *αἱ δὲ καλούμεναι καμηλοπαρδάλεις τὴν μὲν μίξιν ἀμφοτέρων ἔχουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ*

(chameau-panthère). Psellos ajoute qu'elle peut également être un mélange entre le chameau et la biche, faisant ainsi écho à une description antérieure figurant dans l'épitomé de zoologie réalisé à la demande de Constantin Porphyrogénète ([192]), qui relève une ressemblance au niveau de la tête et de la gueule entre les deux animaux ([193]).

δίπουν ὁμοῦ καὶ τετράπουν... La girafe va l'amble, c'est-à-dire qu'elle se déplace en levant en même temps les deux jambes du même côté. Cette allure caractéristique est déjà décrite par Héliodore ([194]) et Attaliate en fait de même dans son récit de l'exhibition des bêtes dans l'amphithéâtre de Constantinople ([195]).

§ 19.

οἱ ὀξεῖς καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ μνήμονες. Dans le sixième livre de la *République* ([196]), ces trois adjectifs caractérisent les «conservateurs de la constitu-

προσηγορίᾳ περιειλημμένων ζῴων ; Héliodore, *Éthiopiques*, X, 27, 1 et 4 *μέγεθος μὲν εἰς καμήλου μέτρον ὑψούμενον χροιὰν δέ καὶ δορὰν παρδάλεως φολίσιν ἀνθηραῖς ἐστιγμένον* [...] *καὶ ὄνομα τὸ εἶδος ἐλάμβανεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπικρατεστέρων τοῦ σώματος, αὐτοσχεδίως πρὸς τοῦ δήμου καμηλοπάρδαλις κατηγορηθέν* ; Oppien, *Cynégétiques*, III, 462-463 : *μικτὰ φύσιν θηρῶν, διχόθεν κεκερασμένα, φῦλα, πόρδαλιν αἰολόνωτον ὁμοῦ ξυνήν τε κάμηλον* ; Photios, *Bibliothèque*, *cod.* 250, *Agatharchide*, p. 455 b, 3-5 (= frg. 72 Agatharchide) : *Ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς Τρωγλοδύταις ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ λεγομένη παρ' Ἕλλησι καμηλοπάρδαλις, σύνθετον τρόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ τὴν φύσιν λαχοῦσα* ; Timothée de Gaza, § 24, éd. Haupt : *ὅτι ἡ καμηλοπάρδαλις ζῷόν ἐστιν Ἰνδικόν· γίνεται δὲ ἀπὸ ἐπιμιξίας ζῴων ἑτερογενῶν* ; *Excerptorum Constantini De natura animalium libri duo. Aristophanis Historiae animalium epitome, subiunctis Aeliani, Timothei aliorumque eclogis*, éd. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Supplementum aristotelicum*, t. I, Berlin, 1885, II, 270 : *ἡ δὲ καμηλοπάρδαλις μίξις τις εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ δύο θηρῶν, ἐς ταὐτὸ συνελθόντων, καμήλου τε καὶ παρδάλεως.*

(192) Sur cet ouvrage, cf. H. Hunger, *o. l.*, pp. 265-266.

(193) *Excerptorum Constantini...*, *o. l.*, II, 271 : *τὸ στόμα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτῶν ταῖς ἐλάφοις.* Cf. Oppien, *Cynégétiques*, III, 477-478 : *ἄρκιον, ὡς ἐλάφοιο, τέρεν στόμα, λεπταλέοι τε ἔντὸς ἐρηρέδαται γαλακόχροες ἀμφὶς ὀδόντες.*

(194) Héliodore, *o. l.*, X, 27, 3 : *Παρήλλακτο καὶ τὸ βάδισμα χερσαίου τε ζῴου καὶ ἐνύδρου παντὸς ὑπεναντίως σαλευόμενον, τῶν σκελῶν οὐκ ἐναλλὰξ ἑκατέρου καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἐπιβαίνοντος, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ἅμα τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ χωρὶς δὲ καὶ ζυγηδὸν τῶν εὐωνύμων σὺν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ ἐπαιωρουμένῃ πλευρᾷ μετατιθεμένων.* Voir aussi *Excerptorum Constantini...*, *o. l.*, II, 271.

(195) Attaliate, p. 37, 27-38, 4 éd. Pérez-Martin.

(196) Platon, *République*, VI, 503 c : *καὶ μνήμονες καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ ὀξεῖς...*

tion» : au cours de leur formation, ils doivent apprendre à allier à ces qualités de vivacité, de sagacité et de mémoire celles de stabilité (*τὸ βέβαιον* (197)) et de constance car, selon Platon, l'intelligence et l'acuité d'esprit ne sont que rarement associées à la fermeté et à la pondération. Le philosophe Théétète, dans le portait que brosse de lui Théodore (198), réussit l'heureux accord de ces tempéraments opposés.

§ 20.

μετὰ γνόφου καὶ λαίλαπος χρηματίζοντα... Le début du paragraphe évoque en termes allusifs le cérémonial de l'audience impériale : sans doute les «nuages» rappellent-ils les vapeurs d'encens que l'on brûlait lors des rites du culte rendu à l'empereur (199) et les «ténèbres» sont-elles une allusion au fait que l'empereur, dissimulé à la vue par un voile (le *βῆλον*), reste dans un premier temps inaccessible aux regards de ses sujets ou des ambassadeurs étrangers (200). Dans la même optique, le participe *ἐπαιρόμενον* peut être compris au sens propre si l'on se réfère au mécanisme qui permettait de soulever dans les airs le trône de l'empereur (201).

Le tableau peint par Psellos n'est pas sans rappeler par certains aspects la théophanie du Sinaï dans l'*Exode* : on y retrouve plusieurs éléments caractéristiques de la manifestation divine (la nuée (*Ex.*, 19, 16), les ténèbres (*Ex.*, 20, 21)), les mots de l'orateur déclarant qu'il n'ose pas pénétrer dans les ténèbres et préfère rester à l'écart parmi l'assemblée font penser au fait que le peuple hébreu doit se tenir à distance et ne pas franchir les limites de la montagne sacrée (*Ex.*, 19, 24 et 20, 21) et l'évocation de la lapidation fait écho à la peine encourue par celui qui tenterait de gravir le Sinaï (*Ex.*, 19, 13).

ὅταν δὲ φιλοσοφοῦντα ἴδω. Le sens du verbe *φιλοσοφεῖν* dans cette phrase se rapproche de celui que l'on trouve parfois sous la plume de Jean Chrysostome

(197) Dans la suite du paragraphe, Psellos parlera, lui, de *τὸν ἐν ταχυτῆτι βεβηκότα φρενός*.

(198) PLATON, *Théétète*, 144 a : reprise des trois adjectifs (dans le même ordre que celui adopté par Psellos) : *οἵ τε ὀξεῖς* [...] *καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ μνήμονες*...

(199) Cf. O. TREITINGER, *o. l.*, pp. 67-71 et L. BRÉHIER, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, 2ème éd., Paris, 1970, pp. 65-66. Pour la période romaine, voir A. ALFOLDI, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe*, dans *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung*, 49, 1934, pp. 111-118.

(200) AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS, *Vie d'Alexandre Sévère*, 4, 3 ; CORIPPE, III, 255 ; Constantin PORPHYR., *o. l*,. I, 1, t. I, p. 18, 28 éd. Vogt ; *Ibid.*, I, 50, t. II, p. 17, 8-9 éd. Vogt. Cf. O. TREITINGER, *o. l.*, pp. 55-56.

(201) Ainsi que le décrit Liutprand, évêque de Crémone, dans le récit de son ambassade à Constantin VII : LIUTPRAND, *Antapodosis*, VI, 5, 78-79 éd. Chiesa. Cf. O. TREITINGER, *o. l.*, p. 201 et L. BRÉHIER, *o. l.*, p. 253.

ou d'autres Pères de l'Église. Dans le troisième discours *Contre les adversaires de la vie monastique*, Jean engage chacun, moine ou non, à suivre la même «philosophie», c'est-à-dire le même idéal de perfection qui consiste en l'imitation du Christ et, par conséquent, en la pratique de la charité (202).

ἀλλὰ νοσούντων τραύματα κατεφίλησας... Sans doute Psellos veut-il, dans ces lignes, monter en épingle la philanthropie de l'empereur qui se manifeste dans l'attention portée aux malades. À ce sujet, nous pouvons mettre au crédit du souverain la fondation de diverses œuvres d'assistance : Constantin Monomaque réorganisa la maison impériale des Manganes, créée par Basile Ier et dotée d'un ensemble de biens fonciers dont les revenus étaient spécialement affectés à la table impériale, pour en faire un important complexe constitué d'une église, d'un monastère Saint-Georges, d'hôpitaux, d'hospices, d'asiles pour les vieillards et divers bâtiments (dont la nouvelle école de droit et sa bibliothèque) et auquel il donna le statut de «maison pieuse» (*εὐαγὴς οἶκος*) (203).

Dans les mots de Psellos, où l'allusion au lavement des pieds des disciples (204) est évidente, Monomaque, en soignant les malades – tout comme en venant en aide aux nécessiteux (pauvres, vieillards, orphelins ou étrangers) –, se conforte dans le rôle d'imitateur du Christ dévolu à l'empereur (205).

(202) Jean Chrysostome, *Aduersus oppugnatores uitae monasticae*, III, dans *PG*, 47, col. 373-374. Cf. A.-M. Malingrey, *«Philosophia». Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des Présocratiques au IVe siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, 1961, pp. 284-286.

(203) Cf. Attaliate, p. 36, 14-20 éd. Pérez-Martin, p. 48, 3-11 éd. Bekker, Skylitzès, p. 476, 44-49 et p. 477, 1-3 éd. Thurn, Cédrénos, II, pp. 608-609 éd. Bekker. Sur le caractère fastueux de l'édifice, cf. Psellos, *Chrono.*, VI, 185-186, t. II, pp. 61-62 éd. Renauld. Sur le complexe des Manganes, cf. R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, Ire partie... o. l.*, pp. 70-76. P. Lemerle, *o. l.*, pp. 272-283, et N. Oikonomidès, *St. George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina, and the «Malyj Sion» of Novgorod*, dans *DOP*, 34-35, 1980-1981, pp. 239-246 (= N. Oikonomidès, *Byzantium... o. l.*, n° XVI). Voir aussi G. Dagron, *Fondations, maisons pieuses, charité*, dans AA. VV., *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, t. IV, *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610-1054)*, Paris, 1993, pp. 280-295.

(204) *Jean*, 13, 1-14. Voir aussi 1 *Tm*, 5, 10 où il est question des œuvres de bienfaisance que doivent accomplir les veuves et parmi lesquelles figure le lavement des pieds des saints.

(205) Le même motif (imitation de Jésus, lavement des pieds et soin aux malades) apparaît dans le Panég. 4, 444-446 : *ἐμιμήσω τὸν σὸν Ἰησοῦν· καὶ μετὰ τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τῆς ταινίας τὴν κεφαλὴν προσερείδων τοῖς τῶν νοσοκομουμένων ποσὶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσι ἔπλυνες...* Une épigramme (citée par D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare*, 2ème éd., New Rochelle-New York, 1991, p. 38 ; le texte de l'épigramme est publié par

Psellos reviendra à maintes reprises sur la philanthropie de l'empereur, *topos* du panégyrique (206), mais dans un passage plus significatif de la *Chronographie* où est retracé le cheminement de la désagrégation de l'Empire, amorcée à la mort de Basile II, notre auteur parle de Constantin Monomaque comme de «l'Évergète», ainsi que le surnommait la foule (207).

ὡς τοὺς ἀνθρακώδεις λίθους καὶ πυραυγεῖς. La pierre décrite ici est le jais (en grec *γαγάτης*), variété de lignite, noire et luisante. Il provient de bois de conifères fossilisés en charbon (d'où l'expression *ἀνθρακώδεις λίθους* (208)). Si Psellos ne le mentionne pas dans son traité *Περὶ λίθων δυνάμεων*, il y est par contre question des vertus du charbon (*ἄνθραξ*) «qui a l'éclat du feu» (209).

§ 21.

τὸ Κυμιναῖον. La leçon *τὸ Ἰμαῖον* (avec esprit rude) ne peut, à mon sens, être conservée. S'il existe bien une chaîne de montagnes connue sous le nom d'*Ἴμαιον* (210) (avec esprit doux ; l'accentuation est changeante), située en Asie

S. P. LAMBROS, *Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς Κῶδιξ* 524, dans *NE*, 8, 1911, p. 6) à l'adresse de Constantin Monomaque dépeint l'empereur octroyant son pardon aux pécheurs, imitant ainsi la nature philanthropique de son co-régent, le Christ. Cf. G. DAGRON, *o. l.*, p. 290 et D. J. CONSTANTELOS, *o. l.*, pp. 38-40.

(206) Cf. MÉNANDRE, II, 374, 25-375, 4. En héritier de la tradition des discours sur la royauté, Psellos considère la philanthropie comme la plus caractéristique des vertus royales. Cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 5, t. I p. 119 éd. Renauld : *χαρακτηριστικωτάτη μὲν γὰρ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν ἀρετὴ*. Cf. D. J. CONSTANTELOS, *o. l.*, pp. 33-42.

(207) PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VII, 55, t. II p. 117 éd. Renauld : *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Εὐεργέτης (οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσι κατωνόμασται), φημὶ δὲ τὸν Μονομάχον, εἰς τὴν τοῦ κράτους περιωπὴν ἄνεισιν*. Pour un jugement similaire sur la nature philanthropique de Monomaque, cf. PSELLOS, *Chrono.*, VI, 203, t. II p. 71 éd. Renauld : *ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγεγόνει φιλανθρωπότερος*.

(208) Cf. PS.-ANTIGONE DE CARYSTE, *Recueil d'histoires paradoxales*, 136, où elle désigne une autre pierre riche en carbone, la «pierre de Thrace" qui est parfois confondue avec le jais. Voir aussi PLINE, *Histoire naturelle*, XXXVI, 141.

(209) PSELLOS, *Philos. min.*, t. I, *op.* 34, p. 117, l. 27 : *τὸ πυραυγὲς ἔχοντα*.

(210) STRABON, II, 5, 31, XI, 11, 7 ; EUSTATHE, *Commentaire à Denys le Périégète*, 647, 7, 747, 7, 1153, 72. On trouve aussi la graphie *Ἴμαον* (selon G. BERNHARDY, *Dionysius Periegetes*, t. II, Leipzig, 1828, p. 931 et 936, *Ἴμαιον* est une forme vulgaire d'*Ἴμαον*) : JEAN DAMASCÈNE, *Exposé de la foi orthodoxe*, 24b, STRABON, XI, 8, 1 ; ARRIEN, *L'Inde*, 2, 3. Pline parle du mont *Imaus* (*Hist. nat.*, VI, 64). Strabon et Pline le situent approximativement à l'extrémité est de la chaîne himalayenne, au nord de l'Inde ; Ptolémée (*Géographie*, VI, 14-15) est le premier à décrire de façon plus précise et plus exacte la géographie de cette partie de l'Asie centrale en nommant Imaos une chaîne de montagnes, orientée globalement du sud vers le nord et qui constitue une partie divergente de

centrale, si des monastères chrétiens nestoriens ont bien été fondés dans cette région (211), maintenir ce terme dans l'énumération de montagnes saintes et de hauts lieux du monachisme byzantin que fait Psellos est toutefois bien peu satisfaisant sur le plan du sens. C'est pour cette raison que je propose la conjecture *Κυμιναῖον*, adjectif toponymique formé sur le nom *Κυμινᾶς*. L'expression *Κυμιναῖον ὄρος* figure dans la *Vie de Michel Maléïnos* (212), fondateur, vers 925, d'une laure qui portera son nom sur le mont Kyminas, identifié de nos jours avec la chaîne du Elmacik Dağ (213), à la frontière entre la Bythinie et la province d'Honorias. Une activité monacale y est attestée dès le IXe siècle : l'historien Génésios (214) relate que les moines du Kyminas, ainsi que ceux de l'Olympe, de l'Athos et de l'Ida, se rendirent à Constantinople en 843 pour fêter la restauration des Images. Au Xe siècle, l'empereur Romain Lécapène octroie une *roga* aux monastères de l'Olympe, du Kyminas, de Chrysè Pétra et du Barachaios (215). À sa mort, il accordera aux mêmes bénéficiaires, à l'exception de Chrysè Pétra et auxquels il faut ajouter l'Athos et le Latros, la somme annuelle d'un *nomisma* (216). Entre 963 et 967, devant le danger représenté par l'émir hamdanide Saïf-ad-Daoulah, Syméon Logothète adresse deux messages aux moines de l'Olympe, du Kyminas, du Latros et de l'Athos afin de solliciter leurs prières pour le succès des armées byzantines (217). De telles listes ne sont pas sans rap-

l'Himalaya (aujourd'hui : la région comprenant le Pamir, l'Hindou Kouch et le Tien Shan). Cf. K. KARTTUNEN, art. *Emodos*, dans *Der Neue Pauly*, t. III, Stuttgart-Weimar, 1997, col. 1011.

(211) Cf. I. GILLMAN - H.-J. KLINKEIT, *Christians in Asia before 1500*, Richmond, 1999, pp. 240-241.

(212) L. PETIT, *Vie de Saint Michel Maléïnos*, dans *ROC*, 7, 1902, p. 552, l. 27 + n. 11, p. 588. (pp. 543-594 pour le texte intégral). Cf. *BHG*, n° 1295. Cette *Vie* est attribuée par l'éditeur du texte à un certain Théophane, disciple de Maléïnos. Sur Michel Maléïnos, voir aussi É. MALAMUT, *Sur la route des saints byzantins*, Paris, 1993, pp. 36-40. À propos du mont Kyminas, voir R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres... o. l.*, pp. 115-118, K. BELKE, *Paphlagonien und Honorias*, *TIB*, t. IX, Vienne, 1996, pp. 243-245 et AA. VV., *Asia Minor and its Themes : Studies on the Geography and Prosopography of the Byzantine Themes of Asia Minor (7th-11th Century)*, Athènes, 1998, p. 180. Sur l'Olympe et le Kyminas, voir aussi R. MORRIS, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 31-63.

(213) Pour le problème de la localisation, se référer en dernier lieu à K. BELKE, *o. l.*, p. 243.

(214) GÉNÉSIOS, IV, 3, p. 58 éd. Bekker.

(215) THÉOPHANE CONTINUÉ, p. 418 éd. Bekker et GEORGES MOINE CONTINUÉ, p. 910 éd. Bekker.

(216) THÉOPHANE CONTINUÉ, p. 430.

(217) J. DARROUZÈS, *Épistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*, Paris, 1960, pp. 146-147 et 149.

peler l'énumération de Psellos dans le passage qui nous occupe. Ainsi, pour conserver une cohérence entre les différentes montagnes saintes que Psellos invoque métaphoriquement, retiendrais-je les noms suivants : Sinaï, Kyminas, Athos et Olympe (de Bythinie).

πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ξενίαν εἰσκέκληκεν. Les mots de Psellos sont sans doute une allusion aux avantages accordés par Monomaque aux moines de la Néa Monè de Chios ([218]) et de l'Olympe : par un chrysobulle daté de mai 1046, les Chiotes obtiennent de pouvoir séjourner, lors de leurs déplacements à Constantinople, dans un hospice du complexe Saint-Georges des Manganes où logent également des moines du mont Olympe. En juin 1048, une nouvelle bulle impériale octroie aux moines de la Néa Monè la propriété d'une maison de deux étages avec terrasse, cour et écurie, sise dans le quartier des Manganes ([219]).

§ 23.

διπλῇ κίνησις. Selon les Anciens, le mouvement du soleil peut se décomposer en deux rotations : la première (celle que Psellos qualifie de *κατὰ φύσιν*), d'orient en occident, autour des mêmes pôles et dans le même sens que la rotation diurne des étoiles, la seconde, accomplie d'occident en orient autour des pôles de l'écliptique et parfaite en un an (Psellos parle de mouvement *ὑπὲρ φύσιν*) ([220]).

τὸν δὲ νοῦν οὐ πρὸς κύκλον στρεφόμενος, οὐ σεαυτῷ ἶσος καὶ ὅμοιος. Dans l'exposé que fait Timée de la création du monde, la figure circulaire (sphère ou cercle) est la plus parfaite : son centre est équidistant de tous les points de sa périphérie et elle présente la symétrie la plus grande (elle est «semblable à elle-même») ; puisqu'il réside dans le semblable, le beau lui est associé ([221]). Le mouvement le plus adapté à cette figure est la rotation uni-

(218) Sur la fondation de ce monastère et le soutien que lui accorda Constantin IX, cf. C. BOURAS, *Nea Mone on Chios. History and Architecture*, Athènes, 1982, pp. 21-28.

(219) Sur ces chrysobulles, voir F. DÖLGER, *Regesten... o.l.*, n° 878, p. 7 et n° 887, p. 8. Voir aussi R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin, 1ère partie... o. l.*, p. 71 et p. 372 et R. MORRIS, *o. l.*, p. 49.

(220) Cf. P. DUHEM, *Le système du monde*, t. I, Paris, 1913, p. 9, pp. 54-57 et 107-111. Sur le mouvement des astres et du soleil en particulier, cf. PSELLOS, *De omnifaria doctrina*, n°132, pp. 69-70, éd. Westerink.

(221) Cf. PLATON, *Timée*, 33 b : *διὸ καὶ σφαιροειδές, ἐκ μέσου πάντῃ πρὸς τὰς τελευτὰς ἴσον ἀπέχον, κυκλοτερὲς αὐτὸ ἐτορνεύσατο, πάντων τελεώτατον ὁμοιότατόν τε αὑτὸ ἑαυτῷ σχημάτων, νομίσας μυρίῳ κάλλιον ὅμοιον ἀνομοίου.*

forme, le mouvement qui entretient le plus de rapport avec l'intellect et la pensée ([222]).

Dans les lignes de Psellos, ces considérations se rapportent à la personne de l'empereur, métaphoriquement doté de la forme et du mouvement parfaits.

οὐ κέντρου μέσον οἷον τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἄτομος κίνησις. L'Âme occupe la position centrale dans le Monde ([223]). Selon le système platonicien, elle est le premier moteur, principe de tous les mouvements et en même temps, se meut elle-même. Par conséquent, le premier des mouvements est le mouvement interne de l'Âme du Monde ([224]).

La métaphore attribue à la personne de l'empereur les caractéristiques qui sont celles de l'Âme (position au milieu de l'univers et principe de tout mouvement).

κύκλος δὲ ὁ περιέχων αὐτὴν νοῦς. Selon Aristote, l'Intellect est nécessairement un cercle : si le mouvement de l'Intellect est l'intellection et celui du cercle, la révolution, et que l'intellection est une révolution, alors l'Intellect est un cercle ([225]). De plus, l'Intellect, doté d'une forme circulaire, entoure l'Âme. C'est sans doute de Proclos que Psellos a repris l'expression ([226]).

γραμμὴ δὲ αἱ πρὸς ἐκείνην φέρουσαι ἀρεταί. Sans doute faut-il voir dans ces mots une allusion à la classification néoplatonicienne des degrés de vertus. L'idée que les vertus sont hiérarchisées («échelonnées», dit Psellos ([227])) remonte à Plotin, puis a été reprise, avec parfois de légères modifications dans les appellations, par les néoplatoniciens jusqu'à Psellos qui traite de cette théma-

(222) *Ibid.*, 34 a : *κίνησιν γὰρ ἀπένειμεν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ σώματος οἰκείαν. τῶν ἑπτὰ τὴν περὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα οὖσαν· διὸ δὴ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιαγαγὼν αὐτὸ ἐποίησε κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι στρεφόμενον.* Cf. P. DUHEM, *o. l.*, pp. 51-53.

(223) PROCLOS, *Commentaire au Timée*, III, 171c-172f (t. II, p. 104, 17-108, 32 éd. Diehl).

(224) SIMPLICIUS, *Commentaire aux catégories d'Aristote*, 9, p. 350, 10-351, 18 éd. Kalbfleisch (surtout p. 351, 10-18). Cf. P. DUHEM, *o. l.*, pp. 81-83.

(225) ARISTOTE, *De l'âme*, I, 3, 407a 19-22 : *ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸν νοῦν εἶναι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον· νοῦ μὲν γὰρ κίνησις νόησις κύκλου δὲ περιφορά· εἰ οὖν ἡ νόησις περιφορά, καὶ νοῦς ἂν εἴη ὁ κύκλος οὗ ἡ τοιαύτη περιφορὰ νόησις.*

(226) PROCLOS, *Commentaire au Timée*, III, 215a (t. II, p. 242, 30-243,2 éd. Diehl) et *Ibid.*, 219d (t. II, p. 257,19) : *ὁ νοῦς περιέχει τὴν ψυχήν.*

(227) PSELLOS, *Philos. minora*, t. II, *op.* 32, p. 109, 11 : *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κλίμακος.*

tique à plusieurs reprises ([228]). Ces différents degrés permettent à l'âme humaine de se purifier afin qu'elle puisse atteindre le but de son existence, à savoir la ressemblance puis l'assimilation à Dieu ([229]). Et cette remontée de l'âme vers Dieu se fait en franchissant des «étapes», celles de la troisième hypostase, l'Âme (désignée par le pronom *ἐκείνην* dans la phrase de Psellos), puis de la deuxième hypostase, l'Intellect ([230]).

νῦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ πρώτου ἡλίου κινούμενος... Si je comprends bien, Psellos veut signifier ici que Monomaque, à l'image du soleil, est doté d'un mouvement double (le paragraphe est construit de manière à ce que chacune des caractéristiques attribuées au soleil (beauté, grandeur, forme sphérique et mouvement double) se rapporte également à l'empereur). Dans les mots de Psellos, l'empereur se meut lui-même (*αὐτοκίνητος*) et, en même temps, est mû par une force extérieure (*ἑτεροκίνητος*), celle qui vient de Dieu (*θεοῦ κινούμενος νεύματι*). Ce mouvement s'opère tantôt depuis l'orient (*ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*) et suit celui du soleil, tantôt depuis l'occident (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας*) et suit celui de la Terre ([231]) et des régions basses de la nature, c'est-à-dire le monde sublunaire, formé de la Terre et des trois autres éléments, l'eau, l'air et le feu. Je vois dans cette métaphore alambiquée une allusion à la double nature, humaine (ou terrestre) et divine, de l'empereur, qui tantôt suit le mouvement du soleil (donc celui du monde supra-lunaire qui est à proximité de Dieu), tantôt celui de la Terre.

§ 24.

νῦν μὲν εἰς βορρᾶν ἀνιών, νῦν δὲ τὴν χειμερινὴν πρὸς νότον ἀπελαυνόμενος. Le phénomène décrit ici est celui de la déclinaison solaire. Observée depuis la Terre, la course du soleil n'est pas en droite ligne, mais varie selon la période de l'année : au solstice d'été, le soleil atteint son point le plus élevé dans

(228) Pour une liste des textes se rapportant aux degrés de vertus, voir MARINUS, *Vie de Proclus*, éd. Saffrey-Segonds, p. LXX-LXXI.

(229) Sur le thème des degrés de vertus, se référer à l'introduction de la *Vie de Proclus*, p. LXIX-XCVIII, de l'édition Saffrey-Segonds dans la C.U.F.

(230) Sur cette thématique, voir le premier traité de la cinquième Ennéade, *Sur les trois hypostases* et particulièrement PLOTIN, *Ennéades*, V, 1, 1, 3 et 10.

(231) Il faut supposer que Psellos partageait les intuitions d'Héraclide du Pont et d'Aristarque de Samos, entre autres, sur la rotation de la terre, qui s'effectue d'ouest en est. : Ps.-PLUTARQUE, *Opinions des philosophes*, III, 13, 896A : *Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς καὶ Ἔκφαντος ὁ Πυθαγόρειος κινοῦσι μὲν τὴν γῆν, οὐ μήν γε μεταβατικῶς, <ἀλλὰ τρεπτικῶς> τροχοῦ δίκην ἐνηξονισμένην, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ἐπ' ἀνατολὰς περὶ τὸ ἴδιον αὐτῆς κέντρον*. Cf. J. EVANS, *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, New York-Oxford, 1998, pp. 35-38.

le ciel, puis amorce sa lente descente pour arriver à son point le plus bas au solstice d'hiver. Durant son cheminement, il va par deux fois, aux équinoxes de printemps et d'automne (quelques lignes plus bas, Psellos dira : *δίς που κατ' ὀρθὸν τῆς ἰσημερινῆς ζώνης ἱστάμενος*), se trouver au point d'intersection de l'écliptique et de l'équateur céleste ([232]). Il décrit ainsi une courbe, tantôt montante, tantôt descendante, que Psellos a beau jeu de comparer à la marche droite et inflexible de Monomaque.

§ 25.

ὁ μὲν χθόνιος χῶρος χωρεῖν οὐ δεδύνηται ἑστίαν ἔχουσαν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ...

Le développement qui sert de conclusion au panégyrique est emprunté presque mot pour mot au discours *Sur la royauté* de Synésios ([233]). Psellos exploite ici l'idée, remontant à Platon ([234]), puis devenue un lieu commun du panégyrique, du souverain idéal qui associe au pouvoir royal la philosophie.

La traduction latine de François Combefis

François Combefis ([235]) naquit à Marmande en novembre 1605. Après des études littéraires, il prit l'habit dominicain en 1624 à Bordeaux et c'est dans cette ville qu'il commença par enseigner la philosophie avant de gagner, en 1637, le couvent de Saint-Maximin en tant que professeur

(232) Voir Syméon Seth, *Sur l'utilité des corps célestes*, éd. A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*, t. II, *Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences*, Liège, 1939, pp. 110-115 (Syméon Seth est un contemporain de Psellos. Ses écrits donnent donc une bonne idée des connaissances en astronomie des Byzantins du XIe s. Pour sa biographie, cf. L.-O., Sjoberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates*, Uppsala, 1962, pp. 87-99). Voir aussi P. Duhem, *o. l.*, pp. 55-56.

(233) Psellos, *Orat. paneg.* 1, 380-381 : *σὺ δ' εἴης, ὦβασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον φιλοσοφίας ἐρῶν* - Synésios, *Sur la royauté*, 29, p. 60 éd. Terzaghi, (= p. 448 éd. Garzya) : *ἐρασθείης, ὦβασιλεῦ, φιλοσοφίας...* ; Psellos, *o. l.*, 382-383 : *ἦν ὁ μὲν χθόνιος χῶρος χωρεῖν οὐ δεδύνηται ἑστίαν ἔχουσαν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ...* – Synésios, *l. l.*, p. 61 éd. Terzaghi : *ἑστίαν γὰρ ἔχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, περὶ ὃν καὶ δεῦρο οὖσα τὰ πολλὰ πραγματεύεται, καὶ ὅταν αὐτὴν μὴ χωρῇ κατιοῦσαν ὁ χθόνιος χῶρος, μένει παρὰ τῷ πατρί...*

(234) Platon, *République*, V, 471c-474c (surtout 473c-d).

(235) Pour sa biographie et sa bibliographie, voir surtout D. Coulon, art. *Combefis*, dans *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, t. III, Paris, 1908, col. 385-387 et A. Duval, art. *Combefis*, dans *Catholicisme. Hier-aujourd'hui-demain*, t. II, Paris, 1950, col. 1333-1334.

de théologie, fonction qu'il occupa également au couvent de l'Annonciation, rue Saint-Honoré à Paris, en 1640. Il profita de son séjour parisien pour fouiller les bibliothèques (la Bibliothèque royale, celles de Mazarin et du chancelier Pierre Séguier) à la découverte de manuscrits des Pères grecs ([236]). Ayant abandonné l'enseignement pour ses recherches, en 1656, il obtint des crédits de l'Assemblée du clergé de France qui le chargea de préparer une édition de ces Pères. Il put ainsi acquérir ou faire copier plusieurs manuscrits. Il édita, traduisit et annota nombre de textes grecs et byzantins, mais la mort, survenue le 23 mars 1679, l'empêcha de publier ses travaux sur Psellos.

Son œuvre est considérable. Parmi les ouvrages les plus importants, citons : l'édition et la traduction des écrits d'Amphiloque d'Iconium, de Méthode d'Olympe et d'André de Crète (*Sanctorum Patrum Amphilochii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis et Andreae Cretensis opera omnia*, 1644) ; *Graeco-latinae Patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium*, 1648, en deux volumes (le premier contient les œuvres de saint Astère et d'autres saints, le second, l'*Historia haeresis monothelitarum*) ; *Bibliotheca Patrum concionatoria*, 1662, en huit volumes ; *Bibliotheca graecorum Patrum auctarium novissimum*, 1672 ; *Sancti Maximi Confessoris opera*, 1675 ([237]) ; *Theophanis Chronographia et Leonis Grammatici vitae recentiorum imperatorum*, 1655 ; *Historiae byzantinae scriptores post Theophanem*, 1685 (l'édition fut achevée par Charles du Cange). Il publia également des œuvres de Jean Chrysostome (1656), Théodote d'Ancyre (1675) et Basile de Césarée (1679) ([238]).

(236) À propos de la richesse de ces bibliothèques, voir les lettres de F. Combefis à G. Henschenius éditées par B. JOASSART, *François Combefis, Jacques Quétif et les Bollandistes. Huit lettres inédites des deux Dominicains*, dans *AB*, 118, 2000, pp. 147-179. Un passage de la lettre n° 2, p. 159 est particulièrement significatif : «*In Cardinalis Mazarini bibliotheca non pauca extant tum in manuscriptis codicibus tum edita. In Clarissimi Viri Petri Seguier Franciae Cancellarii quam multae in manuscriptis codicibus graecorum Sanctorum Vitae extant.*» De façon générale, ces lettres nous renseignent sur les rapports entre le père dominicain et les érudits de son temps et les échanges d'informations qui se faisaient à cette époque.

(237) Sur l'*Elenchus*, catalogue des œuvres de Maxime le Confesseur dressé par Combefis, et son édition des *Opera omnia* du même auteur, cf. B. JANSSENS, *François Combefis and the Edition of Maximus the Confessor's Complete Works*, dans *AB*, 119, 2001, pp. 357-362.

(238) La liste des œuvres du Père Combefis est donnée par J. QUÉTIF - J. ÉCHARD, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum*, t. II, Paris, 1721, pp. 678-686 et

Parmi ses travaux demeurés inédits, figurent ceux qu'il consacra à Psellos. Les notes et traductions latines, que fit Combefis à partir du grand manuscrit psellien (le *Parisinus Gr.* 1182, du XIIIe s., propriété de Mazarin ([239])), sont conservées aux Archives Nationales à Paris, sous la cote M 829. La liasse est constituée, entre autres documents ([240]), de 199 feuillets (le 144 est manquant) contenant la traduction latine de deux panégyriques à Constantin Monomaque, des éloges de Michel Cérulaire (ainsi que son acte d'accusation devant le Synode), de Constantin Lichoudès et de Jean Xiphilin, de diverses lettres au César Doucas, à Romain Diogène, à Jean Xiphilin, etc. Une note de la première page nous renseigne sur la date à laquelle Combefis entreprit ses travaux : *P. Franciscus Combefis Ord[inis] Praedicat[orum] e greco latine reddidit ac scripsit 1670.* Une mention similaire figure à la page 199 : *P. Franciscus Combefis Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum e greco latine reddidit et notis illustravit 1679.* Comme le souligne Nicéron ([241]), c'est donc bien la mort qui empêcha Combefis de publier son édition de Psellos.

J.-P. NICÉRON, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres*, t. XI, Paris, 1730, pp. 185-196 (réimpr. Genève, 1971, t. II, pp. 340-343). Charles Perrault (voir l'édition de D. J. CULPIN, *Charles Perrault, Les hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle*, Tübingen, 2003, pp. 301-303) cite, sans mentionner le titre des ouvrages, les auteurs traduits et étudiés par Combefis.

(239) Pour une description de ce manuscrit, cf. P. GAUTIER, *Deux manuscrits pselliens : le Parisinus graecus 1182 et le Laurentianus graecus 57-40*, dans *REB*, 44, 1986, pp. 45-110.

(240) Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés aux Archives Nationales*, Paris, 1892, réimpr. Vaduz, 1979, n° 2287, p. 348 : «Notes et traductions latines diverses des *Annales* de Michel Hypertimos, de Léon Diacre, de discours de Psellus, de saint Maxime sur saint Denys l'Aréopagite, de Siméon Magister, de saint Jean Damascène. – Copies grecques diverses. – «*Patriarchae Constantinopolitani latini ritus*». Je n'ai pu consulter la liasse dans son entier, aussi n'ai-je pas de certitude, mais ne faut-il pas voir, sous le titre *Annales de Michel Hypertime*, la traduction latine que fit le père Combefis de la *Chronographie* de Michel Psellos ? Les notices 2288-2296 du catalogue donnent un aperçu des autres travaux du savant : lexique grec-hébreu, notes et extraits de Constantin Porphyrogénète, de Glycas, de saint Athanase, de Grégoire Palamas, etc.

(241) J.-P. NICÉRON, *o. l.*, pp. 193-194 : «Il devait aussi donner un autre volume contenant les ouvrages de Léon Diacre et de Michel Psellus, qui était prêt à paraître ; mais on ne l'a pas encore publié.»

Michaëlis Pselli, ad Monomachum Imperatorem (242)

I. O Imperator, qui Sol sis ! Ecquis uero mihi iure uertat crimini, quod hanc tibi apellationem conuenienti ratione aptauerim ? Nanquid enim non et ipse uirtutum orbe, motuque animi reciproco atque indolis ingeniique magnitudine ac pulchritudinis relucente splendore, omnem terrarum orbem magnifice luce affundis ? Quaeso autem ut temperatos hodie immittas radios, mihique meridianus consistas, minore scilicet orbe lucens ; non uero matutinus ac micatibus inaccessus, ne eximio ac praecellenti fulgore exterreas ac perstringas ; sed magis diuinam uim quandam inseras, moneasque et excites ut maiore fiducia inexplicabile lumen tuum ex aduerso obtuear. Nisi enim tu ipse ad sermones de te habendos diuino impetu afflatuque impleueris, occultasque animi parturitiones prouocans, prope tactum numine feceris ; quonam modo, diuino motus afflatu praemagnificarum tuarum dotum compos extiterim, quo paruis magna pensitem, breuique sermone immensis fuse spatiis tuae magnitudinis aequare me ipse contendam ?

II. Tu sane in sublimi praemagnificarum tuarum dotum axe consistens, splendideque clariores micatus fundens, tantis praestas, ut nec pulchritudinem nec magnitudinem obsequi liceat. Quin et philosophia et iurisprudentia arsque sophistica : illa quidem priorque e coelo, hae vero alteraque et tertia ex inferioribus nec a terra subductioribus orbibus, quasi ex condicto in unum tibi nunc praesto uenerunt, non ut tua iudicent atque explorent (quis enim regula amussique maiorem rectitudinem praesumat ?) sed ut uideant, mirenturque ac laudent, literasque ac eruditionem et facundiam obsequio adhibeant, ac uelut satellitio, ei, qui sublime horum decus extulit. Stant autem, ut uides, ualde anxiae ac uelut anhelantes sudoreque perfusae; anteque certamina ad defectionem spectantes et quae ab ipso iam limine uictoriam cedant. Haud tamen quod ex genio est atque indole mutauerunt. Verum philosophia quidem, ad interiorem animique decorem aciem intendit, orationisque intelligentiam ac sensum proponit. Iurisprudentiae schema, ipsum quoque alte tollit caput, ac Iovis libellis gloriatur. Postremo ars sophistica faceta est et gratiosa ac splen-

(242) Document conservé au Centre historique des Archives nationales à Paris, cote M 829.

dide ornata, quaeque multam suadae uim, illecebratque ac lepores uerbis ostendat.

III. Haec itaque omni hilaritate gratiososque sermones componet, genusque tuum ac prosapiam utrinque retexens, ab utroque admirabitur stipite. Conferet tibi et quae a patria laudi esse solent. Laudabit ortum in rerum naturam, ac stupebit quae in illo miracula contigere. De pulchritudine etiam nonnihil dicet, deque ea, quae in ipsa gratia honestasque relucet. Tua quoque ex mente exeuntes fontes attinget, ac quae lingua fluenta profert. Tua item indole ac ingenio oblectabitur, aptaque ac concinna corporis compositione. Diuinis prope laudibus tollet et tuas diuitias et fortunae molem, et potentiae abundantiam. Quid tum uero ? Arcana tibi oracula promet, fausta omina, uisiones arcanas ac apparitiones, clara uaticinia, arcano numine adstantes ac inuisentes coelestes potestates. Quodque ad haec caput est, diuinum hunc Imperii ortum adiunget.

IV. Haec quidem forte, atque his plura quam diceram, sophistices ars tibi loquatur, si modo uim non mentiatur. Philosophia uero alia quidem ut quae minus conducant ad uiuam uirtutis reddendam effigiem, haud suis uescanda ([243]) argumentis assumet ; alia uero, ne saepius repetens, uerbosa ac loquax uideri possit ; nec sustinebit in alio nunc, quam in tuo, te cultu habituque conspicere. Tu enim, diuinissime Auguste, mox atque uelut luminare quoddam Imperii currum conscendisti, et qui stellae uidebantur, cuncti delituerunt, necdumque aurigandi ui ac peritia prodita, uelut uictor quidam Olympiacus, uictoriae serta cunctis praeripuisti. Quemadmodum enim cum Sol ab oriente currum agitare uidetur, sidera reliqua suis quaeque curribus desilire non iniuria quis coniiciat ; sic nimirum te quoque Imperii habenas moderandas adepto, nemo extitit, qui aut pari tecum cursu contendere, aut ex aduerso currentem excipere auderet. Secus uero pentathlus tibi peractus est, omnique uictor certamine existi, nullo in arenam tibi successuro relecto aemulo. Haec tibi Imperii auspicatia ; haec, qua rerum summam iniisti, salutatio ; haec tibi imperandi artis prolusio.

V. Tum pro uictoria Deo faciens ac sacrificans, longe Empedoclem uictimae praestantia ac magnificentia superasti. Is enim, quod, sectae

(243) uescanda : *lectio incerta.*

Pythygoricae cum esset, animatis abstinebat ex odoratis speciebus bouem fabricans, exindeque rogo imponens, Indica fragrantia ac suffitu, Atticae oram impleuit ; nuncque adeo nouus sacerdos, Graecorum canticis celebris habetur philosphus. Tu uero, toto terrarum orbe ad panegyrim fruendam adacto, Deo quidem Imperii primitias, tuum ipse animum immolasti ; nempe uitulo saginato tuique causa immolato, incruentam hostiam rependens. Ac sane, quantum par erat cum iis qui ingressi essent festiue iocundatus, beatae felicisque fortunae cunctis fontes aperis, uenasque omnes glebae aureae obrutas refodis : plena denique ipsa flumina placidis inundantia fluentis ex Imperatoriis fontibus egeris : iterumque nubibus foecunda uena gignere imperans, Eliae in morem coelum clausum aperuisti, marique nouarum incorruptarum gratiarum effecto, non est quem laticibus non emundaueris. Sicque adeo hoc celebri omnium conuentu peracta laetitia atque epulo, secundos quoque longe augustiores auspicatus es crateras, multo nectare exuberantes : quo ipse quoque potatus, inter beatos ac fortunatos connumeror. Id uero quodnam sit, aperiam.

VI. Videbatur olim hereditaria quasi successione felicis ac infelicis fortunae origo procedere ; filiique a parentibus, eius diuersos suscipientes influentes gurgites pari in nepotes sorte deriuabant. Tu uero primus pessima hac distinctione confusa magisque moribus ac ingenio, quam prosapia atque genere felicis fortunae iuga librans, sortes nobis mutasti : ac nunc plures quis uideat nullo olim pennarum fultos remigio, in expeditos ad uolatum cessisse, proximeque tuam lucem axemque circumuolare. Non enim est, quem ex qualibet scientia aut arte, siue ulla alia facul<ta>te singulari excellentia praestantem, non honoribus non auxeris ac colueris. Tu sane et primum philosophum propense colis, quod principio non indigeat ; mathematicum, quod formas contempletur ; naturalem philosophum, quod principia elementorum corporis adinuenerit ; demonstrandi uim, quod iis utatur quae substantialia sunt, seu pertinentia ad essentiam ; dialecticae, quod syllogismis in utramque partem argumentetur ; sophistices, quod argutando ingeniose concludat ; harmonicum seu musicum, quod cinnorum rationes intellegat ; rhythmicum, quod proportionem nouit temporum.

VII. Tu porro iurisprudentiam ornasti, quod ciuitatum ac Reipublicae ornamentum est, materiamque, quae sit infinita, specie format eaque distinguit, dum uidelicet particularia tempora uelut fines certo ambitu rebus adhibet. Tu et oratoriae facultatis desiderio inarsisti, quod utrinque sorte

adoritur, figurisque ac cinnis uarietur. Tu et sagittarium laudasti, quod metam attingat ; iaculatorem, quod mittendo sagittam in scopum recta collineat ; ducem exercitus ac imperatorem, qui aciem clypeatam contineat ; propugnatorem seu principem (dextrum scilicet primae aciei cornu tenentem) qui fiducia polleat ; extremi agminis ductorem, qui cohortem seruet caueatque insidias.

VIII. Tu et corporis robur suspexisti, et animi fortitudinem ; subtile quoque machinarum inuentum, et linguae ambitum et orationis decus et artis uim et scientiae magnitudinem et lignorum architectonicis rationibus fabrefactionem et ingenii acumen et adultam formamque mentem et pudoris florem et graui aetate senum loquendi libertatem ; et silentium ex ratione, et sermonem silentio opportuniorem ; cunctaque ex genio aemulatus, ex omnibus te ipse composuisti. Sic enim Deus ad effigiem reddendam animum tuum mollem fecit, ut ad omnia felici ingenio transformeris ; sicque omne uirtutis genus in te ipse transferas, ut ad omnem facile rationem sermonemque apta compositione muteris.

IX. Cum te Barbarorum legatis responsa dantem conspicio, atque ad prouidae gubernationis genus aestimandum animum adiicio, ipsa re ipsa te artem agendique solertiae methodum reputo. Cum species causasque sortientem, et lites componentem atque arbitrantem, sententiasque ferentem, diuinam mihi iustitiam uidere uideor, et incorrupto illi tribunali coram adstare. Cum te habendis comitiis magistratuumque delectu exploro, prudentiam admiror mentisque sagacitatem ; ratione fultum iudicium, mentis sensum cui nulla fraude illudi possit. Cum in beneficia muneraque effuso aduerto animum, Atlanticum pelagus uideo, erumpentia ex Eden flumina, Dei inexhaustum fontem. Cum Titanas inuitum pene poenis subigentem cerno, qui uidelicet in coelum arcum tendant, ut te Dei filium (sic enim loqui liceat) in occultis atraque nocte sagittis conficiant ; cum gladium exacutum, uibratum ensem, accensas prunas, flammae ardentis eiaculantes radios ; cum iam Tyrannum in caput impelli in barathrum uideo, stricto in necem galdio admoueri, proiectum humi, qui carnificibus eruendos dimiserit oculos ; statim te in alium mutatum obseruo, qui homicidae reconcilieris, mitique oculo in Tyranni intendas dexteram.

X. Cum concionantem atque orantem audiero, Demosthenis linguam sentio ; Periclis, Polemonis, Platonis, Lysiae facundiam ; Isocratis Sirenas, Herodoti dulcidinem, Dionis linguam auream ; aures obtruo,

animi rationes inhibeo, ne sermonum tuarum exundantia diffluam. Cum adludentem atque gratias ...sentem (244) adiero, papae mulcentes illecebras, Pindari modulata carmina, Saphus lyra, Orphaei suada, Homeri Calliope, Anacreontis lingua, Musa organica, quanta gratia ac iucunditate repleor ! quam leni risu tuo afficior ! quanta hilaritate diffundor ! Cum serias agitanti curas oculum intendo, eique, qui contractis superciliis in se animo uersus sit, Xenocratis simulacra et Heracliti animo efformo, hominum scilicet unam morum seueritatem ac grauitatem spirantium. O quoties ex tua lingua sermonibus meis lepores quaesiui ! quantas inde corrasi uires ! quantas artes mutuatus sum ! quantas subtilitates effeci ! Reliqua omitto.

XI. Dum tuam erga magnum Antistitem reuerentiam cultumque considero, quem unxisti oleo exultationis, unguentoque consecrationis ad barbam usque ac uestimentum imbuisti, Dauidis erga Samuelem modestiam cogito. Nam neque uos illis minores estis. Vidi cum et amicorum afflictos casus defleres, tacitosque gemitus alto pectore traheres. Quo certe luctu Imperatricem prosecutus est nec locum, ut maiore uinci excessu possit, posteris reliquit ; ac siquidem doloris sensum forti animo laturum pollicitus fueris, ei enarrando tantisper immorabimur.

XII. Sed ecce nunc quoque confusus es, uultumque Solis in modum radiantem tristitiae nube obduxisti. Inclinasti enim et ipse, etsi non coelos (ut deus) at certe celsiores pectoris fines, tantumque descendisti, ac te ipse inclinasti, ut illius et nutibus subdereris et consiliis. Verum haec simulatio, cunctaque inania arguit illius secuta mors ? Sed, o inexhaustum lacrymarum fontem ! o nullis uerbis explicabilem luminum uim ! Defecerunt et nubes pluuias stillantes, steterunt quandoque et fluuii, perenni unda praecipitantes, duraque saxa aquarum guttis emollita cesserunt ; tu uero fontis in morem lacrymas scaturis : dum panderis, pullulas ; et dum consumeris, noua augmenta facis ; floresque, dum marcescis. Obliuionis tempus abs te irritum cessit. Qui enim semel eius memoriam alte animo infixeris, eam lacrymis rigas, ac uelut plantam iugis uitae semperque uirentem efficis. Quicquid enim in oculos incurrit, in eam sursum ducit ; templum, tumulus, purpura. Illius imaginem si aspexeris, ipsius formam in mente effingis ; si flammeum, sponsae capitis tegumentum, sacrum animo caput repraesentas ; si uestem atque amictum, concinnam

(244) ...sentem : *non possum legere.*

corporis recolis membrorumque proportionem. Si denique insulam iniuriaeque titulum cogitaueris, totis uelis e regia excedis. Quin et illius (quomodo dicam ? quomodo sustinuero ?) carceris desiderio affectus, in Imperatorias ipsum aedes ac tentoria commutasti. Nuncque adeo uelut ignis quidam e specula sublatus procul insula portu soluentibus irradiat, manumque porrigit, his, qui e pelago redeant, quos Romam tutissime deducit.

XIII. Ad haec uero quid philosophia etiam atque etiam promittit ? Nempe etiam potestatibus consertam esse, quae circa deum uersantur, tibique eam ubique adesse ac una comitem ire simulque procedere. At certe oculis diuinam eam rem ac caput uidere cupis ? Habes et illius haud obsurum simulacrum, haud inanes aut fugaces umbras, illius germanam ; illius sigillo expressam imaginem, illius claram eaque ductam imaginem. Haec tibi illius insinuet prodatque cum uirtutem, tum formam. Verum illuc iterum redeo.

XIV. Cum in mari, quae remis agantur, turres conspexero, uelut quosdam tumulos, udaeque substantiae in altum assurgentes eminentias, quarum cursum milleni remiges dirigant, hasque adeo solertis ingenii tui machinas inuentaque nouero, motu agitare montium culmina existimo, atque ad rei quidem inaestimabilem uirtutem diuino quodam furore agor, timeo uero ne rerum haec uniuersitas pariter moueatur, ac quo me uertam nescio. Cum autem etiam Persarum, Medorumque ac Babylonis inclytos duces ac praesides, quasi ex machina in tuam effusos ditionem illaque erumpentes uidero, cum his quibus somnia illudunt uersari mihi ipse uideor, nec raro oculos exploro ac tento. Tu uero quid ? Num illis fortuna grauior existis ? Longe sane etiam abest. Darii quidem haec et Xerxes, Cyrique et Ochi, qui et cognatorum affiniumque cruoribus dextras polluerunt ; tu uero etiam dexteram porr<ig>is ac iungis, tuoque nectare impartis, quin et quandoque oscula figis. Atque ut reliqua omittam, qui fiat ut prudentiam tuam consiliaque non suspiciam, quas ut potiantur magnatum uirorumque principum liberi uelut Gigantum quorundam proles, ad tuam sponte confluunt ciuitatem, tuique pars tribunalis atque asseclae fiunt ?

XV. Enimuero quis te nuncupans rite salutauerit ? Imperatorem ? At Imperatoriae quidem scientiae dignitatem conspicio ; fortunae uero ubi tumor ? Ubi Monarchiae fastus ? Aduersus ciuium uulgus insolentia

feroxque animus ? Superbi mores ac arrogantia ? Exercitus ducem illoque Imperatorem ? Verum clarae quidem uictoriae, nusquam uero ut glorieris, tibique ipse placeas earum nomine. Iudicem ? Atqui etiam eum qui sit condemnatus calculis delectari, et quod illic (245) causa cecidit, uideo : quinam uero fiat, ut hoc iudex possit ? Architectum ? At structarum tempus aedium, architectonices uincit regulas. Ingeniosum machinarum fabrica ? Ac quis Archimedes sic elementorum mutauit pondera ? Quis Libyam sitimque obruit inundante aqua ? quis integros fluuios in abruptam unam congregauit uallem ; subuexitque ac rursus depressit ? Quis udam substantiam motu sistere atque mouere, cum ei libuerit, tentauit ?

XVI. Ad me sane quod attinet, tua quidem etiam miror alia, nec quibus laudum sertis coronem, habeo ; quod autem etiam Imperium Romanum seruas incolume, nec tibi falsum nomen cedit (246), nec ipse falsi nominis illi princeps audis ; hoc nimirum summopere stupeo. Nunc enim nobis Imperii fines, non qui aliquando fuere cogniti. Non celebri nomine ac decantatae columnae, non insulae, non continens, cuiusmodi nouimus, sed quos libuerit, hos ipsi terminos nobis constituimus : eiusmodi scilicet, ut si ulterius procedere uelimus, nec materiam tentare audeamus. Quod si etiam intra istiusmodi fines Imperii sedes quidam nacti sunt, nihil plane mirandum : non enim illa nobis aduersantur ac contraria sunt, sed totius Imperii partes et membra, atque (ut sic loquar) fines totalitatis. Tametsi enim quis Aegyptiorum dixerit, tametsi Aethiopum, tametsi Indorum ; licet Scythas, licet Sauromatas, licet ipsos Hyperboreos, quorum capiti imminet sphaerae polus, eius pars Imperii sunt, quod a te regitur. Quamobrem alius aliunde uenit munera offerens, non ut olim fila Serica, non aurum in uestes et stamina uiolenter coactum, non uiridi coloris lapides pretiosos, roseumque ac quasi aurorae quidpiam rutilantes, sed animalium genera, quibus ii prae nobis abundabant, ac quorum nec uestigia cedere sustinebant, his, qui te priores, Romani Imperii arces tenuerunt.

XVII. Nunc quoque cum elephantem uideo, quem pari cum fabulis loco pridem habebam nec credendum ducebam ; medio ipso theatro ab

(245) illic : *lectio incerta.*
(246) cedit : *lectio incerta.*

auriga duci, ferro onustum ac cute inuulnerabilem, excelsum mole, forma prodigio similem ac immanem, fermis cruribus, uelut fundata habet, praegrandi mole (247) ad cursum institutum, qui proboscidi quasi manu utatur, eamque ad inferiorem mandibulam mollius frangat flectatque, Indi, eius animalis gratia supercilium cogito, quomodo uno capiti cubito extans ipsum haberet : ac sane diuino quasi furore ex aspectu corripior, ac patriae gratulor, quod talibus meruit honestari. Cum uero etiam in paradale camelum uidero, aut in camelo ceruum (simplex animal ac compositum) alte incedentem, ac uelut e machina ceruicem sublime tollentem, rursusque contrahentem ; animal bipes simul et quadrupes, quale Sphingis aenigma est, quod non quatuor alternatim pedibus ad motum instituat, sed binis utrinque procedat, stupeo, quomodo Aegyptii et Aethiopes, homines sic hisce animantibus affecti ac si diuinioris naturae essent atque indolis, in Romano hos solo incedere siuerint.

XVIII. Haec enimuero, quocunque ferant interim missa sunto : habeo enim arcanum quendam sermonem in symbolis manifestandum. At ego quid patior, qui et necdum certamina aggressus totus fatiscam, ac uix nunc tandem exordium salutans ? Verum mihi omnes fauete, quod ex iisdem mecum sermonis crateribus potati estis. Etiam si ad montis adhuc radices uersantem spiritus pene defecit, quid me fiet cum ascensum tentauero. Idcirco neque hunc praesumam (desipientis enim maleque sani capitis conatus hic) sed iis quae obuia sunt insistam. Quin hic quoque fauete, singulique, alius aliud quid ueluti laudationis symbolo, Viro magno conferte ; philosophi, ex philosophia rationibus compositos mores atque indolem ; oratores, facundiam ; solertes iurisprudentiae ui, legum scientiam ; ductores exercitus ac imperatores, acrem in imperatoriis consiliis decretisque ingenio uim ; musici, concinnos mores atque indolem ; ingenio cati sagacesque atque memores, eximia uirum indole supraque modum sublimi ingenio, obliuioneque indelebilem ; celeres animisque incitati, eum qui celeri mentis indole maturus prudentia est ; adolescentes, animi canos ; cani senesque, contentum infractumque mentis uigorem ac constantiam. Ad haec alia quoque liberalius addite, diuinis rebus lustrandis sapientiam, humanitatis fontem ac clementiae, iustitiae libram, in arduis malisque animi magnitudinem, imperterritum pectus quicquid accidat, animi modestiam ac lenitatem, accuratae mentis dili-

(247) fundata habet, praegrandi mole : *lectio incerta.*

gentiam, in magnificentia iustam mediocritatem, et in mediocritate magnificentiam.

XIX. Cum enimuero te magnifice sustolli uideo, ac uelut qui Imperii dignitate splendide fulgeas, imperatoriamque scenam ipse condideris, prope in nubibus sedentem conspicio, ac cum caligine atque turbine responsa edentem, diuinasque uoces mihi ipse audire uideor. Quare nec inaspectabilem caliginem subeo sed cum senioribus procul consisto, ne durioribus uerbis tanquam lapidibus feriar. Cum autem philosophantem scenaque deposita mitem conspexero, arcanam Dei in rem nostram inclinationem immensamque humilitatis altitudinem uideo. Nam licet etiam non lauisti amicorum pedes, at aegrotorum ulcera osculatus es, ac quidem albicantes tumores, seu pustulas, margaritarum loco tibi esse duxisti ; †fulcres† autem ac rubor coloris tanquam carbunculos igneque micantes lapillos habuisti.

XX. Quid uero qui religiosae exercitationis cursum in deum dirigitis illique seueriore disciplina ...etis ([248]), num et ipsi solennis conuentus pars mihi accedetis, nouique huius certaminis adiutores eritis ? Num, cuius mihi laudatio proposita est, ad actionis instantiam excitat, et ad celsa contemplationes prope alas addit ? atque horridam quidem uestram comam deuotiore mente osculatur, ac paludamentum lacernis mutat ? Meum obsignate sermonem Mons Sina, Imaeus, altissimus Athos, qui cunctis borealior Olympus est ; in quibus haud ille quidem hospes uersatus est, uos tamen illotos, atque humi pudore cubantes ad hospitium in regiam sibi pra<e>sto asciuit ac inuitauit. At quid faciam ? qua me ratione ipse continebo ? quomodo cogitationes reprimam ? Mox enim ac uelut in umbras tuas, fuero auspicatus laudes, mente me immutatum sentio, nec scio quid dicam. Diuino percitus furore sum, nec impetum cohibere possum. Quando autem furorem eiusmodi afflatumque cohibere non licet, in me ille flectatur, ut te quoque uelut ex aduerso certantem aemulumque conspiciam.

XXI. Alii quidem quibus eis placuerit te ex aduerso contendant ac admetiantur, ego sane, etsi uideor nouam quandam atque disparem comparationem inire, cum Sole comparando, apertam dabo similitudinem.

(248) ...etis : *non possum legere.*

Praestat Sol pulchritudine ac magnitudine estque orbicularis figura, ac motum duplicem habet, alterum quidem supra quam naturam illi comparatum est, qua ratione uniuersi lationibus perinde agitur ac circunfertur ; alterum uero ex natura : qui nimirum ad Orientem est, et qui ad Occidentem. Tu uero quid ? Nonne speciosus forma prae filiis hominum ? Nonne primi decoris particeps es in specie animae ? Nonne spiritalis tibi competit magnitudo, qua coelestes ipsos summos axes attingis ? Nonne dum mente gyro uersaris, tibi ipse par similisque existis ? Nonne uelut animae centro medio, primus motus est ac indiuisus ? orbis autem est, qua eam circunsistit intellegendi uis ? linea uero, quae ad eam ferunt uirtutes ? Nonne idem ipse a se sponte et ab alio mobilis ? nunc quidem ab Oriente primi Solis motu concitus, nunc uero a terrenae humilisque naturae uespere. Nonne instinctus ac afflatu motus ? num totus transmutatus Deique nutu actus ?

XXII. Quae uero corporis, quo se habent modo ? Nempe ut ualde affinia, Solique gemina. Aureis nimirum crinibus emicas ; coloribus colluces inimitabilibus ; uenustatibus splendescis inexplicabilibus ; omni cogitatu maioribus praeluces fulgoribus. Nunquid non Sol totus ? Nunquid non Sole splendidior ? Ita sane dixero. Atqui, Sol quidem, omnem petit locum, modo quidem ad Aquilonem ascendens, modo ad Austrum hiemali conuersione tendens. At quid sit noui ? Hoc enim et uolucris suo genio fecerit. Noster uero Imperator ab uno Orientis puncto, nullis uerbis explicabili fulgore cuncta replet. Licet et aliquid amplius in te reperire ; quod nempe Sol quidem obliquum deflexumque motum habeat, semel iterumque uertente anno recta in zona aequinoctionali consistens ; tibi uero motus nihil exerrans cursusque rectus ac indeflexus existit. Ac quidem Sol sub terram means, iterum redit ; tu autem extas semper ac nunquam occidis ; sin autem semel aliquando ad occasum ueneris, uereor ne id tandem mundi uniuersi interitus ac extinctio luminum futurum sit.

XXIII. Sic quidem ex re conuenientique ratione comparationem ipsi reddidimus ; quandoque uero etiam eius uim aliquatenus superauimus. Tu uero, o Imperator, philosophiae magis amator extiteris, eaque Imperium ornaueris, quam coelestis et apud deum originis sediumque, terrenae morae capere non potuerunt : nunc uero...

La fin manque.

RÉSUMÉ

L'article contient la traduction, précédée d'une brève notice introductive, et le commentaire du panégyrique 1 (éd. G. T. DENNIS) de Michel Psellos à Constantin IX Monomaque (1042-1055). Le discours s'ouvre sur les mots fameux «Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε», «Roi-Soleil», dont l'écho résonnera longtemps. On trouvera également la traduction latine donnée par le Père François Combefis au XVIIe siècle.

This article contains both a translation with a brief introductory note, and a commentary of the first panegyric (ed. G. T. DENNIS) of Michael Psellos to Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1055). The discourse starts with the famous expression «Ὦ βασιλεῦ ἥλιε», «Sun-King», words that will resonate through history. This work also includes a latin translation of the 17th century by Father François Combefis.

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ON THE VALIDITY OF THE THEORY OF SUPREME STATE OWNERSHIP OF ALL LAND IN BYZANTIUM

Introduction

The structure and dynamics of land ownership in Byzantium has attracted special attention as it rightly deserves, given its social, economic, and political significance. Nevertheless, the ensuing wide divergence of opinions regarding the nature and evolution of the landed property rights has resulted in sharp division among scholars. Essentially, two polar views have emerged. According to one strand of thought, the institution of private land ownership in Byzantium remained embedded in Roman law because of the uninterrupted continuation of the Roman empire in the East and the fact that the *Basilics* preserved the relevant provisions of the *Codex Justinianus* on private property ownership. Landholdings were always under the complete and absolute dominion of the owner (*dominium directum et utile*), reflecting the union of title ownership and exclusive use of the property. This meant that the owner had the unrestricted right to sell, bequeath, lease, exchange, or otherwise convey his property (1). In fact, "full" and "free" private ownership, in the

(1) K. E. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-roemischen Rechts*, Berlin, 1892, rp. Aalen, 1973, pp. 249-258 ; M. J. Sjuzjumov, *Ekonomiceskie vozzrenija l'va VI*, (Economic Views of Leo VI), in *VV*, 15 (1959), pp. 35-40 ; Id., *Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii* (Sovereignty, Tax and Feudal Rent in Byzantium), in *Anticnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* (hereafter *ADSV*), 9 (1973), pp. 57-65 ; Id., review of : A. P. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii X-XI vv* (Country and Town in Byzantium in the Ninth and Tenth centuries), Moscow, 1960, in *VV*, 21 (1962), pp. 210-213 ; G. G. Litavrin, *Problema gosudarstvennoj sobstvennosti v Vizantii X-XI vv* (Problems of State Property in Byzantium X-XI centuries), in *VV*, 35 (1973), pp. 51-74 ; Id., *Le problème de la propriété d'État en Byzance aux Xe-XIe siècles*, in *Βυζαντιακά*, 9 (1989), pp. 11-46 ; Id., *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv* (Byzantine Society and State in the 10th and 11th Centuries), Moscow, 1977, pp. 27-28, 36, 39, 41 ; A.

sense of total mastery over the property with the implication that the proprietor could not be deprived of his ownership without cause, preceded the formation of the Byzantine empire (2). Private property (lay and ecclesiastic) remained the predominant form of land ownership throughout the life of the Eastern Roman Empire, as small, middle and large size properties coexisted, albeit with changing proportional interrelationships over time. There has never been complete absorption of the free peasantry by large landowners, abuses notwithstanding, or total eclipse of large estates. On the other hand, the existence of unencumbered "freehold" properties, in the sense of not being subjected to communal or neighbor rights, is attested by the *Farmer's Law* and the *Treatise on Taxation* (3). All in all,

KAZHDAN, *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 84, 88 ; A. KAZHDAN and G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington DC, 1982, pp. 144-145. On the Justinianic concepts of possession and ownership which were introduced in the *Basilics* and preserved in the Byzantine normative law, see : *Basilics* (*Βασιλικά*), ed. I. D. ZEPOS, Athens, 1896-1900 (hereafter *B*), *B.* 50. 2. 1, 2, 7, 11, 59, 61 ; *B.* 50. 3. 3 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 30. 7, 8 ; *Synopsis Minor*, N. 13, 14 ; *Hexabiblos* (*Ἑξάβιβλος*), Ed. K. G. PITSAKIS, Athens, 1971, 2. 1. 1, 2, 3 and scholium, 4, 5.

(2) M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *K voprosu ob osobennostjach genezisa i razvitija feodalisma v Vizantii* (On the Question of the Genesis and Development of Feudalism in Byzantium), in *VV*, 17 (1960), pp. 3-16 ; ID., *Nekotorye problemy istorii* Vizantii (Some Problems of Byzantine History), in *Voprosy Istorii*, 3 (1959), pp. 102, 105.

(3) M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *O charaktere i sushnosti vizantijskoe obshiny po zemledel'ceskomu zakomu*, (On the Character and the Nature of the Byzantine Rural Community According to the Farmer's Law), in *VV*, 9 (1956), pp. 30, 34 ; ID., *Problemy ikonoborcestva v Vizantii* (Problems of the Iconoclasm in Byzantium), in *Ucenne Zapiski Svertlovskogo Pedagogiceskogo Instituta*, 4 (1948), pp. 48-110 ; P. LEMERLE, *Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Galway, 1979, pp. 51-52, 57, 182-187 ; J. DANSTRUP, *The State and Landed Property in Byzantium to c. 1250*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 8 (1947), pp. 234-35 ; G. ROUILLARD, *La vie rurale dans l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1953, pp. 95-97 ; F. DÖLGER, *Die Frage des Grundeigentums in Byzanz*, in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, 5 (1933), pp. 6-7, 9-10 ; J. DE MALAFOSSE, *Les lois agraires à l'époque Byzantine*, in *Recueil de l'Académie de Législation*, 19 (1949), pp. 38-40 ; A. A. VASILIEV, *On the Question of Byzantine Feudalism*, in *Byz.*, 8 (1933), pp. 596-597 ; M. LOOS, *Quelques remarques sur les communautés rurales et la grande propriété terrienne à Byzance (VIIe-XIe siècles)*, in *Bsl*, 39 (1978), pp. 3-18, esp. 12-14 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 135-137 and n. 3 ; ID., *La commune rurale byzantine*, in *Byz.*, 32 (1962), pp. 141-144, 147-148.

the theory that all land belonged to the emperor did not take hold in Byzantium (4). In this line of thinking, the very application of the principles of Roman law concerning the institution of private property implied that there was no legal foundation or latitude for complete imperial or state ownership of the empire's land – there was no *state dominium directum.*

The opposite and more controversial view advocates the emperor's, and by extension the state's, "supremacy" over all landed property in the empire regardless of how it was acquired by virtue of his imperial *dominium directum.* The emperor's supreme right to the land had legal foundation and was manifested by grants of estates to social groups as imperial favor, by his right to appropriate and redistribute landed properties at will, and by his approval for the legitimate acquisition of land. Moreover, the notion of "full" property ownership has been challenged on grounds that the owner of a property had in reality only *possession* – not ownership, while "free" (= absolute) property ownership was limited by institutional arrangements leading to divided ownership. Although the owner typically had the right to alienate his property, the state *controlled* private ownership including all derivative transactions. Thus, the state had the right to set conditions for the sale of land, shift the tax obligations of an absentee landowner to his neighbors, and even confiscate private properties by means of administrative decisions while the proprietor had no recourse to the law – a clear indication of the restricted nature of private ownership (5).

(4) D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Étatisme byzantin et expérience hellénistique*, in *Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 10 (1950), pp. 672, 674 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, pp. 41-44 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, pp. 14, 17, 18, 28, 45.

(5) M. G. PLATON, *Observations sur le droit de Προτίμησις en droit byzantin*, Paris, 1906, pp. 87-89 ; DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 240-244 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, pp. 5-15 ; ID., review of ZAKYTHINOS, *Étatisme* (see n. 4 above), in *BZ*, 45 (1952), p. 194 ; ID., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1927 ; rp. Hildesheim, 1960, p. 41, n. 5 ; A. GUILLOU, *La civilisation byzantine*, Paris, 1974, pp. 243-244 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 137-143 ; ID., *Sotsialnyy sostav gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (The Social Composition of the Ruling Class of Byzantium in the 11th and 12th Centuries), Moscow, 1974, pp. 228-235 ; ID., *State*, pp. 84, n. 4, 85-86, 88-91, 95-98 ; ID., *Do we Need a New History of Byzantine Law ?*, in *JÖB*, 39 (1989), pp. 14-17 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 145 ; K. WATANABE, *Problèmes de la féodalité byzantine*, in

Close examination of the arguments advanced by the proponents of the notion of imperial overlordship and their underpinning reveals specious constructs and postulates, misrepresentation of the nature of fundamental institutional arrangements (ownership, land tenure, taxation), detracting use or misuse of terms (confiscation, dependency, *hikanosis*) which had limiting and definite meaning, misreading of the sources, and argumentation *manqué*. These drawbacks tend to cast doubts on the conceptualization, logic, dispassion of the thinking process, and ultimately on the validity of the theory of supreme imperial/state land ownership, and call for a critical rethinking of the views expressed. An in depth analysis of the arguments put forward by both sides, proper translation and interpretation of misquoted legal and hagiographic sources, citation of supplementary primary materials, and submission of alternative explanatory hypotheses, an exercise not undertaken up until now, should provide useful insights and contribute to the acceptance or rejection of the theory by establishing a sounder analytical base and a higher level of cogency.

Critique of the theory of supreme state and ownership

M. G. Platon

Michael Platon postulates that private landowners, including the powerful, were *titular* owners since the fisc was "*le maître, le propriétaire éminent*" of all landed properties in the Byzantine communities. According to his reasoning, the villages that formed these larger communities were public villages (*vici publici*) under the sovereign authority (*dominium*) of the state by virtue of the fact that the landholders paid a charge composed of tax and rent to the fisc in return for the use of the land and the protection of their properties. Essentially, the otherwise alienable landholdings were both private and public : while they were nominally owned by individuals, they also belonged to the state (*δημόσιον*), since the land tax the *quasi*-proprietors paid, along with the required consent of the fiscal authorities for the disposition of landed properties, were recognition and sanction of the state's proprietorship – proof of its outright ownership right of these lands (6).

Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences, 5 (1965), pp. 32-40, 6 (1965), pp. 8-24 ; *ODB*, s.v. Property.

(6) Platon, *Observations*, pp. 75-76, 87-89.

The inferred nexus between tax payments on landed properties and supreme state ownership is forced, at best. In the first place, from the time organized societies were formed, the state levied taxes to enable it pursue its chosen objectives, including protection of private properties, by virtue of its sovereign power to govern. This agelong authority to levy taxes on landed property does not render the state *ipso facto propriétaire éminent* of all lands in the empire. Second, the alleged commingling of tax payment – the fulfilment of an obligation to the state governed by the principles of public law, and rent – a voluntary payment for the use of a tract of land governed by private law, could not lead to *quasi* co-ownership, as these terms had a definitive legal meaning, were subject to different enforcement rules, were clearly distinguishable, and certainly were understood by all parties concerned (7). Finally, the alleged duality of ownership is meaningless : one is either owner with *dominium directum* over his property paying a land tax to the fisc, or a lessee paying rent for a parcel of land belonging to the state or a private lessor. In fact, the tenor of the *Treatise on Taxation* leaves no doubt that the sovereign authority of the state was limited to the *collection* of taxes and/or rents from state lands and did not extend to ownership (8). In short, the propounded theory of derivative supreme state ownership, by equating the state's sovereign right to tax with state universal ownership of private property, unwarrantedly introduces a conjectural and hardly convincing proposition.

J. Danstrup

John Danstrup too entertains the view of the emperor's supreme ownership over land albeit, contrary to what has been suggested (9), he applies the concept only to waste or ownerless land and not to all land in the empire. He traces the origin of the concept to the Ptolemies in Egypt who regarded the entire land as their private property by divine right – royal land (*βασιλικὴ γῆ*). Private ownership of land under the Ptolemies was

(7) For an elaboration, see pp. 572-573 below.

(8) *Treatise on Taxation*, in DÖLGER, *Beitraege*, pp. 113-123.

(9) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 127 ; ID., *State*, p. 85, n. 9 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 145 ; H.-G. BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich, 2 (1970), p. 38.

theoretical, in the sense that the state leased parcels of land to its subjects for cultivation, the land reverting to the state once the lessee was in arrears or ceased cultivation ([10]). Put differently, the recipient of a tract of land was granted *conditional possession*, not ownership, as the land was forfeited to the Crown once the occupier failed to fulfil his obligations. The Ptolemaic concept of the emperor's supreme ownership and their land allocation system, following their adoption by the Romans, was extended to Byzantium ([11]). The emperors continued to possess extensive domains throughout the existence of the empire, some of which were transferred to magnates, the military, monasteries, the Church, and other philanthropic institutions, a process which was intensified from the 10th to the 12th century. Still, the state maintained *control* over the transferred lands as is evidenced by the frequent confiscations and re-endowments ([12]).

In Dunstrap's thinking, the practical expression of the lingering old-time theory of the state's supreme proprietary right to the land is manifested in several ways. First, by the fact that the term δημόσιος κανών in the *Treatise on Taxation* applied not only to land tax but also to πάκτον, i.e. the rent paid by private leaseholders of state or private land, a circumstance that would hold only if all land was leased by the state ([13]). Second, by the predominance of ἐμφύτευσις, i.e. the long term lease of state domains (up to three generations), as a form of the land tenure system, an institution deriving from the legal norms of the Orient and reflecting its influence on the government and the institutions of the Byzantines during the 5th and 6th centuries ([14]). Third, by the way the state addressed an issue of vital national importance : the persistence of otherwise tillable wastelands. In an effort to bring idle lands under the plow, the state took over neglected land from lay owners and monasteries on grounds that it reserved the right to reallocate such untilled properties, if the owner could not demonstrate that he had on hand the requisite man-

(10) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 240-241.

(11) *Ibidem*, pp. 240, 243-44.

(12) *Ibidem*, pp. 223-231.

(13) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, p. 241 ; *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, p. 123. 1-6. DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 143, and KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 139-140, raise the same issue. See also LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'état,* p. 16. On the term *kanon* (land tax), see DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, pp. 54-57 ; *ODB*, s.v. Kanon.

(14) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 240-242 ; *MM*, 3, pp. 237-239, 246.

power and financial means to cultivate the land ([15]). Finally, by the state's frequent "confiscation" of land declared as *klasmatic* ([16]). In light of these observations, Danstrup suggests the "possibility" of imperial sovereignty over land, a derivative effect of the "state's old right to the land", also found in oriental empires, albeit in this instance "as a right to ownerless land" ([17]).

The evidence Danstrup adduces to support his version of the imperial supreme ownership over land is unconvincing. The assertion that the *Treatise on Taxation* did not make a clear distinction between land tax and rent is correct, albeit explainable ; but the notion that they were approximately equal is incorrect ([18]). First, the convoluted passage in the *Treatise : τὰ ἀπαιτούμενα πάκτα ἐν τῇ διοικήσει δημόσιος ὑπάρχει κανών ... συνεισάγονταί τε καὶ ὁμαδεύονται ... ἀπαιτοῦνται γὰρ τὰ πάκτα ἀνὰ νόμισμα α΄ ... τούτων δὲ τῶν νομισμάτων τὰ μὲν ἥμισυ ὑπάρχει δημόσιος κανών, τὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἥμισυ συνήθεια, καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ παρακολούθησις. Ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὑπεραπαίτησις σωματωθεῖσα*, should be rendered as follows : the revenue the fisc collects from state lands under lease arrangements and private landed properties in the tax districts lumps together taxes and rents .... both the rent on leased lands and the tax on properties amount to one *nomisma* [per ten *modii* of land] ; but of the tax rate of one *nomisma*, half is the land tax and half the *συνήθεια* [a fee paid to state officials for collecting the tax] and other related charges [such as the *ἐλατικόν* (a fee for traveling expenses)], and possibly an excess tax ([19]). *Πάκτον* in this context refers to leaseholders' and taxpayers' *obligation* to the fisc as a *combined* source of revenue, with the implicit (but obvious) distinction that property owners pay tax and lessees pay rent. The *Treatise on Taxation* does not refer to rents pertaining to pri-

(15) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 239-240. Poorly managed military properties were also subject to confiscation and reallocation to more productive soldiers.

(16) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 251-52. *Klasma* was land escheated to the fisc because of the disappearance of its taxpaying owner(s). See pp. 575-576 and n. 32 below.

(17) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, p. 240.

(18) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, p. 241. DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 143, and KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 139, concur that land tax and rent were identical and their rates were about equal.

(19) *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, pp. 123. 1-8 ; 122. 15-18, 21-31 ; 115. 8-9.

vately held leasehold lands but only to those derived from land leased by the state (20). Since the state was both landlord and lessor, the distinction between rent and tax could easily be blurred but they did not lose their individual character (21). Substantively, therefore, land tax and rent were distinguishable *de jure* and *de facto,* and there is nothing to suggest that their commingling, emanating from the *method* of their collection, reflected the supreme proprietary right of the state to the land of the empire. As to the rent (*πάκτον*) for arable land (private and public), from the 11th to the 14th century it amounted to one *nomisma* per ten *modii* of land (22). However, rents could vary depending on whether the lessor was the state or a private individual, the social status of the tenant, local customs, land fertility, and other non-economic factors (23). On the other hand, the land tax was all-inclusive, incorporating the land tax and assorted fees related to tax collection. This suggests that the *effective* land tax and the rent were about the same, both amounting to one *nomisma* in normal circumstances. However, this was true only for the individual taxpayer who paid the all-inclusive tax but not for the fisc at the receiving end. The fisc collected the land tax but not the collectors' fees, its proceeds amounting to only half the effective land tax. Thus, in reality the rent was twice the amount of the tax (24).

By the end of the 5th century, the institution of *emphyteusis* had developed into a specific type of written contract governing long term, usu-

(20) Cf. LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État,* p. 16 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 155.

(21) E. LEVY, *West Roman Vulgar Law : The Law of Property*, Philadelphia, 1951, p. 44 ; *ODB*, s. v. Pakton ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1966, 1, p. 211. Incidentally, the annual rent (*πάκτον, μίσθωσις*) in legal texts dealing with *emphyteusis* was also referred to as *κανών* or *τέλος* = tax, suggesting an inconsistent use of terminology. *Ecloga Legum*, 12, 3 ; *B.* 5. 2. 1, 10 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 12. 7 ; *Epitome*, 7. 11, 35 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 33 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 4. 8.

(22) *Treatise on Taxation,* in *Beiträge*, 115. 8-9 ; *MM*, 6, p. 6 : *ὀφείλει χωροπακτίζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα μοδίων τὸ νόμισμα* ; *ODB*, s. v. Rent.

(23) *ODB*, s.v. Rent.

(24) LITAVRIN maintains that, having confiscated abandoned parcels of land, the fisc leased them at a rent which was double the tax. The reason offered is that "the land now belonged to the state and not to individuals who used to pay the tax before". *Propriété d'État*, pp. 16-17. The approach is different and the conclusion correct but the reasoning is not quite informative.

ally perpetual, leases applicable not only to state lands but to holdings of private and ecclesiastic landlords as well. However, in the wake of extensive sales and donations of *klasmatic* lands to laymen and monasteries after the 7th century ([25]) and the significant decline of state *paroikoi* after the 10th century ([26]), *emphyteusis* appears to have been used primarily in leases pertaining to monastic landholdings ([27]). The significant change in the use of *emphyteusis*, the subtle but legally distinct difference between *emphyteusis* and *dominium* ([28]), and the dramatic shift in jurisdiction from state regulations (public law) to private law greatly attenuated the alleged link between this institution and the imperial supreme ownership over all land.

Danstrup's argument about the state's persistent effort to bring wasteland under the plow by removing it from its legitimate owners when the latter were ill-equipped to exploit its full potential does not square with his own doubts whether in reality the "confiscation" of large tracts of monastic lands by the emperors had the character of appropriation. He suggests that, more accurately, they were *charistikia*, in the sense that the land was turned over to the emperor "as guardian", to be administered by the office in charge of his domains ([29]). However, there is no evidence that monasteries ever granted *charistikia* directly to the emperor or that he ever assumed such stewardship. Impoverished monasteries *ex necessitate rei*, and hence voluntarily but with appropriate permission, surrendered their unremunerative land to wealthy landowners or rich monasteries (*charistikarioi*) for a restricted period, usually a lifetime, to manage and restore its productive capacity. The *charistikion* did not create a property ownership right but only conferred a *conditional* right of *use*, the benefi-

(25) *Actes de Lavra*, ed. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSANTHOU, Paris, 1970, 1, nos 44. 24 ; 49. 8-10 ; A. HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 57-59 ; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), p. 137.

(26) See pp. 628-629 below.

(27) *B.* 5. 2. 6 ; LEVY, *Vulgar Law*, pp. 79-80.

(28) *CJ*, 4. 66, 1-3 ; *Ecloga Legum*, 12, 1-6 ; *Prochiros Nomos*, 15. 1-6 ; *B.* 5. 2. 1, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14 ; *Epitome*, 7, 33-42 ; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 8. 1-5 ; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 14. 1-4 ; *Synopsis Minor*, 5. 42 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 4. 1-10 ; *ODB*, s. v. Emphyteusis ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 7 ; LEVY, *Vulgar Law*, pp. 43, 47, 79, 80.

(29) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 232-233.

ciary wielding only administrative authority over the monastic lands to enable him discharge his obligations ([30]). More often than not, the transfer of monastic properties was sanctioned by a chrysobull as a practical device to thwart potential abuses (e.g., usurpation by *charistikarioi*, excesses by tax assessors and collectors) because they bore the imprimatur of the emperor — albeit not a foolproof one ([31]).

Regarding the "confiscation" of abandoned lands (*klasmata*), the state's intervention was based on laws in force which established the state's policy and the procedures whereby the law was to be implemented. To deal with a nagging problem which hampered the growth of agricultural production with adverse effects on the food supply and tax revenue, the *Treatise on Taxation* stipulated that if the owner(s) or their heir(s) of abandoned land did not return within thirty years, the land became *res nullius* and reverted to the state becoming a *klasma.*

(30) The right of granting *charistikia* belonged to emperors, patriarchs, metropolitans, founders of monasteries (including laymen), and high-ranking state officials. *B.* 5. 2. 6. On the institution of *charistikion*, see P. CHARANIS, *The Monastic Properties and the State* in *the Byzantine Empire*, in *DOP*, 4 (1948), pp. 72, 81 ; H. AHRWEILER, *La concession des droits incorporels. Donations conditionnelles*, in EADEM, *Études sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance*, London, 1971, Variorum Reprints, Part I, pp. 107-109 ; EADEM, *Charisticariat et autres formes d'attribution de fondations pieuses aux Xe-XIe siècles*, in *Zbor.*, 10 (1967), pp. 1-27 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *La Pronoia. Contribution à l'étude de la féodalité à Byzance et chez les slaves du Sud*, in *Byz.*, 22 (1952), pp. 451-454 ; VASILIEV, *Feudalism*, p. 587 ; J. LEFORT, *Une grande fortune foncière aux Xe-XIIIe s. : Les biens du monastère d'Iviron*, in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles)*, Rome, 1980, p. 730 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, p. 28 ; *ODB*, s.v. Charistikion. On abuses and opposition to this institution, see Patriarch John of Antioch, *Notitia*, in *PG* 132, coll. 1129, 1132, 1137, 1140, 1144 ; P. GAUTIER, *Réquisitoire du Patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat*, in *REB*, 33 (1976), pp. 77-132 ; G. A. RHALLES and M. POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, p. 614 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, pp. 72-81 ; AHRWEILER, *Charisticariat*, pp. 12-13, 18-19, 22-23. On measures to fend off abuses, see RHALLES and POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, pp. 594-596 ; J. P. THOMAS, *A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement*, in *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, 12 (1984), pp. 1-16. The institution of *charistikion* is discussed in greater detail in pp. 601-602 below.

(31) Alexius I Comnenos did not hesitate to confiscate monastic lands which had been granted for life as *charistikia* and give them to his followers as *pronoiai*. A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1958, 2, p. 479 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, p. 72.

Klasmatic land could be sold, donated, leased, or become part of the state's domain, so that its productive capacity could be maintained (32). Clearly, the state acted within its judicial capacity and "confiscation" in this instance is a misnomer. The very fact that there was a thirty-year waiting period before land could legally be taken away is indicative of the state's respect for private ownership – private property could be seized only for cause. Were the emperor supreme landowner, there would be no reason for him to promulgate laws to resolve the issue of abandoned or ownerless lands since, if the theory is correct, he already had this authority. Indeed, as omnipotent owner he would have ended up appropriating his own property – a *non sequitur*. Nor did the fact that the emperor enjoyed sovereign immunity, i.e. he was above the law (33), invest him with ownership rights to the empire's land. In this instance, the owner had abandoned his land with no intention of returning to possession (*derelictio*). Thus, the emperor reallocated abandoned lands whose owners in effect had *relinquished* their ownership rights.

Beside the arguments already called into question, Danstrup acknowledges an array of telling facts that undermine further his version of the theory of imperial sovereignty over landed properties. They include : the subjection only of waste or ownerless land to supreme imperial ownership, which accounted for a fraction of the empire's land ; the unmistakable legal and practical distinction between imperial, state and privately (secular and ecclesiastic) owned landed properties (34), the intention being

(32) *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, 116. 2-17 ; 118. 1-2, 119. 1-8 ; 119. 33-37 ; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten*, (known as the Zavorda Treatise) in *Polychronion, Festschrift F. Doelger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 321-322 ; Novel 2 (922) of Romanus I in *JG*, 1, p. 203.

(33) *Ὁ βασιλεὺς νόμοις οὐχ ὑπόκειται* (the king is not subject to the laws) : *B.* 2. 6. 1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum, B.* 3. 1 ; *Epitome*, 1. 29 ; *Synopsis Minor*, B. 42 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 1. 39.

(34) The distinction between *βασιλικόν* and *δημόσιον* had not been confused in the legislation at least until the mid-11th century. Novel 51 of Leo VI, in *JG*, 1, pp. 120-121 ; *Peira*, 36. 2, 5 ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 186 n. 2. The long-standing tradition of exclusive imperial estates continued until the end of the empire. However, since early in the 12th century, from lands belonging to the state the emperors retained and operated very large farms while they distributed sizable estates as *pronoiai*. This policy tended to blur the distinction between imperial and state landholdings. N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy*, in A. E. LAIOU, ed. *The Economic History of*

to augment the imperial family's estates as evidenced by the schemes the emperors employed to appropriate state and private lands (encroachment upon adjacent private properties or arbitrary transfer of domains from the fisc to the crown) ([35]) ; the emperors' longstanding possession of extended domains throughout the life of the empire ([36]), and their expansion through confiscation of properties belonging to monasteries, private landowners, and political opponents or traitors, conquest or recovery of new territories, or purchases from private landholders ([37]) ; and the domination of the great lay and monastic landowners, which enabled them to take over "a great part of the power of the emperors together with their

Byzantium (Washington DC, 2003), 3, pp. 1006, 1048-1049. Further, it is not clear whether confiscations of particular properties, e.g., belonging to conspirators, ended up in imperial or state domains. See also n. 37 below.

(35) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 223-224 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, pp. 39-45. See also n. 31 and 37.

(36) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, p. 223.

(37) *Peira*, 36. 2 ; THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1838, pp. 416. 23 - 417. 2 ; DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 223, 225, 226 ; M. KAPLAN, *Les propriétés de la Couronne et de l'Église dans l'empire byzantin, V^e^-VIIe siècles*, Paris, 1976, pp. 10, 15 ; G. R. MONKS, *The Administration of the Privy Purse*, in *Speculum*, 32 (1957), pp. 749-753 ; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Bolgaria i Vizantija v XI-XII vv* (Bulgaria and Byzantium in the 11th and 12th Centuries), Moscow, 1960, pp. 138-151; ID., *Propriété d'état*, pp. 29-30, 36 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 131, 137. Nicephorus I (802-811) reportedly purchased land belonging to those whom he forced to emigrate and settle in Slavic regions : THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883, 1, p. 486. 10-13 ; CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1839, 2, p. 37 ; he appropriated properties from bishops and monasteries which he incorporated into the imperial estates : *τὰ δὲ κρείττονα τῶν κτημάτων εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν κουρατωρείαν αἴρεσθαι* : THEOPHANIS, *Ibidem*, p. 487. 2-3 ; CEDRENUS, *Ibidem* ; ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, ed. M. PINDER, Bonn, 1897, 3, p. 306 ; and forced seamen who had no farming experience to purchase fields he had taken over : THEOPHANIS, *Ibidem*, p. 487. 14-17 ; ZONARAS, *Ibidem*, 3, p. 307 ; CEDRENUS, *Ibidem*, 2, p. 38 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 40. Basil I (867-86) also transferred a number of estates from the state domain to his private property : THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, p. 337 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 40. Theodore I Laskaris (1204-1222) confiscated monastic properties which he transferred to the state or granted as *pronoiai* : *MM*, 4, pp. 185-187, 217-218 ; *MM*, 6, pp. 166, 176-179, 180-182 ; NICEPHORAE GREGORAE, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. L. SCHOPIN, Bonn,1829, 1, pp. 41. 24-25, 42. 1-6 ; H. GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *La politique agraire des empereurs de Nicée*, in *Byz*,., 28 (1958), pp. 56-57 ; M. F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 104-106, 231. See also n. 31 above.

lands", as the emperors were forced to cede landed properties in the form of donations or *pronoiai* to secure or maintain their allegiance ([38]). If anything, the confluence of these factors point to an imperial behavioral pattern reflecting *abuse* of power that alters significantly Danstrup's account, in the sense that such actions would have had no place and no meaning in a regime where the emperor was the supreme landowner, while by themselves fail to underpin the claim that the emperor was the eminent proprietor. If the emperor was the supreme proprietor, then logically "confiscations" by the emperor or the fisc would have been legitimate actions emanating from his *dominium directum* and there should have been no vilification. In short, the possibility that the theory of imperial sovereignty over all land took hold in Byzantium, even in the limited form suggested by Danstrup, is not substantiated. On the contrary, the chronicled impulsive imperial behavior of unlawful land takeovers points to sheer *abuse* of imperial sovereign power, a pattern that does not comport with the notion of imperial supreme overlordship.

A. Guillou

André Guillou also espouses the view that in reality the Byzantine state was the owner of all landed properties, as reflected in its keen interest in enhancing the land's productive use and value. In theory, his view is based on the Christian thought that the emperor is charged with the task of just distribution of all material goods, and that the state organs manage all productive resources for the benefit of the citizenry. In practice, he infers without elaboration from a statement by Alexius I Comnenos whereby, in an exchange with the monk Cyril Phileotes, he asserts that the land held by the monastery belonged to the state regardless of how it was acquired. According to Guillou, the acquisition of landed property by donation, purchase, exchange or inheritance did not convey ownership. The real owner of the property was the state and, by virtue of his supreme ownership right, the emperor administers the public land and distributes the revenues from its exploitation at will. Indeed, there were no owners in the sense of the Roman law but only *possessors* of various classes in Byzantium. This explains how the state could confiscate the property of

(38) DANSTRUP, *Landed Property*, pp. 224, 226, 227, 229-231, 236-237, 261-262. On the institution of *pronoia*, see pp. 614-616 and n. 193 and 194 below.

a rebel, take over without a court decision anybody's land, or compel one to exchange his property simply by administrative action. By the same token, the emperor rewarded lay and ecclesiastic dignitaries by granting land, peasants or revenues, but these concessions were considered as rescindable gifts of the prince ([39]).

The theocratic view of the emperor's supreme land ownership by divine right and of his function as resource allocator in Byzantium is disputed. Though the emperor is the God's representative on earth and wields earthly authority, the nation's wealth (*πλοῦτος*) does not belong to him but to his subjects ([40]). The implication is that imperial landholdings and privately owned landed properties were distinct and the emperor had no ownership right to the latter. On the other hand, the absence of a link between confiscations and supreme ownership right has already been discussed ([41]), while the misperception of the thrust of the exchange between the emperor and the monk which underpins Guillou's unsubstantiated view of imperial supreme ownership is discussed in detail below ([42]).

F. Dölger

Franz Dölger maintains that the emperor's sovereignty over all landed property *(Oberherrschaft des Kaisers ueber allen Grundbesitz)* had a legal foundation, being embedded primarily in Novel 29 (996) of Basil II ([43]) which institutes the right of the fisc (*τοῦ δημοσίου*) to lay claim on all lands in the empire ([44]). Yet, perusal of Novel 29 indicates

(39) GUILLOU, *Civilisation byzantine*, pp. 243-244 ; ID., *Italie méridionale byzantine ou byzantins en Italie méridionale* ? in *Byz.*, 44 (1974), p. 174.

(40) DEMETRIUS CHOMATIANOS, *Πόνημα*, n° 10, *Analecta Sacra et Classica*, ed. J. B. PITRA, Rome, 1891, p. 477.

(41) See pp. 575-578 above and in greater detail in the pages below.

(42) See pp. 583-587 below.

(43) *JG*, 1, p. 269 *δ'*.

(44) F. DÖLGER, in his review of ZAKYTHINOS' article : *Étatisme* (see n. 4 above), in *BZ*, 45 (1952), p. 194, rejects Zakythinos' view that the theory of *βασιλικὴ γῆ* did not survive in Byzantium. KAZHDAN also interprets Basil's II Novel as upholding the view that the Byzantine law considered all land as belonging to the state ; that land was granted by the emperor to whomever fulfilled his obligations to the state ; and that the emperor could seize any private landed property at will. *Derevnja*, pp. 139-140 and n. 78. For a critique of Kazhdan's assertions, see p. 582 and the following pages.

that the relevant passages establish the right of the emperor, and by extension of the state, to seize *only* properties that had been usurped from the fisc declaring their possession null and void (*ὅσα δὲ παραλόγως καὶ πρὸς περιγραφὴν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ δημοσίου] ἀνίσχυρα μένουσι*). Moreover, the Novel stipulates that the statute of limitations is not applicable to claims of the fisc on such lands. At the same time, the Novel affirms that properties acquired rightfully and not by defrauding the fisc are viewed as legally obtained, and their titles of ownership are binding under the law (*ὅσα μὲν οἱ τοιοῦτοι καλῶς καὶ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μὴ πρὸς περιγραφὴν τοῦ δημοσίου ποιήσουσι, βέβαια καὶ κεκυρωμένα ἔσονται*). Clearly, the Novel provides no grounds for Doelger's assertion. In the first place, the Novel did not aim to lay claim on every landed property, but solely to lands which belonged to the fisc and demonstrably had been fraudulently appropriated. Second, the emperor presents himself in the Novel as custodian of the fisc's property rights and as the legally empowered authority to protect them : *εἰ χρή τι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δημοσίου εἰπεῖν, ὅταν ὁ βασιλεύειν λαχὼν βοηθείῃ, ἵν' ἔχῃ ἐπ' ἀδείας τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητεῖν καὶ ὡς ἀρεστὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα διοικεῖν* (should there be reason for action to defend the rights of the fisc, the reigning king should have the authority to reclaim properties of which it was deprived and manage them as he sees fit). Third, in the Novel the emperor refers to himself *not* as overlord of all landed properties but in his capacity of overseer of the fisc (45). Finally, the nonapplicability of the statute of limitations to usurped state lands only meant to safeguard the state's interests and in no way established overall state land ownership rights as alluded (46).

In the same vein, referring to the *Treatise on Taxation*, Doelger argues that "the state exercised its sovereign right of ownership over the land"

(45) BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, p. 40.

(46) The stipulation of the Novel concerning the statute of limitations is included in a more precise formulation in the legal texts which reflected the jurisprudence from the eleventh to the fourteenth century : *εἰ γὰρ παρακατάσχωσί τι τῶν δημοσίων, οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸν χρόνον βοηθόν* (when property of the fisc has been usurped, the culprits cannot invoke the statute of limitations). In fact, the fisc can repossess such property from their heirs even though they may have not profited. *Peira*, 8. 10 ; 36. 14 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 3. 52. Cf. BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, p. 40 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, pp. 17-18 ; SJUZJUMOV, review of Kazhdan's : *Derevnja*, p. 214.

when a peasant was absent from the property for thirty years, as the land was taken over by state ([47]). But as has been already remarked ([48]), the state's action on deserted lands was based on laws in force which were or presumed to be common knowledge ([49]). Put differently, the state's intervention did not emanate from the alleged supreme ownership over all land ; rather, it was the consequence of deliberate actions taken (or not taken) by otherwise informed landholders, in effect *surrendering* their property rights to the state for their own reasons.

As further evidence of the emperor's sovereignty over all landed properties, Doelger calls attention to the vast imperial and state-owned estates with their extensive administrative apparatus that were a feature of the Byzantine empire in all periods. Moreover, the emperor's sole proprietorship of the empire's land is attested by the fact that all property titles granted to the military, dignitaries and monasteries were based on imperial favor ([50]). He also points to state ownership of numerous pious institutions and monasteries founded or endowed by the emperors, whose holdings were increased by frequent donations and bequests of land by the faithful, thereby indirectly augmenting the state-owned domains ([51]). Yet, the founding and endowment of a monastery by an emperor cannot peremptorily be presumed to establish supreme land ownership since, by canon law, ecclesiastic property was inalienable ([52]) and, hence, the emperor had no *dominium directum*. Also, if private properties were conveyed to monasteries following prescribed and rigorously enforced procedures to ensure legal transfer of ownership title, then the argument that all land was owned by the state makes no sense. In particular, the systematic efforts of the monasteries and the Church to solicit donations and bequests, their struggles to protect their properties from contestants and transgressors through appeals to the emperor and eagerly sought chryso-

(47) DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 10.

(48) See above pp. 575-576.

(49) *Ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἄγνοια οὐ συγγινώσκεται* (unfamiliarity with the law is no excuse). *Epitome*, 3. 1 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 1. 43, 44.

(50) DÖLGER, review of ZAKYTHINOS' : *Étatisme*, p. 194 ; ID., *Der Feodalismus in Byzanz*, in *Vorträge und Vorschungen*, 5 (1960), pp. 185-193.

(51) DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, p. 41, n. 5.

(52) Sale of ecclesiastic property was allowed only for the payment of debt to the fisc and with the approval of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. *B.* 5. 2. 9 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 3. 20 ; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 8. 9, 11, 13 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 10 ; M. 80 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 120.

bulls or outright litigation as is amply documented in Athonite archives ([53]), and their recourse even to reprehensible actions to augment their landholdings ([54]) suggest that the institution of private ownership was deeply embedded in the Byzantine economic and social setting and runs counter to the notion of imperial supreme land ownership. Imperial estates owed their existence and growth to doweries, purchases, inheritance, acquisition of new territories, aside from occasional underhanded deals, while the state domain was enlarged by additions of *klasmatic* lands, escheats, or confiscations of properties belonging to criminal elements — modes that do not lend support to the theory of imperial supreme proprietorship.

A. Kazhdan

Alexander Kazhdan is the most ardent advocate of the imperial/state sovereignty over all land in Byzantium, and provides the most comprehensive albeit unsystematic treatment of the subject. In his writings he places great emphasis on the decisive role of the state and the emperor as its representative. The emperor was not only "the living law" but also the sole source of administrative authority. The notion that the Byzantines were governed by the norms of the Roman law concerning property rights is incorrect as substantial changes had taken place in crucial areas after the 10th century. To understand the development of the law of property rights one cannot rely on the *Basilics* and has to turn to state practices as depicted in non-juristic and hagiographic texts ([55]). While the individual had an unrestricted right to buy and sell fixed assets, acquisition of itself did not constitute real ownership, at least in the case of land ; it could be legitimized only by "imperial grant" or "approval(confirmation)" of the authorities ([56]). Hence, the emperor "acquired supreme right to the land" and any parcel he entered could be declared imperial property, in effect being *de facto* the owner of all landed properties ([57]). And "since the state or the emperor was considered the supreme owner of the whole territory

(53) See pp. 583-588, 592-594 and n. 69, 70, 72, 97, 98 below.

(54) See p. 586 and n. 72 below.

(55) KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 14.

(56) A. KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes*, in *Byz.*, 56 (1986), p. 161 ; ID., *Derevnja*, pp. 140-141 ; ID., *Sostav*, p. 233 ; ID., *New History*, p. 15.

(57) KAZHDAN, *New History*, pp.14-15 ; *ODB*, s.v. Law.

of the empire, the state or the emperor was entitled to confiscate private property. Neither magnates nor the church institutions were exempt from foreclosure" ([58]). Significantly, while in the late Roman empire confiscations were mostly perpetrated by corrupt fiscal officials ([59]), in Byzantium they were a "regular practice" ([60]). Furthermore, Kazhdan identifies major restrictions to free property ownership which in a broad sense include : the state's right to set the conditions for the alienation of private land ; obligation of the neighbours to pay the taxes of absentee landed property owners ; and institutional arrangements that led to dilution of the full powers of ownership, all contributing to the prevailing ambivalence of the land tenure system ([61]). In formulating his version of imperial supreme land ownership, Kazhdan relies on earlier proponents of the theory but puts forward novel postulates and arguments in an attempt to substantiate his thesis ([62]).

Kazhdan's assertion that much greater emphasis was placed on the role of the state and the emperor in the second millennium than in earlier times is overstated. Fourth century legislation already points to Byzantine absolutist tendencies ([63]). *Codex Theodosianus* (5th century) was a powerful body of administrative laws reflecting the forceful efforts of an early Byzantine emperor to form an absolutist state as well as the emperor's absolute administrative authority. Justinian also had a concept of an autocratic but paternalistic state concerned with the well-being of the citizen-

(58) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 97 ; A. P. KAZHDAN and A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985, pp. 59-60.

(59) MONKS, *Privy Purse*, pp. 755-763, 778.

(60) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 98 n. 68.

(61) KAZHDAN, *New History*, pp. 14-21 ; ID., *State*, pp. 88-89, 90-91.

(62) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 127, 139 ; ID., *State*, p. 85, n. 9. B. T. GORYANOV, *Vizantijskoe krest'janstvo pri Paleologach* (Byzantine Peasantry under the Palaeologoi), in *VV*, 3 (1950), pp. 45-46 ; M. M. FREIDENBERG, *Agrarnye otnoshenija v Vizantii X-XII vv* (Agrarian Relations in Byzantium in the XI-XII Centuries), Moscow, 1952, p. 3 ; and E. E. LIPSIC, *Vizantijskoe krest'janstvo i slavjanskaja kolonizacija* (Byzantine Peasantry and Slav Colonization), in *Vizantijskij sbornik* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), pp. 96-143, also subscribe to the view that, at least in theory, all land in Byzantium was state property.

(63) M. T. FOEGEN, *Legislation in Byzantium : A Political and Bureaucratic Technique*, in A. E. LAIOU and D. SIMON, ed., *Law and Society in Byzantium : Ninth-Twelfth Centuries* (Washington DC, 1994), p. 60.

ry, and proclaimed that the emperor is the living law, has absolute authority to change existing and promulgate new laws, and that it is the emperor's prerogative and responsibility to correct the inadequacies of prior laws and to interpret the law (64) – notions that largely prevailed throughout the Byzantine era. Contrary to Kazhdan's view, the role of the state and the power of the emperor were progressively attenuated with the growth of a powerful provincial landholding class after the 10th century. Their advent and countervailing power challenged the emperor's omnipotence and fostered particular relationships with the emperor, as the latter was forced to make concessions to secure the allegiance of an array of powerful individuals and the clergy.

Kazhdan maintains that the state's sovereign ownership (*dominium directum*) is manifested, *inter alia*, by the fact that determination and transfer of title of ownership needed the approval (confirmation) of the authorities, and by the emperor's right to confiscate land belonging to lay and even ecclesiastic landowners (65). To support his viewpoint, Kazhdan culls evidence from hagiographic and legal sources. In a dialogue between Alexius I Comnenos and the abbot Cyril Phileotes, the emperor wanted to know who was the owner of the small cloister : "*Ἡ δὲ μονὴ αὕτη ἡ μικρά τίνος ἐστίν, ἀββᾶ ;*". Cyril responded that he and his brother with their toil and sweat had built the monastery now located near the dilapidated cloister which they had inherited. The emperor then asked whether the land which the monastery now occupies belonged originally to the cloister, or the brothers had acquired additional land and from where did they obtain it : *Ὁ δὲ τόπος ὃν κέκτηται ἡ μονὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἦν, ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐπεκτήσασθε καὶ πόθεν ;* (66). Cyril retorted : "as I have already told you, we came into the land by virtue of our hard work and toil, except for a few small [taxable] plots that formerly belonged to the cloister (*Προεῖπόν σοι ὅτι ἐξ οἰκείων κόπων καὶ μόχθων, πλὴν ἐκ ταπεινῶν στίχων*)", suggesting that the major part of the land had been acquired by the brothers with their earnest personal efforts. It is apparent that Cyril deliberately refrained from stating expli-

(64) Novels 6 ; 49 ; 10 5.II.4. On Justinian's concept of law and policy-making, see also D. Simon, *Legislation as Both a World Order and a Legal Order*, in Laiou and Simon, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, pp. 5-12.

(65) Kazhdan, *Sostav*, pp. 230-233.

(66) E. Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin*, Brussels, 1964, p. 231, par. 8.

citly and definitively the origin and manner of acquisition of the land, thereby raising the emperor's suspicion. The emperor's reaction to Cyril's fuzzy answer was : "if I take you at your word, it appears as though the land belongs to the fisc (*Τάχα ὡς λέγεις τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστίν [ὁ τόπος]*)" (67).

Kazhdan finds the emperor's questions and the abbot's explanation odd, and contends that Alexius' response : "You may say that the land is the state's" is proof of the state's supreme ownership of the land, and that neither a purchase nor any other form of acquisition gave the monastery right of ownership (68). Yet, the emperor's remark is more nuanced and his reasoning more subtle. Dissection of the dialogue presents an altogether different rationale as to how the emperor arrived at his decision that the monastic land belonged to the fisc. The questions that should be asked are : What prompted the emperor to pay a visit to the monastery and raise the issue of ownership ; Why he was not satisfied, indeed why he was dismissive of Cyril's explanation ; and on What grounds he decided that the land belonged to the state ? In the first place, if indeed the emperor was supreme owner of all lands in the empire, as Kazhdan asserts, there would be no point in asking Cyril about the origin of the property. It was the perceived ambiguity regarding the ownership of the land in question that led the emperor to raise the issue, since the distinction between private and state ownership was clearly defined in the Byzantine legal system, was appreciated by the citizenry, and had important practical consequences. Had Cyril been able to convince the emperor that the brothers were *bona fide* owners of the property, the emperor would not have been in a position to donate as he did subsequently this private land — unless he proceeded to purchase it from its rightful owners or arbitrarily appropriate it from them. Second, the emperor may have been informed about possible irregularities surrounding the acquisition of the monastic land which needed to be addressed and resolved. Third, it was very common for founders of monasteries or abbots to solicit the issue of a chrysobull to secure their ownership rights on imperial grants of land (69), more so on

(67) *Ibidem*, pp. 231-232.

(68) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, p. 233 ; ID., *New History*, p. 15.

(69) Novels 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, 1, pp. 377-378, 382 ; *MM*, 4, pp. 4-18, 220-221 ; 5, pp. 10-13, 77-84, 443, 446-447 ; 6, pp. 248-258 ; *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSANTHOU, Paris, 1986, nos 2. 11-14 ; 5. 1-3 ; 25. 4-5 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 50. 27-32 ; 3, n° 118. 71-77 ;

occupied lands when their acquisition could be questioned ([70]), which explains the emperor's line of questioning and his presence in the monastery. Finally, apparently the emperor became skeptical because Cyril failed to explain in unequivocal terms in what way the brothers came into the land. The repetitive and defiant answer : "with our hard work and toil" left open the possibility of questionable occupation not only of privately owned property, but also of abandoned, ownerless or wasteland ([71]), land which nonetheless could belong to the state. The emperor therefore, with reason, found Cyril's answer evasive and unconvincing, and being well aware of incidents of usurpation of state and private lands not only by lay powerful landlords but by monasteries and bishops as well ([72]), determined that, after all, the land must have be-

Actes d'Iviron, ed. J. LEFORT, N. OIKONOMIDÈS, D. PAPACHRYSANTHOU, Paris, 1985, 3, n° 72. 37-60, 151-159 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. PETIT and B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1975, n° 60. 1-40 ; *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel, E. KURTZ, and B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1969, n° 32. 1-16 ; *Les Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. GUILLOU, Paris, 1955, n° 4. 17-45 ; M. GOUDAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Βατοπεδίου*, in *EEBS*, 3 (1926), pp. 131. 61-63 ; 133. 5-13 ; I. M. KONIDARIS, *Τὸ Δίκαιον τῆς Μοναστηριακῆς Περιουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ 9ου μέχρι τοῦ 12ου αἰῶνος*, Athens, 1979, pp. 42 and n. 37 and 38, 125-127 and n. 4 ; N. SVORONOS, *Les privilèges de l'église à l'époque des Comnènes : Un rescrit inédit de Manuel Ier Comnène*, in *TM*, 1 (1965), p. 355 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, pp. 66-67.

(70) "Les agents du Fisc, découvrant ces anomalies [dans les titres de propriété], procédaient à des confiscations justifiées" : SVORONOS, *Privilèges*, p. 356. Manuel I Comnenos, pressed by the Church and eager to secure the support of the clergy, issued a number of chrysobulls legalizing property ownership titles acquired by monasteries through reprehensible means : Novels 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) in *JG*, 1, pp. 379, 382-383. See also Novel 81 (1181) of Alexius II Comnenos in JG, 1, pp. 427-428 ; MM, 5, pp. 116, 328-329 ; C. ASTRUC, *Un document inédit de 1163 sur l'évêché thessalien de Stagi*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 83 (1959), pp. 214-216 ; SVORONOS, *Privilèges*, p. 361 ; and n. 72, 73 and 158 below.

(71) E.g., wooded or marshy tracts requiring a lot of hard work to be readied for use, not an uncommon practice by those contemplating to build a monastery. L. PETIT, *Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine*, in *Izvestia*, 6 (1900), 71. 27-34 ; KONIDARIS, *Δίκαιον*, pp. 37-42.

(72) Novel 6 (947) of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Novel 29 (996) of Basil II, Novels 58 (1153) and 61 (1158) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, 1, pp. 214-217, 262-272, 376-380, 382, respectively ; *Peira*, 9. 2, 3 : 15. 4, 9, 14 ; 23. 3, 7 ; 40. 12 ; *MM*, 4, pp. 93-94, 183-197, 217-219 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, n°s 81 ; 86 ; 95 ; 112 ; *Actes d'Iviron*, 2, n° 52. 146-148 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*,

longed to the fisc (73). Litavrin also points out that Cyril could have acquired virgin land which by definition was state property ; he may have not complied with the rules of preemption (74) ; he may have not abided by the Novel 29 (996) of Basil II, which forbade monasteries to make further land acquisitions after they were founded (75) ; or he may have ignored the prohibition set by the Novel 19 (964) of Nicephorus II

ed. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Paris, 1984, n° 2. 3-4 ; RHALLES and POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, p. 603 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 42-43, 55-56, 62 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 12 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, pp. 64, 68, 85-87, 98, 102-108 ; SVORONOS, *Privilèges*, pp. 356, 360-61, 378 ; A. E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, 1977, pp. 212-213 ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, pp. 91-98, 216-217 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, Brussels, 1956, pp. 48-49. M. ATTALEIATES describes how greedy and cruel monks forced peasants to cede their lands to monasteries. Those who resisted were taken to court where, because of their wealth and privilege, the monasteries prevailed and took possession of the peasants' properties. *Ἱστορία*, text and annotated modern Greek translation by I. D. POLEMIS, Athens, 1997, 61-62. During a transfer of an imperial domain to a dignitary, the survey discovered a parcel of land which had been appropriated by the monastery (*εὑρέθη καθαρπαγεῖσα γῆ παρὰ τῆς αὐτῆς μονῆς*). *MM*, 6, p. 10. An archbishop was convicted for seizing fraudulently a meadow belonging to a private individual. *Peira*, 7. 6. Archbishop Eustathius of Thessalonica also castigates the monks' greed for land. Eager to absorb lands contiguous to those of the monastery, the monks put pressure on the owners until they gave up their property to the monastery. *PG*, 135 col. 829 CD.

(73) A similar unsubstantiated claim was made by monk (subsequently bishop) Manuel founder of the monastery of Our Lady the Pious. In the *Typikon*, he states that he purchased a parcel of useless and abandoned land on which the monastery was built with his own resources, and that he went through enormous expenses to bring this land to its present condition (*τὸν τῆς τοιαύτης μονῆς τόπον ἐρείπιον ὄντα καὶ ἄχρηστον ... δι' οἰκείων μου νομισμάτων ἐξωνησάμενος καὶ ἐξόδοις ἀπείροις περιαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ νῦν φαινομένην κατάστασιν*). PETIT, *Le monastère de Notre-Dame*, p. 71. 27-32. Despite the fact that the survey of the property confirmed that it belonged to the fisc, Alexius I Comnenos turned a blind eye on the transgression and donated the land to the monastery by the chrysobull of 1106 ([*Ἡ βασιλεία*] *μου δωρεῖται αὐτῇ* [*τῇ μονῇ*] *εἰδυῖα μὲν ὅτι τῷ δημοσίῳ ἀνήκει καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήριον καὶ ὁ τόπος καθ' ὃν ᾠκοδόμηται*). *Ibidem*, p. 29. 5-7. Contrary to the monk's assertion, there can be no doubt that the monastery possessed unregistered and untaxed state property in contravention of the law.

(74) On the right of preemption, see pp. 597-598 below.

(75) *JG*, 1, pp. 267-269.

Phocas ([76]), whereby monasteries were not allowed to seize land beyond their enclosures that belonged to the state ([77]). Kazhdan disputes Litavrin's viewpoint on grounds that it is not supported by the wording of the text and hence is irrelevant ([78]). However, in light of the preceding remarks, Kazhdan's response is infelicitous and fails to make his case.

Having made up his mind that the brothers were not legitimate owners, the emperor proceeded to donate the land to the *monastery* (*ἀποχαρίζομαι αὐτὸν [τὸν τόπον] πρὸς τὴν μονήν*), not to the brothers as Kazhdan argues ([79]). The very fact that the emperor had to grant the state-owned land to the monastery in a probatory form (a chrysobull) to secure its ownership rights on the property reflects the clear separation of state and private properties ; affirms that ownership of *state* lands was transferred only by sale or imperial gift and by means of a chrysobull ([80]) ; and disproves the notion of the emperor's supreme land ownership and the attendant need for the authorities' *approval* for the legal transfer of title ([81]).

As further evidence of the state's right to appropriate private land emanating from the emperor's supreme ownership, Kazhdan cites a comment by Symeon Metaphrastes, a tenth century biographer of John Chrysostom, characterizing as an "evil habit" (*πονηρὸν ἔθος*) the custom whereby any land the emperor set foot on could be declared imperial property : the state could take away the property from the owner, compensating him with another plot or by paying the just price of the property ([82]). Unquestionably, the seizure of property without cause, even if the

(76) *JG*, 1, p. 252.

(77) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 25 ; ID., *Propriété d'état*, pp. 27-28.

(78) KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 15.

(79) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, p. 233.

(80) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 27 ; ID., *Problema gosudarstvennoj*, pp. 60-63.

(81) See pp. 589-591 below.

(82) SYMEON METAPHRASTES, in *PG*, 114, col. 1156 A ; KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 14. The incident involved empress Eudoxia who entered the vineyard of a widow which bordered on imperial property. Her husband fell out of favor, the emperor confiscated all his property except for the vineyard in question, and while on his way to exile he had died. To redress the injustice, the widow sought the intercession of patriarch John Chrysostomos, a constant critic of the empress and whose invectives ultimately led to his exile. This angered the empress, who vowed to distress the widow. F. VAN OMMELSLAEGHE, *Une vie acéphale de Saint Jean Chrysostome dans le Batopedinus 73*, in *AB*, 94 (1976), pp. 336-337 (the

owner receives compensation, constitutes an infringement on the individual's ownership right. But, realistically, the seizure of private property, allegedly prompted by base morals such as wickedness (*μοχθηρία*) or greed (*πλεονεξία, πλούτου ματαιότης*) ([83]), is a reflection of abuse of imperial power and not of imperial supreme ownership, since the event cannot be viewed as confiscation as long as the owner was compensated (except for sentimental value and inconvenience). Nevertheless, the seizure *per se* was not morally justified as it was not in the public interest, i.e. a legitimate exercise of eminent domain ([84]), but was motivated by sheer whim. Kazhdan's brief account of the episode leaves out critical issues that need to be addressed. If indeed greed was the motive, it made no sense to talk about just compensation or substitution of another property. More importantly, in response to the patriarch's plea that the vineyard be returned to the widow, the empress invoked the old custom, and hence her legal right, to hold on to the property (*τῷ νόμῳ στηριχθεῖσα εἴχετο κραταιῶς*), scolding the patriarch as being ignorant of the law (*ἄγνοιάν τε τῶν κειμένων ἔχοντα νόμων*). The patriarch steadfastly insisted that she was using outdated imperial laws as a pretext to take over the property (*μὴ προφασίζου νόμους ἑώλων βασιλέων*). Significantly, this argument is included in the 5th century Vatopedi biography but not in Symeon's ([85]). Finally, in her outrage, the empress declared that not only she is not returning the vineyard but the widow will receive no compensation (*τῇ χήρᾳ δὲ οὐχ ὅπως ὁ ἀμπελών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς τιμῆς χάριν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι καταβληθήσεται*), a pronouncement that is not included in the Vatopedi biography and is contrary to the notion of suitable compensation ([86]). The omission of the patriarch's powerful argument casts doubt on Kazhdan's inference that this "evil habit" was actu-

Vatopedi biography has been attributed to Father Basil of Seleucia and written sixty years after the death of John Chrysostomos, *Ibidem*, p. 317) ; ID., *Jean Chrysostome en conflit avec l'impératrice Eudoxia*, in *AB*, 97 (1979), pp. 131-159.

(83) SYMEON METAPHRASTES, in *PG*, 114, col. 1156 A, C ; VAN OMMELSLAEGHE, *Une vie acéphale*, p. 337, par. 32.

(84) Eminent domain is the right of the state to reassert its dominion over privately owned land on grounds of public exigency and for the common good, following just compensation of the owner(s) whose property is taken. This right was also recognized in the Roman law. LEVY, *Vulgar Law*, p. 111.

(85) VAN OMMELSLAEGHE, *Une vie acéphale*, p. 337, par. 33.

(86) SYMEON METAPHRASTES, in *PG* 114, col. 1157 A.

ally practiced in the tenth century ([87]), and suggests that most likely the custom had fallen into desuetude. Besides, it is not evident that, in citing the custom, Symeon meant to imply that it was still prevalent in the tenth century as Kazhdan asserts. The refusal of the empress to compensate the widow, as she would have to if the "habit" was still in force, and the emphasis on just compensation reinforce the view of the disuse of the custom and suggest a clear case of imperial abuse of power – certainly not supreme ownership of all landed property. The right to private property was deeply rooted in the citizenry and earnestly protected by the Byzantine legal system, as attested by the widow's plea to recover her property, albeit lodging an appeal through formal legal channels against an abusive and vindictive empress apparently was outside the pale of the law.

Expanding on Platon's view, that peasants had to obtain permission from state officials in order to sell their land ([88]), Kazhdan asserts that this requirement for the transfer of ownership title is a practical consequence of the Byzantine legal theory of the 9th and 10th centuries which treated the state as the supreme landowner ([89]). The suggested causal link between state permission to sell landed property and state supreme ownership is stretched. In the first place, state supreme landownership and "legitimization" of private ownership by the approval of the emperor or the fiscal authorities is a contradiction in terms. *Cui bono* ? Second, authorization by fiscal agents was required not to *approve* the transaction but to ensure the lawful transfer of the property and safeguard the interests of the state. "Approval", or more correctly *notification*, as a legal formality was required of all peasants regardless of whether they were freeholders, private *paroikoi*, or state *paroikoi* to ensure conformity with the right of preemption and thereby prevent sales to unauthorized persons or entities, as is evidenced by the seller's affirmation in the deed that he had solicited and found no other preferred buyer ([90]). Third, notification to the author-

(87) KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 14 ; ID., *Metaphrastes and the Problem of State Ownership on Land*, in *Erytheia*, 9 (1988), p. 209.

(88) PLATON, *Observations*, p. 89.

(89) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 140-141, 186-187 ; ID., *K voprosu ob osobennostjach feodalnoj sobstvennosti v Visantii VIII-X vv* (On the Question of the Characteristics of Feudal Possessions in Byzantium 8th to 10th centuries), in *VV*, 10 (1956), pp. 59-65.

(90) *MM*, 6, p. 125 ; *MM*, 4, pp. 60-61, 77-79, 124-125, 170-171, 183, 401, 403, 405-406, 408, 411.

ities ensured the registration of the transaction in the *praktikon*, kept the entries in the tax register up-to-date, prevented the illegal transfer of properties, and facilitated tax assessment and collection. Fourth, it was important that freeholders owning land within state estates and state *paroikoi* settle with the fiscal agents issues pertaining to *corvées* owed the state. Finally, "permission" was not needed for the transfer of title on freehold private property. Only *paroikoi* intending to sell to third parties ([91]) had to have the permission of *their landlord* in whose domain the parcel was located in order to ensure that the buyer assumed the seller's obligations ([92]), while the approval of the regional governor was required only if they were state *paroikoi* ([93]). All in all, the supposedly

(91) *Paroikoi* could own patrimonial land (γονικόν) and had the right to alienate property they rightfully owned, even if located within lay, ecclesiastic or state estates. On the status of the *paroikoi*, see *Peira*, 15. 2, 3 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Paysannerie*, pp. 45-60 ; ID., *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels, 1954, pp. 325-326 ; LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society*, pp. 144, 147, 150-151, 182, 184-185 ; P. CHARANIS, *On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later*, in *Bsl*, 12 (1951), pp. 138-139 and n. 198 ; KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 19 ; M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids in Nicaea (1204-61)*, Oxford, 1975, pp. 134-135, 137 ; *ODB*, s.v. Paroikos.

(92) The obligation of *paroikoi* to seek permission from their landlords to sell their land probably stems from the powerful influence of *custom*. Patronage, deference, timidity, respectful dread of the master (αὐθέντης), lowly social status, powerlessness, insecurity, dependence, deep religious sentiment, fatalism, reinforced by systematic collusion with the local authorities, coalesced over the centuries into a tacit common consent and a customary obligation, were enshrined in the landlord's traditional recognition and rights, became prevalent and compulsory, and in effect took the force of law. OSTROGORSKY maintains that landlords had particular rights to the land of their *paroikoi* and free peasants within his domain "*comme maître suprême*" : *Paysannerie*, pp. 46, 47. However, these rights were confined to consenting to the sale of a *paroikos'* land, the collection of the *epiteleia*, or issues pertaining to *corvées*. The consent of the landlord was also manifested indirectly – by agreement of the buyer at the time of the sale to pay the landlord the annual *epiteleia* designed to cover the fiscal charges burdening the property. However, often the epiteleia far exceeded the amount of the tax, in effect becoming the price landlord exacted from the *paroikos* for his consent to the sale. *MM*, 4, pp. 61, 77-79, 85-86, 89, 131-132, 134-135, 170, 185, 195 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, p. 197 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, n° 18. 14 ; *ODB*, s.v. Epiteleia ; OSTROGORSKY, *Paysannerie*, pp. 48-50, 57-63.

(93) *MM*, 6, pp. 124-127 ; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. LEFORT, Paris, 1973, p. 77 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Paysannerie*, pp. 45-63, especially 47-48 ; ID., *Féodalité*,

required "authorization" was a law enforcement act, a legal formality typical of property transfers in a regime permeated with a deep sense of private ownership, and did not reflect the exercise of the state's *dominium directum* over the land.

In a further effort to undergird the theory of imperial supreme ownership, Kazhdan maintains that, although the owner was granted the right to alienate his property, the situation was "ambivalent", because the state "controlled" private ownership including any derivative transactions. Specifically, the state had the right to establish the just price on sales of private property ; disqualify the purchase of land if the transaction was lop-sided ; restrict the right of a peasant to sell his land to the buyer of his preference by the neighbors' right of preemption ; or outright confiscate property by means of administrative rulings without the possibility of legal recourse – encumbering rights attesting to the restrictive nature of private ownership. The rule of joint tax liability, encumbrances on landed properties, institutional arrangements resulting in divided ownership, and the legal right of landlords to gain possession of their peasants' holdings located within their estates all added to the ambivalence of private ownership rights. An individual or entity owned property in theory but in reality they did not exactly control it. The inference is that, as long as the state had "control" over private property, praedial property had the character of conditional ownership and all land in the empire was the property of the emperor (94). This curious combination of private ownership and imperial eminent domain could at any moment invalidate the power of private ownership (95).

Evidently, Kazhdan equates "control", i.e. the state's sovereign authority to direct, restrict, regulate, oversee, and intervene in order to preserve social norms and prevent abuse in property transactions, with "state or

p. 325-326 ; CHARANIS, *Economic Organization*, p. 139, n. 198 ; KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 19 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, p. 36 ; ROUILLARD, *Vie rurale*, p. 169 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 13.

(94) LITAVRIN discerns an "antagonistic unity" between long-standing law ensuring the inviolability of private property and the subjection of land properties to the emperor's willingness to oblige. This unity resulted in a *sui generis* concept of possession : *Propriété d'État*, p. 11.

(95) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 228-233 ; ID., *Derevnja*, p. 141 ; ID., *New History*, p. 15-21 ; ID., *State*, pp. 88-89, 91-95 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, pp. 135, 145.

imperial supreme ownership" (*dominium directum*), i.e. the state's absolute right to seize private property at will, an inference which conceptually, semantically, and practically is stretched. The notion that the owner had in effect only *possession* (or charitably *quasi*-ownership) and not full ownership of his property would have eroded private ownership rights embedded in the law with far-reaching implications for the institution of private ownership, the economic utilization of the property, and the market price of the land. Conditional ownership would have introduced a cloud of uncertainty as the individual possessor would not have the ability to use his land undistractedly, since his title *de facto* would have no legal force as long as the emperor or the state was the supreme owner and their intentions unpredictable. Yet, it is difficult to explain the constant demand for land as the best investment opportunity in terms of value, safety and financial return, if indeed property ownership was not deeply entrenched and legally safeguarded, a fact attested by the growth of the landed properties owned by magnates and monasteries alike (96). Characteristically, the right of preemption, despite repeated pronouncements by the Macedonian emperors, failed to protect freeholders against the land-grabbing propensities of the great lay and monastic landowners, who often even resorted to underhanded deals or acted in collusion with public officials and judges to circumvent the law. The greed for amassing land confirms the premium that landholding commanded (97). Appro-

(96) The stipulation that "the monastery's surplus funds should be invested in land (εἰς ἀγορὰν κτήματος)" is indicative of the advantages of owning landed property : P. GAUTIER, *Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, in *REB*, 42 (1984), p. 109. In the 10th century, land had become a capital investment intended to produce income : J. L. TEALL, *Byzantine Agricultural Tradition*, in *DOP*, 25 (1971), p. 56. In the same vein : KEKAUMENOS, *Στρατηγικόν*, ed. D. TSOUGARAKIS, Athens, 1993, p. 132 ; P. GAUTIER, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, Paris, 1981, pp. 19, 23, 25 ; P. LEMERLE, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, pp. 58-60, and S. VRYONIS, Jr., *The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)*, in *DOP*, 11 (1957), pp. 265-266, 276, commenting on the will of E. Boilas ; OSTROGORSKY, *Pronoia*, p. 476 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, p. 118.

(97) *Peira*, 36. 18 ; 42. 17, 19 ; 69. 5 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *The Peasant's Premption Right*, in *JRS*, 37 (1947), pp. 117-126 ; ID., *Pronoia*, p. 469 ; ID., *Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 25 (1971), p. 29 ; LEFORT, *Une grande fortune foncière*, pp. 729, 730, 740 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 42-45 ; ID., *The Monastic Economy and Imperial Patronage from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century*, in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed.

priation of monastic properties by rival monasteries and bishops, appeals by monks for donations and bequests of landed properties, and acquisition of land by censurable means, also betoken the high economic value of land, while the bitter disputes about boundaries between monasteries or between monasteries and neighboring villages often calling for imperial intervention confirm their eagerness to defend their ownership rights ([98]). Sales of *klasmatic* lands to private individuals conveying legal title would be unthinkable if the buyers were not assured of inviolable ownership rights. Moreover, if the theory held, even small landholders would have been under the constant threat that at any moment they might be deprived of their property without cause as the state could arbitrarily and unexpectedly exercise its absolute right to confiscate their land. The adverse impact of the Damocles' sword hanging over the landowning community on their decision-making process and on the economy as a whole would have been enormous. The implausibility of the propounded theory is further belied by the fact that from the 10th century onward there has been considerable expansion of the land brought under the plow, more intensive agricultural cultivation, and an increase in agricultural production ([99]). These notable events would not have occurred in a cli-

A. Bryer and M. Cunnigham, Aldershot, 1996, Variorum Reprints, Part VIII, pp. 91, 92 ; N. Wilson and J. Darrouzès, *Restes du cartulaire de Hiéra-Xérochoraphion*, in *REB*, 26 (1968), pp. 13-15, 19-20 ; *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, text, transl., and commentary by C. Mango, Washington DC, 1997, letter n° 17. See also n. 72 above.

(98) *Actes d'Iviron*, 1, nos 4. 33-43 ; 7. 12-14 ; 9. 3-35 ; 27. 3-5 ; 2, nos 51. 84-95 ; 52. 18-70, 145-149 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, n° 77 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, nos 21. 1-5 ; 47. 5-21 ; 56. 9-10 ; *Actes de Zographou*, nos 34 ; 35 ; 38 ; 39 ; *Actes de Prôtaton*, ed. D. Papachrysanthou, Paris, 1975, n° 2 ; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire, Paris, 1964, n° 21 ; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, Appendix B, pp. 188-190 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, n° 7. 7-20 ; *Actes de Xénophon*, n° 1. 25-67 ; *MM*, 4, pp. 62-63, 93-94, 184-185, 190, 192-193, 217-220, 308-312, 312-315, 315-317, 320-322, 353-357 ; *MM* 6, pp. 246-247 ; F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des heiligen Berges*, Munich, 1948, nos 57. 6-7 ; 102. 3-11, 30-33, 61-73 ; *Peira*, 57. 5. See also n. 70, 72, 73 above.

(99) Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 47- 48, 139, 159-162, 244-250, 257-259, 261 ; Id., *Economic Expansion in Central Greece in the Eleventh Century*, in *BMGS*, 8 (1982-1983), pp. 21-28 ; Id., *The Middle Byzantine Economy : Growth or Stagnation* ? in *BMGS*, 19 (1995), pp. 243-261 ; Teall, *Byzantine Agricultural Tradition*, pp. 53-59 ; N. Svoronos, *Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), pp. 60-63 ; R. S. Lopez, *The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in*

mate of uncertainty about the validity of property titles and absent an entrenched and enforceable institution of private ownership.

Kazhdan maintains that the notion of just or fair price introduced in the 10th century Byzantine legislation ([100]) would have been unthinkable without the concept of the state's rights to all land in the empire ([101]). However, the occasion, scope and application of the law do not support this contention. The concept of just price was embedded in the theories of Greek philosophers and had a long gestation period ([102]). The *Basilics* ([103]) had already adopted the concept from the Roman law ([104]), and it was *invoked* in the Novels of the Macedonian emperors because the circumstances called for it – to protect the land of the small landholders from the rapacity of the powerful. In *non-commercial* transactions, the law did not allow the parties to an exchange unlimited autonomy in price determination when it resulted in abuse of a contracting party's weak position, e.g., exploitation of financial need. When the sales price was grossly unfair and inequitable – when the price was less than half the *just price* (*δικαία τιμή, justum pretium*) – it could lead to rescission of the contract on grounds of excessive injury (*ὑπέρογκος βλάβη, laesio enormis*) ([105]). The seller could recover the sold thing provided he refunded the proceeds. Still, the buyer had the option to make up the just price and retain the thing ([106]). The fact that the law intervened and pro-

the Seventh Century, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), p. 69 ; M. F. Hendy, *Byzantium 1081-1204 : The Economy Revisited Twenty Years On*, in Id., *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, Northampton, 1989, Variorum Reprints, Part III, pp. 9-12 ; Kazhdan and Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 27-31.

(100) Novel 5 (935) of Romanus I Lecapenus, in *JG*, 1, p. 212.

(101) Kazhdan, *Sostav*, p. 233 ; Id., *Derevnja*, p. 141.

(102) On the origin, legal and economic foundation, and practical application of the just price in Byzantium, see G. C. Maniatis, *Operationalization of the Concept of Just Price in the Byzantine Legal, Economic and Political System*, in *Byz.*, 71 (2001), pp. 131-176.

(103) *B.* 19. 10. 66.

(104) *CJ.* 4. 44. 2.

(105) *Οὐ δεῖ γίγνεσθαί τινα πλουσιώτερον ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρου ζημίας* (no one should profit from someone else's loss). *B.* 2. 3. 206 ; *Epitome*, 2. 10 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Z. 2 ; *Hexabiblos*, Appendix B, 30 ; Novel 8 (945-959) of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, in *JG*, 1, p. 225.

(106) *B.*19.10.66 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 19 ; *Epitome*, 16. 30 ; *Peira*, 38. 5, 12, 52 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 11. 2 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34, 37, 42 ; *Synopsis Minor*, *Π.* 93 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 69, 71 and scholium.

vided the disadvantaged party with a remedy in one-sided sales contracts signaled a departure from the tenet that the price agreed upon in a contract depends solely on the judgment of the contracting parties. Nevertheless, contractual justice was limited largely to transactions on immovables, land in particular, where frequently the seller's agreement was obtained under circumstances of constrained volition, and aimed to defend the economically weaker members of the society who were forced to sell their property because of dire necessity – a situation where the state found it ethically justified to intervene. Contrary to Kazhdan's allegation that the right of the state to set the just price in sales of private property created an ambivalent situation and signified the state's land overlordship and control of private ownership, the state's circumscribed intervention was simply an act of *governance* reflecting an effort to curb potential abuses deriving from the exercise of economic power over vulnerable parties to an exchange – a legitimate concern of a government mindful of the socio-economic importance of the institution of private ownership and the practical consequences of derivative transactions. Although questions may be raised as to its effectiveness, a "hands-off" policy in these instances would have been socially and politically incorrect and remiss, while there is no rational basis in anchoring the state's intervention in such an unmoored postulate as the emperor's supreme landownership.

Following up on the notion of "ambivalence" of land tenure, Kazhdan maintains that landlords had "the legal right" to gain possession of lands belonging to peasants located within their estates whether independent or *paroikoi*, since the Roman concept of ownership was replaced by medieval norms of tenure. To support his contention, he cites from a deed transferring a parcel of land (*stasis*) to a dignitary and his spouse who were overlords of the entire district and wanted to build a monastery. However, Kazhdan stretches the meaning of the relevant passage and draws the wrong conclusion. The sellers' statement runs as follows : *οὐκ ἠθελήσατε ταύτην [τὴν στάσιν] κατακρατῆσαι ὡς κύριοι καὶ δεσπόται ἡμῶν ... ἀλλ' ὡς φύσει δικαιότατοι ... ἠθελήσατε ... ἐξωνήσασθαι ταύτην* (you did not wish to gain *unlawful* [emphasis added] possession of the parcel as you could as our masters and absolute rulers ; instead, being righteous, you opted to purchase the parcel) ([107]). Kazhdan renders the sellers' statement : "the noble couple might (or, as I would put it, had

(107) *MM*, 4, pp. 397-398.

the legal right to) gain possession of the land in question 'being our lords and masters', since the emperor granted ... the whole district to the most noble Comnenos ; but righteous and Christ-loving as they were, the couple preferred to buy the *stasis*" ([108]). In the first place, the sellers' statement that the noble buyers could have appropriated their land does not imply *acknowledgment* of their masters' "legal right" to do so. Second, the verb : *καταχρατεῖν*, which the sellers used advisedly, connotes : to gain *illegal* possession and not simply to gain possession, and dispels any notion of *de jure* or *de facto* ownership right of the landlords to the property of their *paroikoi*. Third, the fact that the entire area had been granted to the noble couple by the emperor did not deprive the *paroikoi* of their ownership rights ([109]), which were further *recognized* by their masters' offer to buy the *stasis*. Indeed, it was not the nobles' generosity that prompted them to purchase the property but, rather, their awareness that dispossession of the rightful owners would have meant violation of their legal rights and, hence, contravention of the law. In turn, the sellers showed their "appreciation" by stressing that the noble buyers could have abused their power but they chose not to. Fourth, the sellers stipulate in the deed that they sell their land *ἑκουσίως, ἀβιάστως, αὐτοπροαιρέτως, ἀρραδιούργως, οὐκ ἐκ φόβου ἢ ἀρχοντικῆς καταδυναστείας* (willingly, unhurriedly, of their own accord, and not because of intrigue, fear, or oppression by their masters) ([110]). If indeed their landlords had the legal right to appropriate their property, it would make no sense for these stipulations, in particular the specific mention of the absence of coercion by the landlords. Such stipulations were typical in deeds of land sales to powerful landlords ([111]), because not infrequently lay and monastic landlords appropriated peasants' properties through reprehensible actions (e.g., harassment, intimidation, coercion), at times with official and judicial complicity. Legal texts and chroniclers cite blatant examples of protracted litigations, expropriations, and even unlawful seizures of landed properties ([112]). Such expropriations reflected opportunistic behavior, compelling influence and abuse of economic and political power, and cer-

(108) KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 18 ; ID., *State*, pp. 92-93.

(109) See n. 91 above.

(110) *MM*, 4, p. 396.

(111) *MM*, 4, pp. 125, 400, 402, 405, 407, 410, 412 ; *MM*, 6, pp. 125-126 ; CHARANIS, *Economic Organization*, p. 124.

(112) See p. 586 and n. 72 above.

tainly cannot be viewed as an exercise of a legal right or an indication of a change in the land tenure system which continued to be firmly based on private ownership. It was precisely to guard against potential accusation of coercion and abuse of power that the exculpatory statement was included in the deed in question which, in addition, was executed in the presence of ecclesiastic, monastic, and lay dignitaries of the region ([113]). Finally, the very use of underhanded deals by the powerful to acquire land attests to the *absence* of a legal right and runs counter to the view of the alleged "ambivalence of Byzantine land tenure", and to a change in the Byzantine land tenure system after western prototypes.

Kazhdan points further to specific limitations to the free or absolute right of property ownership which contributed to the ambivalence of the land tenure system and the institution of private ownership. They stemmed from three sources. The first limitation derived from restrictions imposed on property owners by legal rights bestowed on neighbors, such as the right of preemption (*προτίμησις*). Thus, the right of the peasant to sell his land to the buyer of his choice was restricted by the neighbors' right of preemption which obliged him to offer his property successively and in a prescribed order to five categories of potential buyers ([114]). Only after the preferred villagers had exercised their right of first refusal within the set time frame and no sale had been effected, the seller could turn to outsiders. Those to whom an offer was made each had thirty days to pay the just price (*ἄξιον τίμημα*), four months if there were disputes over ownership or boundaries, or forfeit their right. The powerful were forbid-

(113) *MM*, 4, p. 398.

(114) The first three involved potential buyers whose properties were intermingled with that of the seller (e.g., through joint ownership), and the other two those whose properties were simply contiguous. For details, see Novels 2 (922) and 5 (935) of Romanus I Lecapenus ; 6 (947) and 8 (945-959) of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos ; 16 (962) of Romanus II ; 20 (967) and 22 (963-969) of Nicephorus II Phocas ; 26 (988) and 29 (996) of Basil II, all in *JG*, 1, pp. 198-204, 205-214, 214-217, 222-226, 243-244, 253-255, 256, 259, 262-272, respectively ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, pp. 85-114 ; G. OSTROGORSKY, *Die ländische Steurgemeinde des byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 32-35 ; ID., *Pre-emption Right*, pp. 117-126 ; ID., *Agrarian Conditions*, pp. 216-221 ; ID., *History*, pp. 272-276 ; ID., *La commune rurale*, pp. 152, 154 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 7 ; PLATON, *Observations*, pp. 104-123 ; E. PAPAGIANNI, *Protimesis (Preemption) in Byzantium*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 3, pp. 1071-1082.

den to buy land in the territory of the village community unless they owned contiguous land ([115]). Two questions arise : What prompted the Macedonian dynasty to institute the preemption right ? and What was the source of the emperor's authority that empowered him to promulgate the law ? The measure had explicit and implicit objectives : to protect small peasants and soldiers against lay and ecclesiastic landlords eager to acquire their land, often by unscrupulous means, on whom the state depended for tax payments and military service ; to maintain the integrity of the village community as a fiscal unit for tax purposes ; and to curb the rising economic and political power of the rural aristocracy ([116]). As to the origin of the imperial authority, the alleged control over private property with its umbilical link to the superior land ownership of the emperor is far from obvious. The right to impose restrictions on the alienation of land by rightful owners emanated from the emperor's *sovereignty*, the absolute power vested in him as the supreme political authority deriving from the existence of the state and the imperative of governance. The circumscription of such an absolute property right by the introduction of the preemption right was dictated by the state's compelling responsibility to safeguard broader military, fiscal and social imperatives which commanded higher priority over narrower private interests and necessarily involved a trade-off – the sort of difficult decisions responsible governments often are forced to make in any society.

Allelegyon (*ἀλληλέγγυον*), i.e. the legal obligation of neighbors to pay the tax on deserted lands bordering on their properties, allegedly was another rule restricting free private ownership ([117]). When invasion or some other calamity forced proprietors to abandon their land, in accordance with the rule of joint tax liability their neighbors became responsible for the payment of their tax. Those who assumed the tax burden were granted the right of usufruct, taking *possession* of the deserted land, cultivating it, and reaping the benefits that accrued. However, neighbors were not always in a position to pay the additional tax and were forced to abandon their own land and flee themselves. To keep them from running away, initially the fiscal authorities offered temporary and partial relief (*κουφισμός*) or exempted these lands from any tax liability (*συμπάθεια*). If the rightful owners failed to return within thirty years, the land

(115) Novel 2 (922) of Romanus I Lecapenus, in *JG*, 1, p. 203.
(116) See the bibliography in n. 114 above.
(117) Kazhdan, *New History*, pp. 15-16 ; Id., *State*, p. 88.

became escheat (*klasma*) ([118]). Later on, when an allotment of land was abandoned, instead of imposing the tax on the neighbors the inspector rented out the property. Again, if the owners (or their heirs) returned within thirty years they could claim the land ; but after thirty years unclaimed land became *klasma* and the fisc could dispose of it ([119]). Emperor Romanus III, under pressure from lay and monastic landlords, abolished the *allelengyon* in 1028 ([120]).

The larger question on this issue is : Was the *allelengyon* anchored in the concept of the state's ownership and control of private properties as Kazhdan argues ([121]), or did it stem from the emperor's sovereignty ? Undoubtedly, the measure aimed to prevent the diminution of the cultivable land and thereby avoid the erosion of the tax base and the attendant loss of revenue – an act of governance. Still, enforcement of the measure entailed imposing a fiscal obligation usually on an unwilling neighbor. Technically, however, the shift of the tax liability of a fleeing fellow villager to a neighbor did not constitute an infringement on the encumbered neighbor's free ownership since *his* property rights were not affected. Nor did the tax obligation thrust upon him influence the use of or the benefits derived from *his* land. In effect, the measure reflected the unintended consequence of an ill-conceived tax policy which had plagued the empire throughout its history. The state could with equal justification, propriety and effect defray the lost revenue by raising marginally the taxes of the entire village community and thereby spread the burden. Such an action certainly would not have been interpreted as limiting free ownership. But the state opted to shift the tax burden to the immediate and financially stronger neighbors in the thought that, by offering them

(118) *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, pp. 118. 41-42 ; 119. 1-14, 19-30, 33-37 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Preemption Right*, p. 123 ; *ODB*, s.v. Kouphismos ; Sympatheia ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, pp. 78-80.

(119) KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Fragmente*, pp. 321-322. *Allelengyon* was used by Nicephorus I (802-811) as a form of tax alleviation, requiring well-to-do peasants to pay ἀλληλεγγύως (collectively) the taxes of poorer neighbors in military service. THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, p. 486. 24-26 ; ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 3, p. 306 ; CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, 2, p. 37. In 1002, emperor Basil II also required the powerful to pay the arrears of poorer taxpayers. *ODB*, s. v. Allelengyon ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, pp. 78-80.

(120) IOANNIS SCYLITZAE, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berlin, 1973, p. 375. 56-57 ; ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, p. 573. 15-17.

(121) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 88 ; ID., *New History*, pp. 14-16.

the opportunity to cultivate the land, they could pay the tax and even make a profit. As it turned out, this was not an ideal solution because the heavy tax burden, difficulties in securing the additional resources required to till the deserted land, yield volatilities, price fluctuations, and other imponderables often made it difficult for the encumbered neighbors to fulfill their obligations. Before long, however, the authorities became aware of the potential adverse consequences of the measure and, first, offered tax relief, then rented out the deserted lands (essentially discontinuing the measure), and finally officially abolished the *allelengyon*. In light of the above observations, it is hard to establish that this infelicitous tax measure encroached on private ownership rights as they remained intact. The fact that one's tax liability was thrust upon another just because his property happened to border the deserted plot certainly was an *encumbrance* and a haphazard one at that, reflecting the primacy of the state over the individual. Yet, this encumbrance upon an adverse neighbor should be viewed as a form of a short-lived *epereia* (ἐπηρεία) ([122]), an abusive practice *adding* to the multitude of extraordinary state demands, tasks and special levies already imposed on peasants and property owners by the state, rather than an encroachment on free property ownership.

The third limitation to the absolute right of property ownership stemmed from the semi-feudal character of certain institutional arrangements which led to "divided" or "split" ownership – typical of *pronoiai* and *charistikia* ([123]). The institution of *pronoia* is discussed below in the context of state confiscations of landed properties, where the alleged division of ownership is shown not to be substantiated ([124]). Concerning the institution of *charistikion* ([125]), Kazhdan, sharing R. Morris' views, points out that, while yielding the management of the monastic property to *charistikarioi* did not transfer ownership, the fact that the latter were granted authority (ἐξουσία), namely powers of action and jurisdiction, implied that the monastery relinquished certain legal attributes which diluted its full powers of ownership ([126]). Yet, careful consideration of the nature of the ceded authority and the purpose for which it was granted do

(122) *ODB* s. v. Epereia.

(123) KAZHDAN, *New History*, pp. 17-18 ; ID., *State*, p. 91.

(124) See pp. 614-616 below.

(125) See also pp. 574-575 and n. 30 and 31 above.

(126) KAZHDAN, *New History*, p. 18 ; R. MORRIS, *Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, in *JÖB*, 32 (1982), pp. 284-285, 287-288.

not support the propounded view. In the first place, the notion of "donation" or "concession" of monastic estates predominantly to lay persons ([127]) is a misnomer since the land was not given away ; the property was placed in the stewardship of a manager for a specified period of time at the end of which his authority lapsed ([128]). Second, the monastery *relegated* the management of its lands to a steward in return for short and long term benefits. The ceding of the right to manage was voluntary, temporary, and conditioned on restoring the wastelands' productive capacity, maintaining the buildings of the monastery, and sustaining the monks. Put differently, the monastery granted *naked authority*, i.e. *delegated* the requisite managerial power to the *charistikarios* to enable him discharge his obligations for its own benefit without compromising its ownership rights, since the latter took *naked possession* (ψιλὴ χρῆσις) ([129]), and acquired no right to keep as his own or alienate the land. Thus, though the *charistikarios* wielded administrative authority over the monastic lands, the authorization did not convey ownership rights and, hence, his authority did not entail division of ownership between the parties or in any way restrict the monastery's "free" ownership rights as alleged. Basically, the institution of *charistikion* was very similar to *emphyteusis*, where the monastery-lessor retained full ownership of the property while it collected rent. Third, *charistikion* was an indigenous institution developed within the Church itself and in conformity with the precepts of canon law which prohibited alienation. Finally, the frequent involvement of the emperor did not imply that he exercised his "sway of supreme power", as Kazhdan alleges ([130]). Rather, his authorization was requested by the ecclesiastic authorities to elicit the weight of his authority and prevent potential abuses as the *charistikarioi* often were powerful persons prone to take advantage of their power ([131]). In short, the assignment of the management function amounted to *delegation* of a task, an arrangement which maintained intact the integrity of the monastery's ownership rights.

Kazhdan argues furthermore that the state had the unrestricted right to confiscate privately owned (lay and Church) land without a legal proce-

(127) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 91.

(128) See p. 574 above.

(129) ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 10. 1 ; *Synopsis Minor*, X. 2, 3 ; *Hexabiblos*, 2. 10. 1, 4, 5, 13.

(130) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 91.

(131) See pp. 574-575 and n. 31 above.

dure and on the basis of an unappealable administrative decision, a right deriving from the imperial superior ownership of all land. Yet, state supreme ownership, feudal properties and private property coexisted without negating each other. Sovereignty is a right wielded by every state ; what needs to be emphasized is "the unique character of the attitude of the Byzantine state toward land" ([132]). Every Byzantine landowner was under the supreme owner – the state, or its physical embodiment, the emperor ([133]). The state's supreme land ownership materialized in several important ways, but the most significant had to do with the *tax system.* In Byzantium, the estate was thought of as "remuneration for payments and services," not as the object of taxation – the levy was the basis of taxation and the taxable land its derivative. The method used was to set the amount of tax to be paid by an individual, institution, or village community and estimate the corresponding land to the dues assessed. The practical consequence of this taxation principle was that, if during a tax revision or a periodic survey the assessor found a discrepancy between the tax paid and the land possessed, the excess land (*περιττὴ γῆ, περίσσεια*) "must be expropriated", by means of a process known as equalization (*ἱκάνωσις γῆς*) ([134]), thereby effecting a "redistribution of the land" ([135]).

(132) KAZHDAN, *State*, pp. 88, 95-96 ; ID., *Derevnja*, pp. 127, 141-142 ; ID., *Feodalnoj sobstvennosti*, p. 60, n. 5 ; ID., *Sostav*, pp. 231-232.

(133) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 96. Contrary to KAZHDAN assertion, *Derevnja*, p. 127, referring to OSTROGORSKY's : *Paysannerie*, pp. 23, 37, Ostrogorsky did not advocate that the state had the right to confiscate privately owned land.

(134) Equalization is a fiscal term designating the process of property assessment whereby the surveyor ensured that each taxpayer held no more land than the quantity corresponding to the tax he was paying. If after the survey, which took place periodically, it was determined that the taxpayer possessed more land than he was entitled to (based on the tax he paid), the excess land *could* be taken away from him (*hikanosis*). *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, p. 115. 2-9 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n°s 50. 1-27 ; 52. 11-12 ; 58. 10-16 ; 56. 25-26 ; 2, n° 112. 1-7 ; *Actes de Xénophon*, n° 2.14-29 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, n°s 2. 3-12, 20-26 ; 26. 3-4 ; *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Paris, 1968, 2. 32-33 ; *Actes d'Iviron*, 2, n° 52 *passim* ; *ODB*, s. v. Hikanosis ; N. SVORONOS, *L'épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes*, in *TM*, 3 (1968), pp. 383-386 ; ID., *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité au XIe et XIIe siècles : le cadastre de Thèbes*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 83 (1959), pp. 124-127 ; LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, p. 80, n. 1 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, pp. 79-81.

(135) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 140-141 ; ID., *State*, p. 96 and n. 61, referring to the *Treatise on Taxation*, pp. 121. 14-15 ; 121. 31 ; 122. 41. The *Treatise* was still in force as late as the 14th century.

The notion that the state's supreme ownership and private property coexisted ([136]) is strange at best, as the two principles are inconsistent and irreconcilable. Coexistence implies dual ownership which defies a clear legal distinction between state and private ownership ; is impractical as it stifles private initiative ; is unexplainable in the face of appropriations of private properties by emperors ; is unrealistic considering the voracious appetite of lay and monastic landlords to expand their holdings even with reprehensible means ; and is counterfactual given the substantial expansion of cultivated land, developments that would have not occurred had property ownership not been an entrenched and legally protected institution. As to the role of the tax system, the *method* of calculating the tax-land correspondence, though peculiar, only meant to ensure that each taxable unit contained exactly the quantity of land that tallied with the tax paid by the legitimate property owner based on the norm (*metron*) set by the emperor – the acreage corresponding to each *nomisma* of tax paid by the landholder ([137]). But the method of assessing and allocating the tax burden had nothing to do with state property rights. The alleged confiscatory propensity of the tax system when it came to landed properties derives from the *preconceived* notion of the emperor's supreme land ownership, whereby *gratia imperatoris* a tract of land was granted to a recipient on condition of payment of tax and rent (and usually the rendering of services) – a presumption which is neither axiomatic nor self-evident. As already discussed, taxation is an act of governance embedded in the emperor's sovereign power. Kazhdan's claim that excess land arising from the discrepancy between tax paid and land held "must" be confiscated is based on misinterpretation of the passage referred to in the *Treaty on Taxation*. The passage in question applies specifically to purchases or gifts of *klasmatic* land following a transfer of ownership : when the inspector hands over more land than he ought to in a transfer and subsequently another inspector, tipped off or following a complaint, finds out about the discrepancy, he has the discretion either to demand the price of the excess land, or to separate it and return it to the rightful claimant — private individual or the state, in which case the overage (*περιττόν*) is

(136) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 95 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 145 ; KAZHDAN and WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 60.

(137) *Treatise on Taxation*, in *Beiträge*, p. 115. 2-8 ; 122. 15-18 ; *ODB*, s. v. Hikanosis.

registered as detached land (*τόπος ἀποσπασθείς*) ([138]). The intention of the law in this instance was to rectify a misstep and an injustice committed in the past, at times at the expense of the fisc. If the only way to remedy the situation was for the extra land to be confiscated, there was no point for the *Treatise* to mention the possibility of financial compensation. Apparently, if the claimant was a private individual he had the option to receive extra payment or the excess land ; if the state was the claimant and the owner was unwilling or unable to pay the going price, the excess land was turned over to the fisc. Seen in its proper context, this is hardly a case of land confiscation by the state.

The thrust of the allegation is that lay and monastic properties were taken away by the state under the *pretext* that the taxpayer held more land than the quantity corresponding to his tax payments. This was accomplished by the creative device of *hikanosis* which reflected the state's supreme landownership ([139]). Yet, the circumstances surrounding the purpose and implementation of *hikanosis* need to be examined more carefully. During periodic land surveys, inspectors often found out that large landowners and privileged monasteries possessed land exceeding their taxable obligations, because they had acquired it through occupation of state lands or abandoned plots, reclamation ([140]), alluvion ([141]), underhanded deals, or because existing land was brought into cultivation after the previous assessment. Also, a field may have not been registered due to negligence or venality of local fiscal officials. There were also instances where owners of properties had no supporting documents to prove ownership or their titles were forged or invalid ([142]). Obviously, these lands were not registered and assessed and their owners paid no tax on them. By law, land exceeding the documented boundaries of a regis-

(138) *Treatise on Taxation,* in *Beiträge*, p. 121. 5-22 ; KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Fragmente*, p. 322.

(139) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 96 and n. 61.

(140) Occupants of wasteland belonging to the emperor or the fisc who made it productive acquired full ownership (*B.* 56. 14. 14) ; and so did occupants of wooded or marshy tracts belonging to private owners who turned them into arable land (*B.* 50.16. 3).

(141) Addition to one's land by alluvion rendered him owner of the alluvial growth. *Hexabiblos*, 2. 1. 29 ; 2. 4. 114.

(142) SVORONOS, *Épibolè*, pp. 377, 379, 381, 387, 390-392 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 26 ; C. MANGO, *The Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 120.

tered estate could be taken away when the tax assessor could prove that it was possessed unlawfully ([143]). Upward revision of the tax rate ([144]) had a similar effect, obligating monasteries and wealthier secular landlords to pay the additional tax in order to avoid having part of their property taken away. It would only be natural that *hikanosis* would be resented by those affected even though it was always based on statutory law and land surveys. Contrary to what has been alleged, the state *could* (not "must") take away the excess land through the equalization process ([145]), but only when the landlord chose not to retain the excess land and pay its going price if he had appropriated the land, or pay the extra levy under other circumstances ([146]). The aim of the law was to get back illegally held lands and curb tax evasion, not to legitimize confiscated properties for redistribution as alleged. Moreover, demonstrably arbitrary "confiscations" by way of *hikanosis* were appealable, contrary to Kazhdan's assertion that "the

(143) RHALLES and POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, pp. 602-603.

(144) HARVEY, *Monastic Economy*, p. 95 ; ID., *Financial Crisis*, p. 174 ; ID., *Economic Expansion*, pp. 92-97 ; LEFORT, *Une grande fortune foncière*, pp. 735, 737, 738 ; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité à propos du premier cadastre byzantin (7e-9e siècle)*, *Zbor.*, 26 (1987), pp. 16-17 ; HENDY, *Studies*, pp. 516-517 and n. 338, 586. On the monetary and fiscal reforms of Alexius I Comnenos, see C. MORRISSON, *La logarikè : réforme monétaire et réforme fiscale sous Alexis Ier Comnène*, in *TM*, 7 (1979), pp. 419-464.

(145) In *ODB*, s.v. Hikanosis Kazhdan reversed his position : "this 'superfluous' land (*peritte ge* or *perisseia*) *could* [emphasis added] be taken away from him."

(146) N. OIKONOMIDES maintains that the excess land "had" to be confiscated because the payment of the additional tax would convey ownership. *The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 3, pp. 1005, 1031 ; ID., *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe-XIe s.)*, Athens, 1996, p. 26. But as already indicated, tax liability could arise from multiple causes and, hence, additional tax payment could be required in instances which did not involve appropriated state land. Even in the latter case, confiscation could still be avoided and legal title transferred if the illegal possessor agreed to purchase the surplus land from the fisc. At times, such as in the case of the monastery of Lavra, the landlord opted to give up excess land rather than pay the corresponding tax. *Actes de Lavra*, 1 : nos 50. 74-94 ; 58. 3-8, 44-46. Often, monasteries succeeded in retaining excess land belonging to the fisc and acquiring ownership through imperial chrysobulls which donated or permitted the purchase of such land. *Actes de Xénophon*, n° 2. 11-24 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, n° 2. 3-12, 22-25 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, nos 52. 17-22 ; 58. 14-16 ; SVORONOS, *Épibolè*, pp. 393-395.

Byzantine state had the right to confiscate privately owned lands without a trial," being the supreme owner of the whole territory of the empire (147). Nicephorus I (802-811) had established a tribunal in the capital for fiscal affairs which, *inter alia*, adjudicated cases pertaining to *hikanosis*, and apparently was in existence during the reign of Basil I (867-886) (148). Almost three centuries later, a special judge presided over fiscal trials, and fiscal justice had become a specialized judicial activity separate from the fiscal bureau (149). To be sure, expensive litigation could limit the cases brought before the court, while flaws in the administration of justice and the questionable integrity of the judiciary could hamper the impartial adjudication of cases (150). Still, the most likely to be affected by *hikanosis* powerful lay and monastic landlords were least likely to suffer from the shortcomings of the justice system because of their socio-political connections and economic power.

In this context, Kazhdan cites Theophylaktos, archbishop of Ohrid, who complained that the emperor took away an *unregistered* village which the Church possessed for a long time (*τὸ χωρίον ὃ ἐξ ἀρχαίων*

(147) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 141 ; ID., *State*, p. 97. J. HALDON also argues that *hikanosis* reflected the power of the centralized state to override the legal rights of private persons who had amassed too much property and confiscate lands in excess of their taxable value. *The Feudalism Debate Once More : The Case of Byzantium*, in *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 17 (1989), p. 28. In light of the observations in the text, there does not appear that *hikanosis* was an instrumentality of the state designed to trample on the legal rights of legitimate landowners to the end of appropriating their land.

(148) THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, 1, pp. 478-479 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Impôt de distribution*, p. 18 ; ID., *Fiscalité*, pp. 27-28, 138, 139 ; P. MAGDALINO, *Justice and Finance in the Byzantine State, Ninth to Twelfth Centuries*, in LAIOU and SIMON, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, pp. 97-98.

(149) Novel 66 (1166) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, 1, p. 396 *θ΄* ; *Ecloga Basilicorum*, ed. L. BURGMANN, Frankfurt a. M., 1988, B, 9. 191 ; *Peira*, 36. 18 ; MAGDALINO, *Justice and Finance*, pp. 106-108 ; R. J. MACRIDES, *The Competent Court*, in LAIOU and SIMON, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, pp. 119-120 ; A. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU, *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ δικαστήρια κατὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες I-IA*, in *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986-87), pp. 167-168.

(150) Novel 6 (947) of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, in *JG*, 1, pp. 214-217 ; Novels of Manuel I Comnenos : 66 (1166), 67 (1166) and 74 (1170) in *JG*, 1, pp. 390-392, 397-402, 421-423, respectively ; Novel 38 (1296) of Andronicus II Palaeologos, in *JG*, 1, p. 562 ; MANIATIS, *Just Price*, pp. 157-163 ; A. E. LAIOU, *Law, Justice, and the Byzantine Historians : Ninth to Twelfth Centuries*, in EADEM, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, pp. 169-171, 182.

χρόνων κατεῖχε ἡ ἐκκλησία μηδὲ πρακτικῷ ὑποκείμενον) (151). Kazhdan explains the archbishop's disbelief that the emperor would take away Church property by arguing that it did not occur to him to challenge the emperor's right to confiscate his subjects' land (152). In the first place, the very fact that the archbishop, a knowledgeable person, did not call into question the emperor's right to confiscate any subject's property on grounds that all land belonged to the state demonstrates that the emperor was not viewed as the supreme overlord and hence such a challenge would have made no sense. On the contrary, appropriations not grounded in law were viewed as abuse of power. Even though the emperor was above the law, he was expected to conduct himself in accordance with the laws (εἰ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπόκειται νόμῳ, ἀλλ' οὖν κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύεται) (153). Second, the archbishop, a shrewd, assertive and habitual complainer (154), certainly knew that, by being unregistered, i.e. not included in the *praktikon* which was the repository of property and tax records (155), not only the Church had no legal title but was also evading tax payments and, in consequence, the fisc had every right to take away the property. Third, in justifying his complaint about the "wrongful" confiscation of the property, Theophylaktos plaintively argues that "we are forced out from land we *thought* [emphasis added] until now was ours" (διωκόμεθα ... ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν ἣν μέχρι νῦν ἡμετέραν νομίζοντες) (156). And to reinforce his lame complaint, he expands the circle of alleged victims of confiscation to all other big landowners in the region in an effort to highlight the arbitrariness of the emperor's decision : ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων πάντων (157). The archbishop's argument implies

(151) *PG*, 126, coll. 533D-536A ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 141 and n. 84 ; ID., *Sostav*, pp. 231-232 ; ID., *State Ownership on Land*, pp. 208-209.

(152) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 141 ; ID., *Sostav*, p. 231.

(153) *Epitome*, 1. 29 ; *B.* 2. 6. 9 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, II. 46 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 1. 32 ; ANONYMOUS (apparently Kekaumenos), *Admonition to the King*, *Cecaumeni Strategicon*, ed. B. WASSILIEVSKY and V. JERNSTEDT, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 93. According to Attaleiates, the imperial virtue of justice meant respect for the right of ownership and protection of private property from state confiscation : A. KAZHDAN and S. FRANKLIN, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 41.

(154) The letters of Theophylaktos are filled with complaints. *PG*, 126, coll. 445D-449B, 449D-452A ; *ODB*, s. v. Theophylaktos.

(155) *ODB*, s.v. Praktikon.

(156) *PG*, 126, col. 536A.

(157) *PG*, 126, col. 533D.

that somehow or other the Church took possession of the property in the distant past, failed to register the property, and never obtained ownership title — not an uncommon circumstance ([158]). Apparently, confronted by the fiscal authorities during a periodic land survey before the archbishop's time, the defiant clerics refused to let the property be registered and taxed, thereby forcing the emperor to take legal action and seize the property. Thus, instead of being legitimate landowners and dutiful taxpayers ([159]), the clerics sought to use their clout to circumvent the law. Finally, in raising the issue with the emperor's close relative and asking for his intercession to rectify the "injustice" to which the Church fell victim, the archbishop argued that he did not object to the emperor's seizing and granting the village to anyone he wishes, but the godly and legally *right* thing to do would be to donate it to the Church which had occupied it originally ; at least, the Church should keep the buildings and the estate ([160]). This is hardly an argument a rightful owner would put forward to counter an injustice that befell him and is an implicit admission of culpability.

Commenting on this issue, Litavrin argues that Theophylaktos had illegally appropriated the village and that is why the archbishop did not put up serious resistance at the time of its confiscation ([161]). In light of the preceding discussion, Kazhdan unjustifiably dismisses Litavrin's argument as being inconsistent with the text ([162]). However, Theophylaktos men-

(158) The bishopric of Stagi also was found to possess unregistered fields. In 1163, the bishop solicited imperial confirmation of these, as well as of all other landed properties in the possession of the bishopric, apparently in the wake of disputes with the local fiscal authorities. Astruc, *L'évêché thessalien de Stagi*, pp. 214, 216. See also n. 70 and 73, and pp. 604-605 and n. 142 above.

(159) The Church and monasteries did not enjoy tax privileges unless explicitly exempted. Dölger, *Die Frage*, p. 7 ; Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, p. 56.

(160) *PG*, 126 col. 536A. It is an open question why Theophylaktos did not invoke the 40-year prescription to defend the Church's right of ownership (*B.* 5. 3. 7 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 3. 24 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 42 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 3. 14). Conceivably, the stipulated by law time of possession had not elapsed ; but this is unlikely if we take him to his word that the Church was in possession for a long time. Apparently, there were grounds for suspension of the prescription (*Hexabiblos*, 1. 3. 11), or the two essential requisites to prescription, *justa causa* (lawful ground, just cause) and *bona fides* could not be met.

(161) Litavrin, *Bolgaria*, pp. 83-86 ; Id., *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 24 ; Id., *Problema gosudarstvennoj*, pp. 57-58 ; Id., *Propriété d'État*, pp. 20-21.

(162) Kazhdan, *Sostav*, pp. 231-232.

tions that he found out (εὗρον) about the confiscation (163), which implies that he became aware of the confiscation *after* he came into office. Therefore, he could not have protested the confiscation himself as the event did not happen during his tenure. Sjuzjumov also remarks that Theophylaktos' complaint does not prove the state's ownership of private properties since the expropriation was effected in contravention of canon law. In his view, Theophylaktos was actually stressing that the state does not have the right to seize Church lands ; it only has the right to levy taxes on them (164). Rouillard believes that the seizure of the village probably came about as a result of a new survey of landed properties which revealed that the Church did not possess the village legally. Therefore, the appropriation of the lands by the state had nothing in common with the notion of confiscation (165). Still, it has been argued that the legal grounds for the confiscation of Church property "were at best dubious", and that Theophylaktos views them with skepticism and cynicism, stopping short from terming the incident as a gross injustice (166). But, as already shown, the legal grounds for the confiscation were quite obvious – unlawful possession and tax evasion. The archbishop emphasizes the unjust expulsion from the property, while pretending that the clerics always *thought* they owned the property. Although not a persuasive argument, the canny archbishop hoped to repossess the property, this time with full ownership and tax exemption, by using the right connections. The upshot is that the cited episode fails to prove Kazhdan's assertion that confiscations are based on imperial supreme ownership of the land, and suggests that takeovers of landed properties by the state were not invariably without legal basis.

To be sure, confiscations of lay and monastic properties were not rare in Byzantium and certainly not every such act was legitimate (167).

(163) *PG*, 126 col. 533 D.

(164) SJUZJUMOV, review of Kazhdan's : *Derevnja*, p. 214.

(165) G. ROUILLARD, *Notes et discussions à propos d'un ouvrage récent sur l'histoire de l'État byzantin*, in *Revue de Philologie, de Literature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, 16 (1942), pp. 177-178.

(166) BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, p. 39 n. 96.

(167) Novel 12 (1080) of Nicephorus III, in *JG*, 1, pp. 285-286. "Roman emperors treat common property as their own" : Nicetae CHONIATAE, *Historia*, ed. J. A. VAN DIETEN, Berlin, 1975, p. 143. In the same vein : ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 3, pp. 733, 766 ; CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, 2, pp. 37,

Byzantine historians held that confiscations were an infringement on the rights of property owners and not an exercise of the emperor's lawful rights ([168]) ; in fact the emperors usurped the right of ownership (*despoteia*) which did not belong to them ([169]). Nevertheless, the term "confiscation" has been used indiscriminately by Byzantine chroniclers and present-day scholars alike, obfuscating the motive and true nature of such appropriations. A searching examination of the circumstances underlying acts of confiscation should help put the issue in perspective. In the first place, it is a mistake to derive a general imperial right to confiscate from the frequency of land confiscations for which the legal grounds are at best dubious and then justify it on the basis of ownership of all land ([170]). Second, *klasmatic* lands ([171]) and escheated properties of *paroikoi* ([172])

39 ; SKYLITZES, *Synopsis Historiarum*, p. 396 ; *Actes d'Iviron*, 1, Introduction, pp. 27-31 ; 2, n°s 45. 12-15, 24-25 and p. 159 ; 50 *passim* and pp. 195-196 ; 52. 146-148 and p. 221 ; *Actes de Xénophon*, n°s 25. 109-111 ; 2. 2-7 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 2 : n° 75. 37-39 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, n° 18. 5-12 ; GOUDAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἐγγραφα*, pp. 128, 133-134 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 61, 192, 238, 294 ; RHALLES and POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, p. 603 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, pp. 143-145 ; P. GAUTIER, *Un chrysobulle de confirmation rédigé par Michel Psellos*, in *REB*, 34 (1976), p. 87 ; ID., *Diatribes de Jean l'*Oxite *contre Alexis Ier Comnène*, in *REB*, 28 (1970), p. 33 ; MONKS, *Privy Purse*, p. 778 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, pp. 54, 67, 70, 72, 82, 118 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, pp. 155-163 ; GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Politique agraire*, pp. 56-57 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 145 ; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Fortune et puissance de l'aristocratie (X^e^-XIIe siècle)*, in V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON, ed., *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1989-1991, 2, p. 208 ; A. HARVEY, *Financial Crisis and the Rural Economy*, in *Alexios I Komnenos*, ed. M. MULLET and D. SMYTHE, Belfast, 1996, p. 172 ; ID., *The Land and Taxation in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos : The Evidence of Theophylakt of Ochrid*, in *REB*, 51 (1993), pp. 142, 143 ; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 161. See also n. 31, 37, 198.

(168) See n. 153 above, and Ioannes MAUROPUS, Metropolitan of Euchaita, *Letters*, ed. P. De Lagarde, Goettingen, 1882, pp. 170-171.

(169) P. MAGDALINO, *Aspects of Twelfth-Century Kaiserkritik*, in *Speculum*, 58 (1983), p. 339.

(170) BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, p. 39.

(171) See pp. 575-576 and n. 32 above.

(172) *Exaleimma*, a term analogous to *klasma*, referred to abandoned land belonging to *paroikoi* who had fled or died heirless that had reverted to the state (escheated property of *paroikoi*). The state reassigned such lands to monasteries, lay landowners, *pronoia* holders, or individual *paroikoi* to be cultivated. M. C.

taken away by the fisc are not confiscations *stricto sensu*. These properties were removed legally and in accordance with prescribed procedures because they were either deserted lands, or arable lands belonging to *paroikoi* who had fled and never claimed their land or had died heirless and hence they belonged to no one. In effect, the owners of these properties had *forfeited* their ownership rights ([173]). Third, also within the purview of the law, in the sense of administrative appropriations, were takeovers of land in return for canceling tax obligations ([174]) ; seizure of private property associated with repossession of usurped state lands ([175]), venality or dereliction of duty ([176]), inexcusable absence of three years or desertion by the military ([177]), bequest of property to disowned persons ([178]), absence of eligible heirs ([179]), aiding and abetting egregiously the issue of a chrysobull ([180]), sentence of individuals for criminal acts including περιορισμός (exile) imposed for embezzlement of public funds or commitment of abhorrent crimes ([181]), conversion of a Christian

BARTUSIS, *Ἐξάλειμμα : Escheat in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 41 (1986), pp. 55-81. Sometimes *pronoia* holders appropriated the land of *paroikoi* who died heirless. *Actes de Docheiariou*, n° 40. 13-14 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, p. 182.

(173) See pp. 575-576 above.

(174) MAGDALINO, *Justice and Finance*, p. 109 n. 68 and the sources cited therein ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 26.

(175) See pp. 604-606 above.

(176) I. ŠEVČENKO, *Léon Bardales et les juges généraux : Ou la corruption des incorruptibles*, in *Byz.*, 19 (1949), p. 251 ; P. LEMERLE, *Documents et problèmes nouveaux concernant les juges généraux*, in ID., *Le monde de Byzance : vie et institutions*, London, 1978, Variorum Reprints, Part XIV, pp. 32-33 ; *Epanagoge*, 7. 4 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 82, 159 ; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 5. 15 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 60 ; *Φ*. 27.

(177) Novel 18 (963-969) of Nicephorus II Phocas, in *JG*, 1, pp. 247-248.

(178) *Peira*, 60. 1.

(179) *Hexabiblos*, 5. 8. 95 ; Novel 12 (945-959) of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, in *JG*, 1, p. 237 ; Novel 26 (1306) of Andronicus II in *JG*, 1, p. 534 ; *ODB*, s.v. Intestate Succession.

(180) KEKAUMENOS, *Στρατηγικόν*, p. 35.

(181) Forgery : *B*. 60. 41. 1 ; *B*. 60. 45. 7 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, *Π*. 17. 1, 4 ; M. 18. 2 ; *Synopsis Minor*, M. 125 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 248 ; assasination : *B*. 60. 39. 3 ; *Synopsis Minor*, *Φ*. 15, 25 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 171 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 6. 6 ; embezzlement of public funds : *B*. 60. 45. 1, 2, 7, 8, 10 ; *B*. 60. 43. 1 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, I. 2. 1 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 172, 173, 174 ; arson : *B*. 60. 39. 2, 6 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 146 ; forced seizure of immobile property : *B*. 60. 17. 7, 10, 12, 18 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 56 ;

to Judaism or attempt by a Jew to proselytize or circumcise a Christian ([182]), sites (*ἀγροί*) used for the manufacture of counterfeit coins ([183]), sale of forbidden medicines, amulets, etc, or involvement in sorcery or soothsaying ([184]), high treason or attempt to usurp imperial authority ([185]), or actions *ultra vires* ([186]) ; confiscation of land belonging to dignitaries accused of conspiracy, revolt or plot against the life of the emperor (*lèse-majesté*) ([187]) ; exchange of privately owned land with an equivalent pro-

exile : *B.* 60. 39. 3 ; *B.* 60. 43.7, 9, 10, 11 ; *B.* 60. 52. 7, 13 ; *B.* 60. 54. 7 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M. 18. 2 ; *Π* . 17. 1, 4 ; *Φ.* 6. 33 ; *Prochiros Nomos*, 39. 58 ; *Epitome*, 45. 38 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 159, 221, 223, 228, 255, 256 ; *Synopsis Minor*, *Φ.* 15, 25 ; M. 78 ; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 35. 11 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 3. 27 ; 6. 5. 15 ; 6. 9. 1.

(182) *B.* 60. 54. 22, 29, 30 ; *B.* 60. 39. 7 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, I, I. 4, 6, 8, 11 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 148, 235, 237 ; Epitome, 45. 62 ; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 36. 2, 9 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 11. 1, 2, 5.

(183) *B.* 60. 60. 1, 2 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, *Π.* 8. 3 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 248. ; *Synopsis Minor*, *Π.* 76.

(184) *B.* 60. 39. 3, 4 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, *Φ.* 2. 1, 2 ; *Epanagoge*, 40. 84 ; *Ecloga Legum*, 17. 43 ; *Prochiros Nomos*, 39. 29, 78 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 235 ; *Epitome*, 45. 20, 21, 35, 38, 59 ; *Epamagoge Aucta*, 52. 25, 26, 30, 71 ; *Synopsis Minor*, *Φ.* 14 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 10. 3, 4, 5, 7 ; *Prohiron Auctum*, 39. 197.

(185) *Ecloga Legum*, 17. 3 ; Georgii AKROPOLITAE, *Opera*, ed. A. HEISENBERG, Stuttgart, 1978, 1, p. 105. 3-5 ; P. LEMERLE, *Un Praktikon inédit des Archives de Karakala (Janvier 1342) et la situation en Macédoine orientale au moment de l'usurpation de Cantacuzenè*, in *Χαριστήριον εἰς A. K. Ὀρλάνδον*, Athens, 1965, 1, p. 293 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 45. 9-13 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 6 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, p. 71 ; ROUILLARD, *Vie rurale*, pp. 115, 116 ; HARVEY, *Monastic Economy*, p. 91. See also n. 187 below.

(186) Exile and confiscation of property of Basil the Nothos : Novel 29 (996) of Basil II, in *JG*, 1, pp. 270-271 ; *ODB*, s.v. Basil the Nothos.

(187) *Ὁ κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως μελετήσας φονεύεται καὶ δημεύεται* (plotters against the emperor shall be executed and their property confiscated) : *Epanagoge*, 40. 12 ; *Ecloga Legum*, 17. 3 ; *Prochiros Nomos*, 39. 10 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 100, 103, 104 ; *Epitome*, 45. 30 ; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 52. 9 ; *Prohiron Auctum*, 39. 15 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 14. 2. Emperor Theophilos, after the rebellion of Thomas the Slav, seized the estates of the mutineers and gave them to the supporters of the regime. KAZHDAN, *Hagiographical Notes*, p. 161. Similar was the fate of Romanos Straboromanos under Alexius I Comnenos : P. GAUTIER, *Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos*, in *REB*, 23 (1965) pp. 178-204 ; Theodore Metochites under Andronicus III : GUILLOU, *Civilisation byzantine*, p. 259 ; *ODB*, s.v. Th. Metochites ; Eustathios Maleinos under Basil II : SKYLITZES, *Synopsis Historiarum*, p. 340. 88-95 ; *ODB*, *s.v.* Maleinos ; A. Achouchos under Manuel I

perty ; or seizure of property followed by just compensation to the owner in the exercise of the state's right of eminent domain. By the same token, grants of monastic properties to lay nobility as *charistikia* sanctioned by chrysobulls were not confiscations, for the monasteries did not lose title to their properties ([188]). Finally, *hikanosis* is also cited as a veritable confiscation "without trial" ([189]). But as already discussed, *hikanosis* aimed to recover illegally seized state land, identify unregistered fields acquired or brought under the plow after a land survey, or uncover properties paying less than the due tax. More importantly, the fisc did not take away assessed excess land unless the landlord refused or was unable to pay the assessed price or the additional tax as the case may be ([190]). Clearly, in all the instances just cited, takeovers by the state had legal foundation and hence cannot be viewed as confiscations *qua* confiscations. It is noteworthy moreover, that confiscation of property was effected only after a person was *convicted* for a hideous crime, not simply by imputation of a charge or imprisonment ([191]). This is contrary to Kazhdan's claim that the Byzantine government never issued a law but tacitly assumed the right of blanket confiscation, thereby affording a license for arbitrary and indiscriminate land appropriations ([192]). On the other hand, these lawfully effected confiscations are hardly proof of power deriving from imperial or state supreme ownership.

Comnenos : Nicetae CHONIATAE, *Historia*, pp. 146-147 ; CHEYNET, *Fortune*, 2, p. 209 ; ID., *Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris, 1990, p. 201 ; M. Kamytzes under Alexius III Angelus : Nicetae CHONIATAE, *Historia*, p. 533 ; CHEYNET, *Fortune*, p. 203 ; *ODB*, s. v. Kamytzes ; A. Strategopoulos, Th. Philes, D. Tornikios under Theodore II Laskaris, and many others : AKROPOLITAE, *Opera*, 1, pp. 154-155 ; VASILIEV, *History*, 2, pp. 479, 546-547 ; GLYKATZI-AHRWEILER, *Politique agraire*, p. 65. Other instances of property seizures are cited in *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 45. 6-16 ; CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, 2, p. 37 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 30 ; ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 3, p. 736 ; KEKAUMENOS, *Στρατηγικόν*, pp. 35-37 ; HENDY, *Studies*, p. 231. In an autocratic regime with no law of succession, the perception of an unspoken legal right of insurrection would be difficult to put to rest giving rise to frequent military revolts and loss of estates.

(188) See pp. 601-602 above.

(189) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 141 ; ID., *State*, p. 97.

(190) See pp. 604-606 above.

(191) *B.* 60. 53. 3 ; *B.* 60. 52. 2, 3 ; *B.* 60. 51. 5 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, K. 5. 1, 3, 15 ; *Φ.* 6. 33 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 195, 220, 228 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 4. 22 ; 4. 11. 11.

(192) KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 135.

Similarly, recall of *pronoiai* ([193]), usually when the treasury was empty and the state was unable to meet urgent needs ([194]), are incorrectly viewed

(193) *Pronoiai* initially were grants of land to military in return for services or to lay landlords in return for equipping a contingent of soldiers, alluding to a reciprocal obligation (reciprocal contract). Subsequently, land was also granted to dignitaries, monasteries and even women, suggesting the grant of a benefit without a reciprocal obligation of the recipient for counterperformance (gratuitous contract). The property remained state land, was allotted for a specified period, usually the lifetime of the holder when conveyed to individuals, and could not be alienated. With the land were also handed over the peasants living on it, becoming *paroikoi* of the *pronoia* holders. The holder of a *pronoia* also acquired the right to the rents from the property, often revenues due the fisc from the peasants (wholly or partially), as well as to the labor services of the *paroikoi*. The land could be taken back from the grantee, allocated to another, or returned to the state. In the late 14th and 15th centuries, though never the rule, *pronoiai* tended to become hereditary as their holders, in large part members of the imperial family, persons close to the emperor, or senators, obtained the right to bequeath the land to their offspring with or without service obligations. *Pronoiai* were granted by *ad hoc* imperial decrees (chrysobulls, *prostagmata, horismoi*) reflecting the *personal* character of the privilege. For details see Novel 61 (1158) of Manuel Comnenos in *JG*, 1, pp. 381-385 ; Pachymeres, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1835, 1, p. 97 ; Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 1, p. 44 ; *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos 13 ; 26 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, nos 45 ; 47 ; 48 ; 51 ; 57 ; 64 ; 65 ; 66 ; 69 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, nos 60 ; 96 ; *Actes de Xénophon*, n° 5 ; *MM*, 4, p. 194 ; *ODB*, s. v. Pronoia ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Agrarian Conditions*, 1, pp. 226-228 ; Id., *Féodalité*, pp. 181-186 ; Id., *Aristocracy in Byzantium*, pp. 11-14, 17-19 ; Id., *History*, pp. 330-331, 371-373, 392, 425, 482, 541 ; Lemerle, *Agrarian History*, pp. 207-214, 222-241 ; Id., *Un praktikon inédit*, p. 281 ; Id., *Recherches sur le régime agraire à Byzance : la terre militaire à l'époque des Comnènes*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 3 (1959), pp. 265-281 ; N. Svoronos, *Petite et grande exploitation à Byzance*, in Id., *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'empire byzantin*, London, 1973, Variorum Reprints, Part II, pp. 327-329 ; Charanis, *Monastic Properties*, pp. 87-91, 111-112 ; H. Ahrweiler, *L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIIIe siècle*, in *TM*, 1 (1965), pp. 39-40 ; Eadem, *La 'Pronoia' à Byzance*, in Eadem, *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéen (Xe-XIIIe siècles), Colloque International (Rome 10-13 Octobre 1978)*, Rome, 1980, pp. 681-689 ; Eadem, *Donations conditionnelles*, pp. 110-112 ; Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society*, pp. 156-158 ; P. Magdalino, *An Unpublished Pronoia Grant of the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*, in *Zbor.*, 18 (1978), pp. 155-113 ; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1997, pp. 148-149, 156, 257-259 ; Harvey, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 6-7, 72-73 ; A. Hohlweg, *Zur Frage der Pronoia in Byzanz*, in *BZ*, 60 (1967),

as confiscations. The grant of *pronoia* did not create a property ownership right but only conferred a *temporary* and *conditional* right of *use* on the beneficiary – a legal fiction of possession and an insecure and precarious one at that ([195]). Kazhdan concurs that *pronoiai*, an institution established by practice and not by law, were a benefice in the form of landed property bestowed by the emperor to an individual (soldier or functionary) or an ecclesiastic entity and stresses their temporary and conditional character. However, he maintains that *pronoiai* were governed concurrently by the principles of imperial *dominium directum* and the "absolute" ownership of the individual. Hence, the *pronoia* differed from the Roman *dominium*, i.e. "free" private ownership, because it established a "cooperative" relationship between the state and the bearer of the *pronoia* right. This suggests that neither obtained full mastery of the property and the grant *de facto* resulted in divided ownership ([196]). But if *pronoiai* were temporary and conditional, the emperor's grant conveyed only *possession* (temporary tenure) and the fisc maintained full ownership of the property ([197]) ; a situation of semi-feudal property relationship and shared ownership never arose ; and the hypothesized duality of principles is not borne out. It also follows that the state could rightfully recall the *pronoia*. What the

pp. 288-308 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, p. 14 ; D. JACOBY, *Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque*, in *TM*, 2 (1967), pp. 421-481 ; A. KAZHDAN, *Pronoia : the History of a Scholarly Discussion*, in *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 10 (1995-1996), pp. 133-163 ; OIKONOMIDES, *Role of the Byzantine State*, pp. 1042-1048.

(194) In emergencies, usually arising from intense military pressures on the empire or dire fiscal situations, lay and monastic lands granted as *pronoiai* were recalled and distributed to soldiers. PACHYMERES, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, 1, pp. 18, 193-194 ; 2, pp. 388-390 ; GREGORAS, *Historiae*, Bonn, 1829, 1, p. 138 ; *Kedrinos*, *Scylitzae Ope*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1839, 2, pp. 642-643 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 60-61 ; CHARANIS, *Monastic properties*, pp. 110-112, 114-116 ; ROUILLARD, *Vie rurale*, pp. 160-161 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, pp. 155-160 ; H. AHRWEILER, *Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle : nouvelles hiérarchies et nouvelles solidarités*, in *TM*, 6 (1976), p. 123 ; HARVEY, *Financial Crisis*, p. 170.

(195) OSTROGORSKY, *Pronoia*, pp. 452-453 ; ROUILLARD, *Vie rurale*, pp. 159-61 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'état*, pp. 28, 31.

(196) KAZHDAN, *State*, pp. 90-91 ; ID., *New History*, p. 17 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 145.

(197) OSTROGORSKY also argues that the *pronoia* had never been transformed into "*propriété allodiale*." *Féodalité*, pp. 163, 186.

grant of a *pronoia* did convey to the recipient were the derivative economic benefits of the land and the settlers — rents, fiscal revenues, and the services of the *paroikoi*. The state retained full mastery of the property, while the *pronoia* holder enjoyed the benefits of the imperial generosity without ever acquiring "absolute" ownership rights, being fully aware that the grant was recallable by the reigning emperor or his successor(s).

Reprehensible appropriations generally affected innocent high-ranking state officials who were vindictively relieved of their duties following a change of the administration and were deprived of properties they had been granted by the emperor during their tenure as a reward for their services (*ἀναιτίων*) ([198]) ; guiltless military or political figures indicted on trumped-up charges of conspiracy or plotting against the emperor's life ; or dignitaries and monasteries in disregard of chrysobulls that had confirmed their ownership to former state properties. Unquestionably, these appropriations were whimsical and resulted in unjustified seizures of landed properties ; but, viewed in a time frame of centuries, they were exceptional, intermittent, and the result of imperial abuse of power ; were mostly acts of desperation prompted by budgetary crises and emergency situations associated with the national defense ; and usually involved privileged and large landowners. Certainly, they did not derive from the notion of imperial supreme ownership as postulated. Nevertheless, the possibility of taking away legally owned property introduced an element of uncertainty and a sense of injustice within the potentially affected class of citizenry, even if sporadic. But often imperial land grants aimed to secure the recipient's loyalty or were accorded as a generous but questionable reward for past or future service, albeit still under no legal compulsion (*donatio remuneratoria*). In instances of provable partisan grants of land, subsequent imperial acts of appropriation amounted to a recall of prior grants of land *belonging to the public domain*, handed out in an arbitrary and discriminatory fashion and on unproven justification. It is therefore debatable whether the appropriation of landed properties granted under demonstrably questionable motives should be viewed as confiscations proper.

(198) Nicephorus III castigated the confiscation of the properties of these officials as motivated by greed (*ἀπληστίαν*) and urged the discontinuation of this practice. Novel 12 (1080) in *JG*, 1, pp. 285-287 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 316-318.

In light of the above observations, the notion that the institution of private ownership was ambivalent, unsettled or self-contradictory appears to stem from the fact that most land reversions to the fisc have been *misperceived* as confiscations when in reality they were purposeful, fell within the purview of enacted legislation, and were implemented in accordance with established procedures. The legitimacy of so many instances of confiscations points up an unjustified imputation of opprobrium on legal state actions clearly emanating from the emperor's sovereign power to govern without due consideration of the underlying rationale. Even uncalled for confiscations neither presuppose nor reflect exercise of imperial supreme ownership right ; they manifestly constitute *abuse* of imperial power ; show disregard of the principle that imperial power must be exercised within the scope of the law (ἔννομος ἐπιστασία) (199) ; and as such, if anything, attest to the *absence* of supreme imperial or state ownership.

Expanding on his view that the state had *dominium directum* over the empire's entire territory, Kazhdan maintains that the state had "feudal" monopoly of the land and that in Byzantium property relations ought to be compared with the norms prevailing in contemporary Middle Ages and not with the principles of Roman law. He stresses the "ambivalence" of the Byzantine social order and its contradictory duality, where "word" and "fact" did not always turned out to be the same. Land transactions were conducted in accordance with legal statutes, and "stated law" ostensibly guaranteed *de jure* ownership. But the fact is that "stated law" created an "illusion" of ownership — *de jure* acquisition did not make one *de facto* property owner because the socio-economic structure of Byzantium had changed in the 11th and 12th centuries. Clear manifestation of state land ownership is the payment of a tax, or a "centralized rent", by the bulk of the empire's population (200). But while in a "bourgeois" state taxation is based on the principle of sovereignty, in the Middle Ages tax payments were a sign of dependency. The application of medieval norms to Byzantium is justified by the fact that tax payment and lack of freedom were closely related (201).

(199) *Epanagoge*, 2. 1, 4 ; *Epitome*, 1. 20 ; *Synopsis Minor*, B. 21, 24, 43 ; Novel 66 (1166) of Manuel I Comnenos, in *JG*, 1, p. 389. See also p. 607 and n. 153 above.

(200) This concept is discussed in pp. 622-629 below.

(201) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 228-229.

The rationale for associating property relations in Byzantium with western norms and the postulate about the state's feudal monopoly of land derive from the historical materialistic concept of the inevitability of social and economic formations, and the consequent claim that feudalism is an indispensable stage of the historical development of societies. Hence, feudal property must have existed in every medieval state, including Byzantium ([202]). Yet, there is no explicit or implicit evidence of any influence on land tenure patterns by western feudal institutions to support this aprioristic reasoning. Contrary to Kazhdan's view, the concentration of landed properties in lay and monastic hands had largely been completed early in the 11th century, albeit this did not signal the disappearance of free peasant landholdings. Also, the political events of 1204 did not affect materially the traditions, practices and above all the land tenure system in Byzantium. When the Latins occupied the major part of the empire, the social structure and land tenure arrangements they found were not very different from those in their own societies ([203]). More importantly, the growth of large landownership among laity and clergy in Byzantium was an *indigenous* and *singular* development which had a long gestation period, dating back to Roman times and originating in imperial land grants to frontier soldiery, grants of *pronoiai* to military,

(202) KAZHDAN, *State*, p. 85. Ostrogorsky also defines Byzantine feudalism in terms comparable to those of western historiography, albeit unconvincingly. See HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 6-7. On the other hand, LEMERLE, *Agrarian History*, pp. 184, 191-192, ID., *Cinq études*, pp. 186-187, argues against the applicability of the term "feudalism" to Byzantium.

(203) Novels 2 (922) and 5 (935) of Romanus I Lecapenus ; 6 (947) and 8 (945-959) of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos ; 16 (962) of Romanus II ; 20 (967) of Nicephorus II Phocas ; 26 (988) and 29 (996) of Basil II, in *JG*, 1, pp. 198-204, 205-214, 214-217, 222-226, 243-244, 253-255, 259, 262-272, respectively ; CHARANIS, *Monastic Properties*, p. 93 ; ID., *On the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire*, in *Byz.*, pp. 51-52, 56 ; J. LEFORT, *The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in LAIOU, *The Economic History of Byzantium*, 1, pp. 287-289, 292-293 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, pp. 254-525, 272-276, 320, 329 ; ID., *Aristocracy in Byzantium*, p. 17 ; VASILIEV, *History*, 2, p. 577 ; N. SVORONOS, *Société et organisation intérieure dans l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle : les principaux problèmes*, in ID., *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1973, Part IX, pp. 1-4 ; MAGDALINO, *Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 161 ; CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations*, pp. 207-237 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in Central Greece*, p. 24.

dignitaries and monasteries, appropriations of state lands and abandoned tracts, land reclamation, purchase of *klasmatic* lands, or purchase-*cum*-usurpation of peasant landholdings by lay and monastic powerful landlords. Strong but spasmodic measures over the centuries against the growth of large estates by Justinian, the Isaurian emperors, and the Macedonian dynasty proved unsuccessful in stemming the tide of land-grabbing. This tendency was reinforced by a streak of natural disasters (famines, droughts, pestilence) which forced small landholders to sell ; the cultural bias against business undertakings ; the prevailing partible inheritance system which resulted in properties of uneconomic size and allowed great landowners to expand their estates by buying up such plots ; the exercise of preemption rights by great landlords ; and the unwise interest rate policy which set at an excessively low level (if the risk premium is included) the interest rate that dignitaries, the class with available loanable funds, could charge borrowers, thereby creating a disincentive to lend and an incentive to invest in land ([204]). Besides, development of a feudal regime presupposes a weak central authority and a closed economy. But at least until the mid-12th century, the empire remained highly centralized and still in control, while its economy was open to international trade throughout its existence having adopted a free trade regime ([205]). It would therefore appear that the forces which shaped feudalism in the West played no role in the development of large domains in the East. As has been aptly observed, "[T]o explain Byzantine feudalism in terms of borrowing from the West is completely untenable" ([206]).

(204) For a discussion of the interest rate policy in Byzantium, see MANIATIS, *Just Price*, pp. 178-186.

(205) D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Processus de féodalisation*, in *L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, (1948), pp. 500-501 ; VASILIEV, *Feudalism*, pp. 597-598. OSTROGORSKY argues that the significant extension of *pronoia* rights compromised the emperor's authority and weakened his political power. *Paysannerie*, pp. 11, 16, 37 ; ID., *Féodalité*, p. 18 ; ID., *Pronoia*, p. 460. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic and centralized state apparatus maintained its relative autonomy and strength until the end of the empire. HALDON, *Feudalism*, pp. 27-28.

(206) OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 375, n. 1 ; ID., *Aristocracy in Byzantium*, pp. 16-17. Of the same view is also SJUZJUMOV, *Feodalisma v Vizantii*, pp. 3-16, and H. W. HAUSING, *Kulturgeschichte von Byzanz*, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 211. "[A] coherent structure of feudal relations never developed in Byzantium... 'feudalism'... never became formalized in law and did not acquire a technical vocabulary." C. MANGO, *Byzantium, The Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 54.

To support his view of the close relationship between tax payment and lack of freedom, Kazhdan takes up first Attaleiates' figure of speech : "that genuinely free are only those who are free of fear when it comes to the discharge of their financial obligations, not those who received their personal freedom by an act of manumission" ([207]). However, Attaleiates alludes to the heavy tax burden of small landowners in particular, exacerbated by the abuses of the tax collectors, which had led to confiscation of properties, forced peasants to hand over their land to magnates to avoid the levies (patronage), and made people fearful that they might not be able to pay their taxes and lose their property during adverse economic circumstances ([208]). So taxpayers were relieved from their anxiety when Nicephorus III forgave everybody's tax obligations in 1078, an act that Attaleiates extols ([209]). In essence, Attaleiates exposes the shortcomings of an ill-designed and ill-implemented tax system, and the pernicious, albeit *unintended*, effect the onerous tax obligations frequently had on taxpayers. But objectionable consequences of a misguided tax policy are not *inherent* in the concept of taxation and do not establish a link between tax payment and taxpayer dependency. Tax obligation is linked to the principle of state sovereignty from which the tax system derives its legitimacy in every organized society. Tax payments do not *by themselves* amount to giving up individual freedom and certainly are not a mark of vassalage. The alleged "dependency" was not a *systemic* or an *intended* outcome of the socio-economic order, but the product of fiscal mismanagement and a misconceived and misapplied tax policy, as is evidenced by the fact that more enlightened emperors tried to alleviate the burden by offering relief ([210]). Kazhdan's comparison with the West is infelicitous

(207) ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 284. 6-9 ; KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, p. 229 ; ID., *New History*, p. 11.

(208) ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 283 ; GAUTIER, *Diatribes*, pp. 31, 33, 43, 47 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 275.

(209) ATTALEIATES, *Ἱστορία*, 283-84. Nicephorus's III Novel 11 (1078) is not extant but its content is mentioned in ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 3, pp. 720-721, and included in *JG*, 1, p. 283, n. 1 : *τὰς δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἁπάντων κοινῶς ὀφειλὰς ἐκτεμών*.

(210) Empress Irene (797-802) alleviated the tax burden of the citizenry : *PG*, 99, coll. 932-933 ; THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, 1, p. 475. 15-19. Romanus III (1028-1034) forgave the debts to the fisc (*δημόσια χρέα*) : ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 3, p. 574 ; CEDRENUS, *Historiarum Compendium*, 2, p. 486 ; SKYLITZES, *Synopsis Historiarum*, p. 375. Andronicus I Comnenos (1183-1185)

and introduces an unwarranted deterministic element in the Byzantine socio-political order.

Kazhdan cites further as a sign of dependency and *quasi*-feudal relation the fear of Lavra's monks that, by virtue of the transfer of the taxes due the fisc to the emperor's Alexius I Comnenos brother Adrianus, they would be deemed as subordinate (*ὑποτελεῖς*) and *paroikoi* of the latter, even though they owned their lands ([211]). They therefore sought and obtained an imperial chrysobull reassuring them that "their status will not change" ([212]). Yet, the monks' fear had no foundation and was a ploy. The real concern of the monks was that, being a powerful person, Adrianus (or his heirs) might be tempted to appropriate their lands which might entail their becoming his *paroikoi*. The payment of their taxes to Adrianus only provided the impetus, opportunity, and *pretext* to allay their suspicion and seek an imperial decision (*τῆς ὑποψίας λύσιν ᾐτήσαντο*) in the form of a chrysobull to secure their property rights, a common practice by monasteries to protect their properties against encroachments ([213]). Indeed, the emperor issued a chrysobull in 1084 reassuring them that they should not be concerned, and that they will possess as absolute owners in perpetuity the landed properties that the monastery had already in its possession (*ποτὲ δεδίξονται οὗτοι, ἀλλὰ δεσποτικῶς ἀνθέξονται ἐσαεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ μέλλον διαδοχὴν ὧν ἔσχηκεν ἀκινήτων ἡ μονή*) ([214]). Interestingly, in 1104 the monks of Lavra had to seek again the intervention of Alexius I because the venerable Andronicus had appropriated one of their

reduced considerably tax burdens and inflicted severe penalties on tax collectors who were furthering their own interests : VASILIEV, *History*, 2, pp. 434, 481 ; *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα*, ed. S. LAMPROS, Groningen, 1968 (= Athens, 1879), 1, pp. 142-149 ; Nicetae CHONIATAE, *Historia*, pp. 325-326 ; ID., *Orationes et Epistolae*, pp. 325-326. Michael VIII Palaeologos (1260-1282) also granted remission of debts to the fisc : *καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ... χρεῶν δημοσίων ἀπολύων τοὺς ὠφληκότας* : PACHYMERES, *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, 1, pp. 97-98. In the view of Byzantine chroniclers, justice, *inter alia*, meant that the levy of new and heavy taxes was unjust whereas the rescission of taxes an act of justice ; hence, the administration of fiscal justice for them was of the first order. A. E. LAIOU, *Law, Justice, and the Byzantine Historians : Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, in LAIOU and SIMON, *Law and Society in Byzantium*, pp. 169, 170, 176-177, 183.

(211) *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 46. 12-21.

(212) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, p. 229 ; ID., *State*, p. 93.

(213) See p. 585 and n. 69, 70 above.

(214) *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 46. 23-25.

large estates and their claim was upheld ([215]). The plea proves that their fear of *appropriation* of their land by powerful persons close to the emperor was fully justified, and that Kazhdan's identification of tax payments with dependency is not substantiated. The moral is that transplanting in Byzantium norms of property relations prevailing in the West is stretched.

To buttress his theory of supreme state land ownership, Kazhdan argues further that the emperor not only owned vast domains ([216]), but was also the nominal recipient of all state taxes and personal services performed by peasants. The relationship between the state and the taxpayer was multifaceted and discriminatory : the tax incidence varied among taxpayers because of the differential tax rates, short term (*kouphismos*) or long term (*sympatheia*) tax alleviations in emergency situations, and partial or total tax exemption of members of the ruling class and pious institutions ; in kind and personal obligations (e.g., *corvées*) ([217]) were levied in addition to the tax payment, leading to dependency and attachment of the peasants to the soil ; the farming out of tax collection resulted in extortion of the taxpayers, while the rule of joint tax liability skewed further the individual burden. Even though *paroikoi* tenants were not completely deprived of legal rights, they were not free men. These features are not the typical relationship between an "ordinary" taxpayer and a sovereign. In Byzantium, sovereignty did not provide the legal basis for levying taxes ; only state ownership of land did. Rural communities, acting as fiscal agents, enabled the state to impose a collective tax liability on the villagers and transform them into state peasants ([218]). On the other

(215) *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 56.

(216) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 128-137 ; MAGDALINO, *Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 172.

(217) E.g., road maintenance, erection of bridges, fortifications, shibuilding. On the kinds of *corvées* (ἀγγαρεῖαι), see *B.* 56. 17, 21, 22 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Λ. 2. 5-7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 27, 29, 32 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Λ. 66-69 ; *Hexabiblos*, 2. 5. 4, 8 ; Chrysobull of Constantine IX (1044) in *JG*, 1, p. 617 ; *Actes de Lavra*, 1, nos 38 ; 44 ; 48 ; *MM*, 4, pp. 3-4 ; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, pp. 151-152 ; *Actes de Chilandar*, n° 60 ; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, pp. 305-310, 356-368 ; ID., *Ländische Steuergemeinde*, p. 60 ; ID., *History*, pp. 108-110 ; ID., *Agrarian Conditions*, pp. 222-223 ; DÖLGER, *Beiträge*, pp. 48-62 ; A. STAURIDOU-ZAPHRAKA, Ἡ ἀγγαρεία στὸ Βυζάντιο, in *Βυζαντινά*, 11 (1982), pp. 23-54.

(218) KAZHDAN, Sostav, pp. 229-230 ; ID., *Derevnja*, pp. 137-138 ; ID., *State*, pp. 96-98 ; ID., *Feodalnoj sobstvennosti*, pp. 48-65 ; ID., *Agrarnye otnoshenija v*

hand, the obligations of the private *paroikoi* to their landlords were virtually the same as those of the state *paroikoi* (δημοσιάριοι) since their status was not different : both were bound to the land, and the taxes and rents they paid and the services they rendered can be viewed as "feudal rent." In effect, state tax and private-law rent were no different in Byzantium than in other medieval states. Following imperial donations and grants of privileges, state peasants found themselves under the patronage of big landowners and, as a result, the difference between feudal rent and tax became indistinguishable ([219]). In the political consciousness of the Byzantines the relationship between land and taxes became distorted, and land was regarded as a guarantee of the totality of the peasants' obligations (taxes, rents, services) – a "seigniorage". And since any land was viewed as state land, private land was equated with state land ([220]). In the last analysis, the unified rent-tax was the realization of the ruling class' monopolistic ownership of the land achieved through the intermediation of the state acting as their instrument of power. The state, as supreme landlord, fostered the formation of large private properties by means of policies that enabled the feudatories to acquire state land and expand further their estates by gaining possession of the peasants' properties and turn them into their *paroikoi*. Since the state was the supreme proprietor of all public and private lands, these alleged equivalences led Kazhdan to view the totality of obligations to the state as a "centralized rent-tax" ([221]). As he put it, "the Byzantine state had appropriated supreme feudal land ownership, and this ownership was realized in the form of centralized feudal rent-tax" ([222]).

Kazhdan's theory of "centralized rent-tax", predicated on the postulates of supreme state land ownership, the attachment of taxpaying peasants to the land, and the peculiarities of the tax system, is unconvincing. In the first place, the centralized extraction of tax cannot be likened to

Vizantii XIII-XIV vv (Agrarian Relations in Byzantium in the 13th and 14th Centuries), Moscow, 1952, pp. 151-156.

(219) A. KAZHDAN, *Krestijanskie dvizenija v Visantii i agrarnaja politika imperatorov Makedonskoj dinastij* (Peasant Movements in Byzantium and Agrarian Policy of the Emperors of the Macedonian Dynasty), in *VV*, 5 (1952), pp. 77-82, 83, 97 ; ID., *Derevnja*, p. 139 ; *ODB*, s. v. State Property.

(220) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 233-234.

(221) KAZHDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 229-230 ; ID., *Derevnja*, pp. 127-128, 188.

(222) KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 138 ; ID., *Sostav*, pp. 229-230 ; ID., *Feodalnoj sobstvennosti*, p. 60.

feudal rent. The nature of the taxes and *corvées* imposed by the state and their economic and juridical basis make such similarity unsound. The paramount role of the state in fixing the obligations levied upon the peasantry, and the fact that the greater part of their labor services owed the state were firmly rooted in tradition and applied to state related tasks, e.g., construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, fortifications, etc., reflected the landowners' limited ability to extract feudal rent from their workforce and their own subjection to the state administrative apparatus. Under these circumstances, private landlords would have had great difficulty in turning labor services to their own advantage, in contrast with the potential labor contribution to the demesne production typical of the western manorial economy. Moreover, the state's ability to tax and requisition services from landholders was not challenged, as the landowning class remained ideologically wedded to the concept of an imperial, centralized, and bureaucratic state, while their power to extract feudal rent was never dominant ([223]). Second, "feudal" rents were allotted by chrysobulls to large lay and monastic landlords and dignitaries as the emperor obliged peasants to pay their taxes to them instead of to the fisc. This implied that the extraction of "feudal" rent did not presuppose acquisition of the peasants' properties by their landlords and a change of their status into *paroikoi* ([224]). Third, if by imperial decision a state *paroikos* was required to pay his rent or taxes to a monastery or a *pronoia*

(223) J. F. HALDON, *Some Considerations on Byzantine Society and Economy in the Seventh Century*, in *BF*, 10 (1985), pp. 107-110. C. J. WICKHAM also stresses the difference between state tax and rent extracted by the landlords ; state tax-raising and coercive rent-taking by landlords cannot be conflated. *The Uniqueness of the East*, in *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 12 (1985), pp. 183-187. "The preservation of the centralized state machine and bureaucratic officialdom in Byzantium constitutes perhaps the most striking difference between the development of the west and east at the dawn of the Middle Ages." M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Istoriceskaga rol' Vizantii i ee mesto vo vsemirnoj istorii* (The Historical Role of Byzantium and its Place in World History), in *VV*, 29 (1968), pp. 32-44. KAZHDAN concurs : A. P. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History*, in *Byz.*, 52 (1982), p. 469. KAZHDAN concedes further that, unlike the West, the feudal forces in Byzantium remained "weak, loose, and underdeveloped," curbed by the influential and central role of the state. *State*, p. 95. "The development of feudalism was restricted by the survival of the state apparatus." HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 8, 12.

(224) *Actes de Lavra*, 1, n° 46. 12-20, and pp. 30-31 ; ANGELOV, Review of Kazhdan's *Derevnya* (as in n. 1), in *Bsl*, 25 (1964), pp. 115-116.

holder instead of the fisc, this should not be interpreted as deriving from the emperor's supreme land ownership but simply as a change in the person of the recipient ([225]). Fourth, the property right of the state becomes feudal only after the formation of a class of large proprietors for whose interests the state becomes the upholder, a situation that did not arise in Byzantium. On the contrary, the central authorities struggled to hold back the extension of aristocratic landholdings in the provinces ([226]). Fifth, the indisputable power of the emperor to sell, lease or grant state land and tax revenues to private individuals ; the constant recycling of conditional grants of *klasmatic* lands among recipients ; the allocation of tracts of neglected communal lands to small, free, taxpaying owners, and the fragmentation of large *idiostata* without changing their status as a tax entity ; the state's efforts to defend small landholders ; and the persistent distinction between state property and private and communal properties well into the 12th century are inconsistent with a system of state servitude, state feudal land ownership, and a centralized feudal rent ([227]). Sixth, fiscal rent cannot be identified with private rent. Aside from their legal differences, not all rent ended up in the state's coffers because it was divided between the state and private landowners. Imperial sales and grants of land, concessions of fiscal revenues, and tax alleviations and exemptions to private individuals and ecclesiastic entities amounted to partial privatization of the fiscal rent. By the same token, the extent and content of the levies do not support the notion of a unified rent-tax, as the rent was levied by the proprietor and the tax by the state ([228]). Seventh, the varying tax incidence is not a feature particular to feudal rent ([229]). Eighth, there have been no radical changes in the principles of taxation since the late Roman period.

(225) BECK, *Res Publica Romana*, p. 41.

(226) LITAVRIN, *Bolgaria*, pp. 40-58. SJUZJUMOV concurs with this viewpoint : review of KAZHDAN's *Derevnja*, pp. 215-216.

(227) LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, pp. 45-46 ; ID., *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 40-41.

(228) E. PATLAGEAN, '*Économie paysanne*' *et* '*Féodalité byzantine*', in EADEM, *Structure sociale, famille, chrétienté à Byzance IVe-XIe siècle*, Variorum Reprints, Part III, London, 1981, pp. 1375, 1381, 1384, 1387-1388, 1390-1392. With the introduction of the *pronoia* system, a process of alienation of the state's fiscal and juridical rights set in which ultimately led to the privatization and sharing of the state's revenues with the ruling class at the state's expense. HALDON, *Feudalism*, pp. 25-29.

(229) LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, p. 14.

Land taxes were coercively collected by sovereigns of all medieval states and there is nothing specifically feudal about them. The land taxes levied on the peasantry of the 9th-11th centuries were veritable fiscal charges and cannot be compared with feudal rent ([230]). Ninth, the Byzantine legislation made a clear distinction between patrimonial land which the emperor could not *legally* take away, and state land which he could dispose of at his discretion. This meant that in confiscations of patrimonial properties the emperor acted as sovereign and not as supreme landowner since ; by abusing his authority, he violated the moral standard of conduct he was expected to uphold. The sharp statutory distinction between patrimonial and fiscal property confutes the postulate that the emperor was the supreme owner of the empire's land ([231]). Tenth, under Eastern despotisms, the commune developed under the domination of state ownership of the land and in total absence of private land ownership. By contrast, private property existed throughout the life of the empire, state and private ownership of land was sharply demarcated by law, and the state could not arbitrarily take away private land ([232]). Eleventh, as discussed earlier, the notion that there is no substantial difference between state land tax and rent is incorrect ([233]). Twelfth, there are no 10th-11th century documents that bear witness to the attachment of free peasants to the soil. It hardly makes sense to call personally free peasants "state peasants" merely on grounds that they payed taxes and fulfilled state obligations ([234]). Finally, the term "centralized rent" would have been appropriate if it meant that the government seized from the landowners

(230) SJUZJUMOV, review of KAZHDAN's *Derevnja*, p. 215 ; ID., *Le village et la ville à Byzance aux IXe-Xe siècles*, in *Le féodalisme à Byzance : problèmes du mode de production de l'empire byzantin*, ed. H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, Paris, 1974, p. 73, n. 23 ; ID., *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, p. 45.

(231) D. ANGELOV, review of A. KAZHDAN's *Derevnja*, pp. 117-118, with reference to two chrysobulls issued by Manuel VIII Palaeologos in 1262 pertaining to the case of the villagers of Molachion vs the monastry of Patmos. SJUZJUMOV concurs : *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, pp. 43-44. See also n. 34 above. LITAVRIN maintains that there is no evidence of confiscation of patrimonial property, except in cases of treason or conviction for crimes against the state. *Propriété d'État*, pp. 31-32. See also p. 576 and n. 34 above.

(232) SJUZJUMOV, *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, pp. 43-44.

(233) See above pp. 572-573.

(234) SJUZJUMOV, *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, pp. 42-43 ; SVORONOS, *Société et organisation*, pp. 2-3 ; LITAVRIN, *Propriété d'État*, p. 14.

part of the rent they received from the dependent peasants. But the term is used to mean taxes and a tax is not tantamount to rent. The state collects taxes not as owner of the land but by virtue of its sovereignty. And since no state has ever existed without levying taxes, the term "centralized rent" would equate the institution of government with feudalism – which is odd ([235]).

Kazhdan points out that Ostrogorsky reached a similar conclusion on the status of the peasantry ([236]). According to Ostrogorsky, the small proprietors were not free and independent as generally thought but in reality peasants of the state. In fact, there were only state *paroikoi* and private *paroikoi* since an independent free peasantry disappeared during the 10th century ([237]). But by virtue of their fiscal and service obligations, the status of *paroikoi* in private estates was no different from that of the state peasants (*δημοσιάριοι*). Hence, the taxes, rents and services the private *paroikoi* owed their lords in fact they owed the state. After all, their relation to the state did not differ from the tie that linked the *paroikos* to his master – state peasants were in the same type of dependency on the state as the privately owned *paroikoi* on their seigneur. What distinguished the private *paroikoi* was not their alleged independence, but the fact that they were dependents not only of a feudal lord but also of the state, or more exactly, of the emperor – they had a master in the person of the emperor ([238]). Yet, the postulated concept of dual dependency by the authors is not self-evident and the asserted duality remains conjectural. Lumping together state *paroikoi* and private *paroikoi* because of the similarity of their fiscal and service obligations does not establish imperial or state dependency, and the propounded duality is implicitly attained by an artificial *osmotic* process of equalization. Besides, consequential objections have been raised to designating community members paying taxes to the Treasury as "state peasants." Contrary to the notion that all *demosiarioi*

(235) SJUZJUMOV, review of KAZHDAN's *Derevnja*, pp. 215, 217. LITAVRIN also maintains that the land tax of the 9th and 10th centuries cannot be viewed as centralized feudal rent. *Propriété d'État*, p. 14.

(236) KAZHDAN, *Derevnya*, p. 138. See also n. 218 and 219 above.

(237) OSTROGORSKY, *Paysannerie*, pp. 11-24, especially pp. 17-20. H. MONNIER is quite emphatic too : "*L'expropriation des petits propriétaires indépendants est un fait accompli.*" *Études de Droit Byzantin*, in Variorum Reprints, London. 1974, p. 316.

(238) OSTROGORSKY, *Paysannerie*, pp. 17-18.

were *paroikoi* because the land belonged to the state, it has been convincingly argued that they were free and *independent* peasants settled on *klasmatic* state or imperial domains, holding leased land and being subjected to fiscal and service obligations to the state. Although their freedom was limited, they were not bound to the land. The payment of taxes and the performance of *corvées* for the benefit of the fisc do not prove the enslavement of the taxpayers ; on the contrary, those paying taxes should be considered as free peasant citizens. The coexistence of a village community and full private land ownership are not incompatible possibilities. Though independent peasants probably were not numerous, they did not signal the disappearance of a free peasantry during the 10th and early 11th century. In the 11th century, free peasants still predominated over private and state *paroikoi,* and private *paroikoi* were predominant over state *paroikoi* even in the 12th century ([239]). This viewpoint seems plausible, the more so since short term and occasional long term (*emphyteusis*) leases of state-owned domains are known to have existed up to the 14th century ([240]). By the same token, the similarity of fiscal obligations in itself

(239) SJUZJUMOV, *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, pp. 34-36, 41-43, 45 ; ID., review of KAZHDAN's *Derevnja*, pp. 211-213 ; ID., review of LITAVRIN's *Bolgaria* (as in n. 37), in *VV*, 22 (1963), pp. 298-299 ; SVORONOS, *Société et organisation*, p. 3 ; J. KARAYANNOPOULOS, review of OSTROGORSKY's *Paysannerie* (as in n. 72), in *BZ*, 50 (1957), pp. 167-173, 181 ; LEMERLE, *Le régime agraire*, p. 273 ; ID., *Agrarian History*, pp. 51-57, 173, 182-187 ; ID., *Gorod i derevnja v Vizantii v IV-XII vv* (Town and Country in Byzantium in the 4th-12th Centuries), in *Actes du XIIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines. Ochrid 10-16 September 1961*, Belgrade, 1963, pp. 277, 279, 280-282 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, pp. 5-6 ; CHARANIS, *Social Structure*, p. 44 ; LEFORT, *Rural Economy*, 1, pp. 237-240 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 28-41 ; ID., *Problema gosudarstvennoj*, pp. 73-74 ; ID., *Propriété d'État*, pp. 14, 22, 45-46 ; DÖLGER, *Die Frage*, pp. 7, 9-10, 11-12 ; ID., *Beiträge*, pp. 25, 47, 63, 149 ; D. ANGELOV, *Prinos kam pozemlenite otnoshenija vyv Vizantija prez XIII vek* (The Role of Land in Agricultural Relationships in Byzantium in the 13th Century), in *Godišnik na Sofijskaja universitet. Filosofsko-istoričeski fakultet*, 2 (1952), p. 74 ; PATLAGEAN, '*Économie paysanne*', p. 1386 ; GUILLOU, *Civilisation byzantine*, p. 263 ; D. JACOBY, *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. SETTON (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969-1989), 6, p. 208 ; *ODB*, s. v. Demosiarios. KAZHDAN has acknowledged later on that, while the number of great estates increased during the 11th and 12th centuries, free peasants did not disappear. KAZHDAN and WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, pp. 57-58.

(240) *MM*, 3, pp. 237-238 ; 245-246.

does not render tax-paying *independent* peasants occupying state and private properties *dependents* of the state and the emperor. In light of the above observations, the inferred nexus between land taxes and supreme imperial ownership is forced. The right to tax the citizenry is primeval and emanates from the state's sovereign power and not from its supreme ownership of the land. Private property has always existed in Byzantium in a tangible and not in an illusionary form, land was always in great demand ([241]), and the notion that all land belonged to the state has no foundation. Tax liability by individuals does not reflect dependency (= vassalage) in the Byzantine social order, and tax payments, rents and services can hardly be viewed as an expression of such a tenuous all-encompassing concept as the centralized rent-tax ([242]).

A final argument that Kazhdan advances to support his central thesis is that the *Byzantine law* viewed all immobile properties as belonging to the state (*πᾶν γὰρ ἀκίνητον ὑποδημόσιον ὄν*), and that they were granted by the emperor to persons on condition that they will fulfill their tax obligations to the fisc (*τῷ τὴν καταβολὴν ποιουμένῳ τῶν δημοσίων βαρῶν*). The quoted passages are from Novel 114 of emperor Leo VI ([243]). However, the citations not only are incomplete but also have been misinterpreted. The Novel stipulates : "Owners of immobile properties can dispose of them freely to anyone they wish. But because every immobile property is liable to the fisc for the payment of taxes ([244]), transfer of ownership rights is conditioned on payment of the levies that encumber the property (*Ἔξεστι τῷ κατέχοντι ἀκίνητον διαπιπράσκειν πρὸς ὃν ἂρα βούλεται πρόσωπον ἀνεπικωλύτως τε καὶ ἀνεπιφωνήτως. Πᾶν γὰρ ἀκίνητον ὑποδημόσιον ὂν ἐκχωρεῖ ἡ βασιλεία μου τῷ τὴν καταβολὴν ποιουμένῳ τῶν δημοσίων βαρῶν ἐξωνεῖσθαι*)." The purpose of the measure was to prevent tax evasion by surreptitious transfer

(241) See pp. 576, 592-594 above.

(242) Cf. SIUZJUMOV, *Suverenitet*, pp. 57-65 ; ID., *Vizantijskoe obshiny*, p. 44 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 22-42, 288.

(243) *JG*, 1, p. 186 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 139-140. This is the reason, argues KAZHDAN, why in the *Treatise on Taxation* the difference between rent and tax was disappearing, espousing Danstrup's conception. *Derevnja*, pp. 139-140, 186-187 ; *ODB* s.v. State Property. However, as already discussed (pp. 573-573 above), tax and rent were distinguishable and the difference did not disappear.

(244) *Τοῖς τέλεσιν οἱ ἀγροί, οὐ μὴν τὰ πρόσωπα, ἐνέχονται ; Τὰ δημόσια τέλη οὐκ εἰσὶ κατὰ προσώπων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πραγμάτων. B.* 56. 1. 7 ; *B.* 56. 8. 3 ; *Epitome*, 15. 29 ; *Peira*, 15. 7 ; *Hexabiblos*, 2. 5. 11, 12.

of properties and ensure the orderly collection of duties. Clearly, the passage : *πᾶν ἀκίνητον ὑποδημόσιον ὄν* does not convey the notion that all immobile properties *belong* to the state, as Kazhdan believes. Rather, it sets the general principle of the tax liability of the property and affirms the obligation of the occupant (owner or lawful possessor) to pay the assessed amount. This is in line with the longstanding principle : "he who possesses pays the tax" ([245]). Similarly, the passage : *ἐκχωρεῖ ἡ βασιλεία μου* does not mean that the emperor, as allegedly the superior and exclusive overlord, *grants* the property to whomever makes good on his obligations to the state. The true meaning of the passage is that the *transfer* of property rights and legal title occurs only after the payment (*καταβολήν*) of taxes and other obligations due the fisc by the rightful owner. A possessor (*νομεύς*) of land without legal title does not become owner simply by paying outstanding levies. Payment of the tax does not convey or take away ownership. Only the *entitled* person who pays off (*ἐξωνεῖσθαι*) the taxes owed becomes the rightful owner of the property. Agreement between the parties to transfer ownership without payment of the taxes due was illegal ([246]). Put differently, the provision in essence establishes the *mechanism* whereby property rights are conveyed – it does not signify imperial overlordship. Commenting on this issue, Litavrin argues that there is no legal theory supporting the view that all immobile properties belonged to the state. His interpretation of Novel 114 is that all immobile property must be taxed, and land may change hands only as long as the buyer assumes the levies that burden the property. Far from establishing the Asian principle of *despoteia* (all property belongs to the despot), jurisprudence affirms the classical principle that "possession entails the payment of taxes" ([247]). Sjuzjumov also argues that no juridical theory regarded land as state property and that Kazhdan confuses sovereignty

(245) *B.* 19. 14. 3 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 16. 1 ; *Epitome*, 15. 30 ; Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 137. Interestingly, although mines as a rule (*jura regalia*) were property of the state in Byzantium, still they could also be owned by private individuals. S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Question of the Byzantine Mines*, in *Speculum*, 37 (1962), pp. 2-3.

(246) *B.* 19. 14. 3 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 16. 1 ; A. 66. 19 ; *Epitome*, 15. 30 ; 15. 42 ; 16. 55. M. J. Sjuzjumov, *Dofeodalnyj period* (Prefeudal Period), in *ADSV*, 8 (1972), p. 9.

(247) Litavrin, *Propriété d'État*, p. 17 ; Id., *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 22, 25 ; Id., *Problema gosudarstvennoj*, p. 62.

with state property. His understanding (rather narrow) of the Novel 114 is that it "merely forbids a neighbor to put obstacles in the way property is transferred" ([248]).

Conclusion

Rather than summarize the entire range of issues raised in this article, it would be worthwhile to highlight the most important findings. The theory of supreme imperial/state ownership of all land in the empire is grounded on an artificial logical construct whose outcome is established *a priori* and whose anchoring premises are based on a web of postulates inconsistent with the institutional setup and the social, economic and political realities of the Byzantine state. The notion that the emperor's sovereignty over all landed properties had a legal foundation is built on misinterpretation of the cited legal and hagiographic texts, and confusion of sovereignty with state property. The belief that state supreme ownership and private property coexisted without negating each other and invalidating the power of private ownership is odd, as the two principles are incompatible – the implied dual ownership would have resulted in behavioral patterns contrary to ones actually observed. The idea that the owner had only possession and not full ownership of his property since all land was the property of the emperor has no basis in fact. Were this true, it would have had far-reaching implications for the very existence of the institution of private property, the status and conduct of the *quasi*-owner, the economic calculus, managerial decisions and utilization of the property, and ultimately the price of land, since the proprietor would have been uncertain about the validity of his title and derivative rights as long as the emperor or the state were supreme owners with unpredictable intentions. The evidence affirms an insatiable demand for land by lay and monastic landlords – let alone arbitrary appropriations by the emperors ; substantial expansion of cultivated land ; and determined efforts of property owners to defend their rights against plunderers. These developments would not have occurred had private property ownership not been a highly valued asset and an entrenched and legally protected institution.

Fundamental acts of *governance* have been confused with imperial supreme land ownership. The view that the state had the unrestricted and

(248) Sjuzjumov, review of Kazhdan's *Derevnja*, p. 214.

unappealable right to confiscate private lands ; that the institution of private ownership and the land tenure system were ambivalent, unsettled and self-contradictory due to restrictions imposed on the absolute right of ownership ; and that the full powers of private ownership were diluted as concessions by the state or monasteries resulted in cooperative relationships or divided ownership, contradict the very notion of the alleged harmonious coexistence between state and private property, and are the product of mischaracterized takeovers of privately held properties by the fisc, misunderstanding of the true nature of indigenous institutional arrangements, and misconstrued encumbrances which, on close examination, were acts dictated by the imperative of governance, had a legal basis, and were implemented in accordance with established procedures. The emperor's sovereignty did not invest him with authority to appropriate private properties, while reprehensible seizures as occurred were aberrant, reflected unfair *abuse* of power, and were unrelated to the presumed notion of imperial supreme land ownership.

The postulated link between state sovereign right to tax and taxpayer dependency is forced, and interposes an uncorroborated analogy rooted in the West. Similarly, the dogmatic concept of centralized rent-tax, predicated on the unsound premises of supreme state land ownership, the enslavement of the tax paying peasants, the vagaries of the tax system, and the identification of tax with rent, distorts the Byzantine landowning conditions, the actual status of the peasantry, and the nature of fiscal and service obligations owed the state. Tax obligations emanated from the principle of state sovereignty from which taxation derived its legitimacy and in no way were associated with state supreme land ownership and taxpayer vassalage. Varying and onerous tax incidence was the unintended consequence of a misconceived and misapplied tax policy, and comparisons with western prototypes introduce systemic syndromes alien to the Byzantine socio-economic order. More generally, the claim that property relations in Byzantium ought to be compared with norms prevailing in contemporary Middle Ages is not supported by the available evidence. The growth of large estates in Byzantium was indigenous, idiomorphic and long in the making, in whose development the forces that shaped feudal institutions in the West had no influence.

All in all, although thought-provoking, untenable hypotheses, gratuitous analogies drawn from the West, misreading of or unwarranted reading into the sources fail to provide the requisite underpinning to substantiate the radical theory of supreme imperial/state ownership of all land in

Byzantium. Ownership of land, firmly embodied in the Byzantine law, was the highest and most cherished concept of property pertaining to the aggregate body of the *people* which they were empowered to hold on to by virtue of *their* sovereign capacity : *Τὰ δημόσια [πράγματα] οὐδενός εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς κοινότητος. Τὰ δὲ ἰδιωτικὰ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστόν εἰσιν* (public properties belong to the community and to no one else, while private ones to the owner) ([249]).

George C. MANIATIS.

SUMMARY

The structure and dynamics of land ownership in Byzantium has polarized the scholarship. According to one view, private property (lay and ecclesiastic) remained the dominant form of ownership throughout the life of the Eastern Roman Empire, as small, medium and large properties coexisted albeit with changing proportional interrelationships over time. The uninterrupted application of the principles of Roman Law concerning the institution of private property implied that there was no legal foundation or latitude for complete imperial/state ownership of the empire's land. The opposite view advocates the emperor/state supremacy over all landed properties in the empire regardless of how they were acquired by virtue of *dominium directum*. Scrutiny of both side's supportive arguments reveals specious constructs and postulates, misrepresentation of the nature of fundamental institutional arrangements, and misreading of the sources by the proponents of the emperor/state overlordship, and casts doubts on the conceptualization, locic, dispassion, and ultimately on the validity of the theory of supreme imperial/state and land ownership, and calls for critical rethinking of the views expressed.

RÉSUMÉ

La structure ainsi que les rapports changeants des bien-fonds à Byzance ont polarisé les études en deux tendances. Selon l'une, la propriété (laïque et ecclésiastique) demeura la forme dominante de propriété tout au long de l'Empire romain oriental, tandis que les petites, moyennes ou grandes proprétés coexistaient, avec toutefois des rapports de proportions changeant avec le temps. L'application ininterrompue des principes du droit romain en ce qui concerne la propriété privée impliquait qu'il n'y avait pas de fondement légal ou de latitude en faveur de la propriété complète de l'empereur ou de l'État sur les terres de l'empire. L'opinion contraire défend l'idée d'une suprématie de l'empereur ou de l'État sur tous les biens fonciers de l'empire, sans tenir compte de leur mode d'acquisition, par le simple fait du *dominium directum*. Un examen attentif des arguments révèle des concepts et des principes spécieux, une assertion inexacte sur la nature des accords institutionnels fondamentaux et une mauvaise lecture des sources de la part des adeptes du droit du seigneur de l'empereur/État ; ceci suscite des doutes sur la conceptualisation, la logique, l'impartialité et finalement la validité de la théorie de la propriété suprême de l'empereur/État et appelle à une nouvelle approche critique des opinions exprimées.

(249) *B.* 46. 3. I.

NOTE

LA CINQUIÈME JOURNÉE D'ÉTUDES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ BELGE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

Cette journée a eu lieu le 6 mai 2006 à la Faculté de Lettres de la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven.

Après l'assemblée générale des membres de la S.B.E.B., la partie scientifique de la journée a consisté en six communications.

Anne Boonen, ***Les décors des manuscrits de Grégoire de Nazianze. État des lieux***

L'exposé présentait un projet de recherche soutenu par le Professeur Andrea Schmidt dans le cadre du Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze (UCL). Ce travail consiste à dresser l'inventaire des décors (toute forme d'ornement qui échappe au champ narratif) des manuscrits grecs de Grégoire de Nazianze. L'objectif est d'enrichir les critères externes d'analyse de ces documents. Le mode opératoire comporte deux étapes : le relevé et la description. Chacune pose des problèmes spécifiques : le relevé des motifs (près de 10.000 à ce jour) requiert une implication logistique importante ; le travail de description pose un problème méthodologique qui tient dans la définition et le choix d'un vocabulaire rigoureux pour décrire les motifs décoratifs. Il faut définir une terminologie technique propre au décor des manuscrits grecs. L'abondance documentaire nous contraint à l'expression synthétique : l'outil doit dire brièvement où et sous quelle forme se trouve l'élément décoratif.

Il est prévu, à plus long terme, de procéder à l'analyse fine de ces données en vue de dégager la logique décorative de chaque manuscrit (sa cohérence ou non) et de tenter ensuite la comparaison avec d'autre manuscrits. Ce travail d'analyse peut amener à considérer de nombreux points de vue comme la présence éventuelle de différentes mains, leur identification, ou la mise en évidence de l'existence d'un atelier, ou encore, alimenter le débat, quant à l'origine et la datation des manuscrits.

Osama El Nahas, *Towards an Information System for the ancient Egyptian Harbours. A case-study : the Byzantine Harbour of Marea*

This paper aims at introducing an extensive geographic information system (GIS), which can manipulate problematic issues about the sites, the maps and the database. Consequently, it can be a very crucial and impressive tool for documentation, management, preservation and protection of the ancient harbour sites from being destroyed and disappeared, not only from the archaeological maps of Egypt but also from the world heritage maps.

The system consists of two major parts ; the first one is an extensive database that contains the whole information concerning the harbours. For example, name, geographic location, history, literary sources, type of harbour, function, building materials and building techniques, bibliography, the actual status of the harbour and the excavation processes at the site. The second part is an accurate mapping system that can be used for locating the ancient harbours on different map layers, enable us to process, analyze and display the data on the maps according to the query's criteria.

Due to its well-preserved state, Marea lake harbour represents an impressive example of the lake harbours, not only in Egypt but also in the whole Mediterranean basin. Unlike other Mediterranean harbours, it was not built over by later inhabitants, and thus it provides a reliable source of information about building materials and building techniques for Lake Harbours. In addition, it represents a typically complete harbour outfitted with all the installation facilities such as : shops, wharfs, bathes, workshops, wineries, and ship sheds.

Jean Lempire, *Les computs pascaux sous le règne d'Héraclius Ier : la relation entre Maxime le Confesseur et Georges le Moine*

Le *Computus ecclesiasticus* de Maxime le Confesseur (fin 640 - début 641) et le traité pascal de Georges, moine et prêtre (638/639), ainsi que la Chronique pascale (628) et les trois derniers chapitres du traité astronomique de Stéphane d'Alexandrie (623), sont les seuls computs qui nous restent du règne de l'empereur Héraclius Ier (610-641). La quasi contemporanéité des deux premiers permet une comparaison instructive. Malgré leur système chronologique propre, notamment leur usage différent de l'ère mondiale, les œuvres de Maxime et de Georges se complètent et développent des questions de méthode qui illustrent bien les controverses pascales de l'époque. D'autre part, on se demande quel était l'usage et le but de ces traités, composés pour des personnes en vue, à l'instar de la Chronique et du chapitre pascal de Stéphane (attribué parfois à Héraclius). Ces textes semblent liés au pouvoir en place, impérial et patriarcal. Simples exercices techniques ou computs destinés à s'imposer dans un milieu politique ou religieux, les traités de Maxime et de Georges veulent en tout cas répondre aux problèmes chronologiques du moment.

Petra MELICHAROVÁ, *Four Lives : Confronting Ideals of Royal Female Sanctity in the West and in the Byzantine East in Late Middle Ages (13th-14th Century)*

The ideals of royal female sainthood as shown by the vitas of four late medieval queens, Hedwig of Silesia, Elisabeth of Thüringen, Isabella of Aragon and Theodora of Arta, reveal interesting differences between Byzantium and the West. The most important of these are related to (a) the image of the saintly queens, (b) their service to the poor, (c) their choice of (not) entering a convent when widowed and (d) their political activity. (a) While physical beauty remained a significant attribute of the eastern saintly empress, it disappeared completely from the western vitas and its role, bound to the queen's worldly dignity, passed on to the splendid dress. (b) Influenced by Franciscan piety, the western queens adopted a life of material simplicity combined with direct service to the poor while Theodora's legend, referring only abstractly on the latter, focused chiefly on the saint's patient martyrdom within her marriage. (c) Unlike the Byzantine empress who in her widowhood became a nun, the western queens never officially entered a monastic institution keeping control over both their means of charity and the ascetic way of life. Finally, (d) while queen's political activity was presented as quite acceptable to the readers of the life of Isabella, it remained unmentioned (though described by Akropolites) in Theodora's vita.

Giusto TRAINA, *Le commandant Flavius Dionysius et le voyage de Nestorius d'Antioche à Constantinople (hiver-printemps 428 ap. J.-C.)*

Le 10 avril 428, Nestorius fut officiellement intronisé comme évêque de Constantinople, après un long voyage commencé à Antioche. Son itinéraire n'est documenté avec certitude que dans sa phase finale, de Chalcédoine à Constantinople, par la Vie d'Hypatios (son bref séjour à Mopsueste et sa visite au sanctuaire de Thècle, attestés par les sources syriaques d'inspiration nestorienne, sont plus difficiles à vérifier). Toutefois, quelques éléments nous permettent de reconstruire ce voyage, au moins dans ses lignes générales.

Théodose II confia la mission d'escorter Nestorius à l'officier supérieur Flavius Dionysius, qui venait de rentrer d'une importante mission à la frontière orientale, ainsi que l'atteste la Vie Syriaque de Saint Syméon le Stylite. Le commandant se trouva certainement dans l'obligation de traverser toute l'Anatolie, à travers les 792 milles terrestres de la "Route des Pèlerins". Donc, Nestorius et son escorte traversèrent la Cilicie, la Galatie et la Bithynie jusqu'à Chalcédoine. D'ailleurs, la Vie d'Hypatios atteste que le religieux "fit des visites partout et à tous pendant son voyage" : autrement dit, il pouvait ainsi rencontrer les évêques de Tyane, d'Ancyre et de Nicomédie, qui étaient ses alliés. Sans doute, durant son périple, Nestorius fut-il en mesure de vérifier lui-même la diffusion des hérésies en Anatolie ainsi que le grand nombre d'évêques appartenant à des Églises rivales.

Peter Van Nuffelen, *Isolement et apocalypse : Philostorge sous Théodose II*

L'Histoire ecclésiastique de Philostorge (publiée après 425) doit être interprétée à la lumière de la situation sociale de l'eunomianisme. Cette hérésie se caractérise par le choix de se séparer des autres chrétiens, considérés comme impurs. Cette tendance fondamentale conduit à un isolement total après 381, quand Théodose I met le dispositif légal au service du nicéisme. À partir de là, la pression interne et externe fait que les eunomiens disparaissent lentement. L'histoire de Philostorge reflète cet isolement par une vue de plus en plus restreinte sur les événements, à tel point que les trois derniers livres sont une description apocalyptique des règnes de Théodose I, Arcadius et Théodose II (379-450). La lecture apocalyptique s'inspire de sources bibliques : en particulier, Philostorge pense que les prophéties du livre de Daniel se réalisent à son époque. Cette apocalypse est l'idée clé de son Histoire ecclésiastique car la préface est une réfutation implicite de l'attaque du philosophe néoplatonicien Porphyre contre la valeur prophétique de Daniel, une réfutation qui devient explicite dans le dixième livre. Il semble donc que Philostorge reflète l'identification des eunomiens avec les minorités juives telles qu'elles sont dépeintes dans le livre de Daniel. Leur situation désespérée leur inspirait les sentiments apocalyptiques dont Philostorge est le porte-parole.

COMPTES RENDUS

Selecta Colligere, II. Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus (*Hellenica. Testi e strumenti di letteratura greca antica, medievale e umanistica*, 18), éd. par Rosa Maria PICCIONE et M. PERKAMS, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2005, x + 483 pages. ISBN 88-7694-885-6.

If this article collection deals with what the editors call *das Phänomen der Sammlungsliteratur*, why then *Selecta Colligere II* as title and not just *Colligere II* ? To find an answer to this question, we have to go back in time a couple of years and take a look at *Selecta Colligere I*, the proceedings of the international conference *Sammeln, Neuordnen, Neues Schaffen. Methoden der Überlieferung von Texten in Spätantike und in Byzanz*, organized by the Friedrich-Schiller University of Jena in 2002. Far too often, compilators are depicted as working at random, without any clear method or fixed goal. None of this, however, is true. Compilators did not just gather whatever excerpts they had lying on their desk, but selected these fragments very carefully and put them together with a clear picture in mind of what the final result of their work should look like. It is up to us to expose these methods, working with the compilations that have come down to us. This is exactly what the various authors of both *Selecta Colligere I* and *Selecta Colligere II* aim to do. Such research implies respect for compilations as independent works of art. This does not mean we should neglect the question which sources a compilator used, but nonetheless we should admire the mosaics this kind of works really are, instead of wondering all the time where the different *tesserae* come from.

Selecta Colligere II consists of eighteen articles, divided into seven sections going from antique to humanist times. Within each division there is not only a chronological but also a thematic unity. After a foreword and an introduction by the editors, we come across three articles about *Sammlungen und Mikrotexte in religiösen und philosophischen Kontexten*. In *Excerpted Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (pp. 1-38), L. DOERING treats both Greek and Hebrew excerpt collections. He does not concentrate on the relation between these collections and the New Testament, but treats them as independent pieces of literature. Aude BUSINE shows us in *Gathering Sacred Words* (pp. 39-55) that not only pagan, but also Christian authors gathered oracles. We find out where these authors got their

material and how they treated it. The same kind of survey is applied to Kleanthes' *Schicksalsverse* by M. PERKAMS in *Stoische Schicksalslehre und christlicher Monotheismus* (pp. 57-78).

This brings us to the second part which is dedicated to *Athenaios und die Zweite Sophistik* and embraces four articles. In the first one, *Μέγα βιβλίον – μέγα κακόν* (pp. 79-96), D. U. HANSEN wipes out the belief Athenaios was overwhelmed by the enormous amount of material at his disposal and therefore searched refuge in tiresome catalogues. In *Sull'undicesimo libro dei 'Deipnosophistae' di Ateneo I* (pp. 97-111), Paola RADICI COLACE launches the question what type of work *Deipnosophistae* really is. Anna Maria URSO illustrates in *Sull'undicesimo libro dei 'Deipnosophistae' di Ateneo II* (pp. 113-129) how Jacques Dalechamps, who edited Athenaios' masterpiece in the XVIth c., dealt with several troubling passages of the eleventh book. Finally, Claudia STROBEL goes against the flow, rejecting the idea that lexicographers were not all that literate. In *The Lexicographer of the Second Sophistic as Collector of Words, Quotations and Knowledge* (pp. 131-157), she does not only sum up some strictly and less strictly Atticistic lexica, but also points out what reasons there existed for writing this kind of books in the first place and what sort of lemmata found their way into them.

Part three, which is entitled *Gnomologien : Eigenschaften und Kompositionsprinzipien*, starts with Sibylle IHM warning us in her article *Verirrte Namen* (pp. 159-176) for different phenomena which can make the identification of citations in florilegia rather difficult. In *La selezione del testo tragico negli gnomologi euripidei di età bizantina* (pp. 177-209) G. PACE examines why some Euripidean quotations made it into Byzantine gnome collections while others did not, before taking a look at the different types of gnomes this selection process resulted in.

The fourth part of *Selecta Colligere II* focuses on *Medizinische Handbücher*, and in particular on the difficulties which come along with the editing of such *Gebrauchsbücher*. Illustrations come from Barbara ZIPSER with an article on *Die 'Therapeutica' des Alexander Trallianus* (pp. 211-234) and E. V. MALTESE with *Sul testo del 'Δυναμερόν' di Elio Promoto* (pp. 235-243).

In part five we find out more about *Die Überlieferung historiographischer Texte*. In *Un'inedita epitome dell''Anabasi' di Arriano da Santa Croce di Urbino* (pp. 245-252), L. BRAVI states we should study epitomized versions of texts as an aid, not only in reconstructing these texts, but also in examining their structure. Moreover, we should look at these shortened versions to learn more about the epitome genre *per se*. U. ROBERTO shows us in his article *Gli 'Excerpta Salmasiana' di storia greca e orientale dello Ps. Giovanni di Antiochia e le 'Cronographiae' di Giulio Africano* (pp. 253-293) exactly which parts of the *Historia Chronike* of John from Antioch, and more in particular those in the vulgarized version of the *Excerpta Salmasiana*, belong in fact to the *Chronographiae* of Julius Africanus.

Part six of this volume, *Von der Bibliothek zum Buch : Auswählen und Sammeln bei der Herstellung von Handschriften*, begins with a contribution of F. Ronconi. In *La miscellanea che non divenne mai silloge* (pp. 295-353), he offers us a particularly detailed survey of the cod. Bodl. Barocci 50, and he ends with a fiery call for more or at least more intensive interdisciplinary cooperation in regard to the study of the *realtà libraria bizantina*. In the next article, *Note sul codice Vat. Barb. gr. 70 e sulla tradizione manoscritta dell' 'Etymologicum Gudianum'* (pp. 355-402), Elisabetta Sciarra raises the question what it meant to work with different authors on one and the same encyclopedia.

As indicated by its title, the seventh and last part, *Gelehrte Nachschlagewerke und Spruchsammlungen in humanistischer Zeit*, brings together three articles on humanistic compilations. In *Estratti dal 'Commento all'Odissea' di Eustazio di Tessalonica in duo zibaldoni autografi di Angelo Poliziano* (pp. 403-433), L. Silvano argues that Poliziano's personal notitions on Eustathius' massive work, which we find in the cod. Monac. Gr. 182, and the tutorial notes transmitted in the cod. Par. Gr. 3096 are complementary to one another. R. Tosi emphasizes in *Dai paremiografi agli 'Adagia' di Erasmo* (pp. 435-443) that, although Erasmus made gratefully use of the work done by his Byzantine predecessors, he differed from these scholars by really doing something of his own with the wealth of knowledge transmitted by them. In the last article of this collection, *Il libro che cresce* (pp. 445-455), Rosa Maria Piccione and Claudia Sode study *il caso di Oct. 141 della Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek di Weimar*, a printed gnomologic work completed with handwritten fragments, hence literally a *work in progress*. At the very end of *Selecta Colligere II* we find a *Tafelanhang* with photographs of the different manuscripts treated in this collection of articles.

The editors of *Selecta Colligere II* kept their promise and did not only reveal for us the logic that goes behind the apparently random process of creating a compilation but also enthused us for this particular literary genre. Compilations do deserve to be studied on their own. Some nuance however needs to be added. One of the proverbs R. Tosi mentions in his article on Erasmus' *Adagia* goes as follows : ἐκ βραδυσκελῶν ὄνων ἵππος ὤρουσεν. Some authors seem to equate antique and especially Byzantine compilation literature with an Arabic horse having sprung from donkeys, a comparison that, according to us, does not hold. Fortunately, *Selecta Colligere II* as a whole made clear that the opposite does not hold either.

Ilse De Vos.

Bizancio y la península ibérica. De la antigüedad tardía a la edad moderna (*Nueva Roma*, 24), éd. par Inmaculada Pérez Martín et P. Bádenas de la Peña, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004, xix + 542 pages. ISBN 84-00-08283-4.

It is commonly well-known that the Byzantine Empire was not just confined to Asia Minor, Greece and Eastern Europe, but that its borders stretched out to

more westward regions like South Italy and Sicily. Modern scholarship has not yet devoted, however, many book-length studies to the relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Iberian Peninsula.

Inmaculada Pérez Martín and P. Bádenas de la Peña made a valuable contribution to fill this gap with their volume of twenty essays, all addressing in various ways the generic theme of *Byzantium in Spain*. From a political, historical, archaeological, cultural, literary and theological point of view, each article attests to the influence of Byzantine culture on Spanish society and their mutual similarities – not just during the rather short, late antique period in which the Byzantine emperors occupied southern Spain, but also through medieval until modern times. At the same time, several contributors point out the specific, individual character of the Iberian Peninsula as not just a western blind copy of Byzantium. The structural framework of the volume is more or less chronological, so that the reader gets, so to say, an historical overview of Spain as a Byzantine and non-Byzantine region.

In the opening essay, Mar Marcos (*Aelia Flavia Flaccila, primera emperatriz de Bizancio (379-386 d.C.). Propaganda cristiana e ideología imperial en Constantinopla*, pp. 1-36) concentrates on Aelia Flavia Flacilla, originally from Spain and first wife of the Roman emperor Theodosius I. Literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources form the basis for a discussion of Aelia's personality and political importance.

Moving to the Visigothic history of Spain (5th-8th c.), P. C. Díaz (*En tierra de nadie : visigodos frente a bizantinos. Reflexiones sobre la frontera*, pp. 37-60) discusses the relations between the Byzantine 'occupiers' and the 'subjected' Visigoths. He shows that *frontier* was in this very period and region a relative concept. D. Bernal Casasola (*Bizancio en España desde la perspectiva arqueológica. Balance de una década de investigaciones*, pp. 61-99) offers a survey of recent Byzantine archaeological finds in the Iberian Peninsula. In his short essay, J. Arce (*Ceremonial visigodo/ceremonial "bizantino" : un tópico historigráfico*, pp. 101-115) presents an interesting analysis of the Visigothic royal ceremonial and its possible Byzantine imperial 'ancestor'. Margarita Vallejo Girvés (*El exilio bizantino : Hispania y el Mediterráneo occidental (siglos V-VII)*, pp. 117-154), on the other hand, starts from the Byzantine point of view and tries to explain why Byzantine refugees from the 5th until the 7th c. choose Spain as their place of exile. Special attention is given to religious motives.

The next two articles are concerned with theological and religious issues in Visigothic Spain. Sofía Torallas Tovar (*El hábito monástico oriental y su adaptación en Hispania*, pp. 155-163) briefly discusses how the oriental monk's habit was adopted by Spanish monks and adapted to the weather conditions in Spain. The main sources are the Rules of St Isidore and of St Fructuosus. F. M. Fernández Jiménez (*Influencias y contactos entre la liturgia hispana y las liturgias orientales bizantina, alejandrina y antioquena*, pp. 165-176), for his part,

offers a short history of the *liturgia hispana*. He argues that, although several features are typically oriental, this Spanish liturgy was perfectly occidental.

Each of the three following essays focuses on Spanish culture under Islamic dominion. Starting from Greek and Arabic sources, J. SIGNES CODOÑER (*Bizancio y al-Ándalus en los siglos IX y X*, pp. 177-245) studies the relations between Byzantium and Al-Ándalus during the 9th and 10th c., concentrating on political, economic, literary and artistic issues. He offers a detailed analysis of Andalusian piracy affecting Byzantine regions and the exchange of talented translators, manuscripts and artefacts between Byzantium and Al-Ándalus. L. A. GARCIA MORENO (*Elementos de tradición bizantina en dos* Vidas de Mahoma *mozárabes*, pp. 247-271), for his part, addresses the Spain-Islam topic from a theological and literary point of view. He examines how two *Vitae* of Mohammed, written by mozarabic authors, are related to the apologetic tradition of oriental Christianity. He argues that the minimal circulation of oriental polemical texts in Spain and the limited knowledge of mozarabic writers of the Islam and the Arabic language, explain the absence of an extensive Hispanic anti-Islamic *corpus*. Thirdly, P. BÁDENAS DE LA PEÑA (*El poema de* Diyenís Acrita *y la épica castellana*, pp. 273-293) offers an interesting comparative analysis of two epic poems, one Castilian, *El Cid*, the other Byzantine, *Digenis Akritas*. Both are situated in a 'contact region' of Christianity and Islam. Studying similar literary principles, he discusses the evolution of popular literature out of epic poetry.

An interesting Byzantine source of Spanish history is John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historiarum*. P. SCHREINER (*Juan Escilitzes y España. Un códice desconocido en Sofía*, pp. 295-301) discusses the *Achridensis* 79, a previously rather unknown codex of this text.

The relation between Byzantium and the *Corona de Aragón* is the central issue of both E. MARCOS HIERRO (*Bizancio en el imaginario político de la Corona de Aragón*, pp. 303-321) and D. DURAN I DUELT (*El comercio entre España y Bizancio en los siglos XIII al XV*, pp. 323-347). While the former concentrates on power and politics, DURAN gives an historical overview of the economic relation of Byzantium and Aragon in the 13th, 14th and 15th c. Interestingly, DURAN concludes his essay with a detailed bibliography.

J. SIMÓN PALMER (*Las Vidas de dos monjes del Atol como fuentes sobre las campañas catalanas en el Monte Santo (1307-1309)*, pp. 349-361) and E. AYENSA PRAT (*El recuerdo de Leonor de Aragón, reina de Chipre, en la literatura y el folclore de Valls*, pp. 363-380) both base their study of a specific historical event or person on medieval sources. According to PALMER, the *Vitae* of archbishop Danilus II and of the monk Sabas the younger are privileged sources of the Catalan campaign against Mount Athos in 1307-1309. Previously unedited evidence from the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* and the *Archivo Comarcal e Histórico de Valls* allows PRAT to reconstruct the turbulent period 1382 until 1394 of the life of Leonor of Aragon, queen of Cyprus. A. BRAVO GARCÍA (*La imagen de Bizancio en los viajeros medievales españoles. Notas para un nuevo comen-*

taro a sus relatos (I), pp. 381-436), on the other hand, analyses several reports of Spanish travellers to Byzantium, so that we, modern people, get an idea how this major city was like for medieval 'tourists'.

The essays of Chryssa MALTEZOU (*Bisanzio dopo Bisanzio e gli Spagnoli*, pp. 437-447) and J. M. FLORISTÁN (*El emperador y la herencia política bizantina (1519-1558) : ¿Καρόλος Ε΄ βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ?*, pp. 449-495) both deal with Spain and Byzantium after the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. MALTEZOU discusses two documents of Andreas Palaeologus : in the first, the despot of Morea sells imperial rights to don Pedro Manrique. In the second document, i.e. his will, he makes Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile his heirs and successors to the Byzantine throne. FLORISTÁN studies how then Charles V of Ghent, after his grandparents' death, dealt with this Byzantine heritage.

The volume ends with the essays of M. CORTÉS ARRESE (*Tras los pasos del arte bizantino en España*, pp. 497-513) and Patricia VARONA CODESO (*Bizancio y la cultura española (1870-1936)*, pp. 515-542), both on the 'rediscovery' of and the renewed interest in Byzantine culture in the Iberian Peninsula in modern times.

As a whole, the volume provides everyone who is interested in Spanish and Byzantine culture with an overview of wide-ranging topics in which those two societies are linked to one another. In addition, the fact that various essays refer to many original quotations from late antique or medieval sources, whether or not in original language or translation, makes this volume worth reading. There are, however, some small shortcomings, that could be easily corrected in a revised edition. In the first essay, for example, MARCOS uses for some Greek words Greek spelling, for others modern transliteration. It would have been better, if she had chosen one type and used this consistently. I mention, moreover, two examples of small mistakes, which, nonetheless, have not affected the overall quality of the volume. On p. 16 of MARCOS' article, ἀκαταφρόνητος is translated with *(pero) digna* ; better would be something like *not to be despised*. I think we are possibly dealing here with a dittography, as on the next line ὑψηλή is correctly translated with *(pero) digna*. On p. 160, TOVAR writes μηλοτὰς φοροῦντας instead of μηλωτὰς φοροῦντας. Finally, just because of the interesting discussions of the contributors, it is a pity that all articles, except one, are written in Spanish, which is not a 'basic language' for classical and Byzantine studies. This volume would reach a much bigger audience, if it had been written in a better-known scholarly language such as English or French.

Erika GIELEN.

Maria Luigia FOBELLI, *Un tempio per Giustiniano. Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli e la* Descrizione *di Paolo Silenziario*, Roma, Viella, 2005, XIV + 234 pages. ISBN 88-8334-162-7.

The book by Maria Luigia FOBELLI introduces a new Italian translation of the famous sixth-century description of the church of St Sophia in Constantinople

composed by Paul the Silentiary. Besides the central part, which consists of two original Greek texts (the description of the church of St Sophia and the description of its Ambo) and the Italian translation furnished with an extensive commentary, the book contains several sections where a number of literary and art-historical aspects of the *Ekphrasis* is addressed. Thus, in sections preceding the translation and meant, apparently, as an introduction to the reading of the poem, FOBELLI briefly treats the questions of the author and his work, as well as the literary genre of *ekphrasis*. She dwells upon some features of decoration, lighting systems, and interior furnishings of St Sophia in three chapters that follow the commentary on the *Description*.

The chapter dealing with the author and his work is a concise, dictionary-like overview providing few background details. The discussion of the *ekphrasis* as a literary genre is fairly cursory as well, and would hardly satisfy a reader interested in more than a superficial summary. Rather glaring, in this section, is the omission of any reference to – and, seemingly, knowledge of – the significant contribution to the study of *ekphrasis* as a literary genre made by H. Maguire. His research into Byzantine *ekphraseis* and their intricate association with the actual works of art would be particularly relevant to FOBELLI's own discussion of Paul the Silentiary's composition and its relation to the architecture and furnishings of St Sophia.

In the central part of the book the Italian translation runs parallel to the Greek original, which is based on Friedländer's critical edition. The text of the Italian translation is conveniently rubricated giving a better notion of the content of the poem and helping readers locate specific passages. The commentary elucidates various literary and art-historical details of the *Ekphrasis* pertinent to the architecture, furnishings and interior decoration of the Great Church.

Several features of the interior decoration and furnishings of the church of St Sophia are dealt with at greater length in the three concluding sections. FOBELLI concentrates on the chancel screen and two examples of the image system of St Sophia — the marble revetments and the motif of the Cross.

More original, perhaps, is the analysis of the light and lighting of the Great Church (An English version of her exploration of light in St Sophia was presented at the London Congress of Byzantinists and can be accessed on-line at http://www.byzantinecongress.org.uk/comms/Fobelli/paper.pdf). Besides general discussion of Paul's description of magnificent lighting in St Sophia, which has frequently fascinated the readers and attracted attention of modern scholars, some novel reconstructions have been suggested.

FOBELLI attempts to visualize Paul the Silentiary's lively description of various lighting devices by means of finding parallels with liturgical items that are known nowadays and, especially, those discovered in the so-called treasure of Sion. A comparison between the vivid descriptions in the poem verses and available examples of early Byzantine lamps motivates her to propose some innovative reconstructions of lighting devices in St Sophia.

Thus, she proposes the reconstruction of the crown chandelier being inspired by the comparative analysis of Paul the Silentiary's description and the *polycandela* discovered in the "Sion treasure". She also suggests a visual rendering of the lamps shaped like trees, pine or cypress : although no equivalent liturgical lamp has been discovered thus far, FOBELLI makes a reconstruction of this type basing her proposal on reinterpretation of an existing *polycandelon* from the Hermitage Museum at St Petersburg.

Noteworthy, a fine selection of illustrations helps even an uninitiated reader visualize a considerable amount of architectural details of the structure, interior furnishings and liturgical items that are brought up in the discussion.

If dissatisfied with the brevity of FOBELLI's presentation, however, inquisitive readers can get acquainted with the in-depth studies of the questions raised by following the references that are neatly listed in the appended bibliography. It contains the main items even though, as noted above, it definitely lacks some highly relevant scholarly publications.

In the end, it is worthwhile noting that the present translation of the *Ekphrasis* by FOBELLI is already the second rendering of the complete work of Paul the Silentiary into Italian. French and German readers can equally benefit from the vernacular translations. The Anglo-Saxon audience, unfortunately, has to remain content with only a few translated fragments of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis*, accessible mainly in Mango's handy collection of translated sources (*The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1435 : Sources and Documents*, Toronto, 1986) as well as in some less easily available publications by Lethaby and Swainson (*The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople. A Study of Byzantine Building*, London and New York, 1894) and C.-R. Fletcher (*Ekphrasis : Lights in Santa Sophia from Paul of Silentiary*, in *Arion* 4 (1965), pp. 563-581).

Kateryna KOVALCHUK.

Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik. Beiträge zum Symposion „Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien" im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger (Wien, 4.-7. Dezember 2002) (*Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia*, 24), éd. par W. HÖRANDNER, J. KODER, Maria STASSINOPOULOU, Wien, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004, 496 pages + 44 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-7001-3269-7.

Ce volume, en un véritable feu d'artifice, illustre le large spectre des études byzantines et néogrecques à l'Université de Vienne, ainsi que les fruits de 40 années d'enseignement, et il honore aussi la mémoire des Prof. Herbert Hunger et Gunnar Hering. Le volume reprend les contributions faites au Symposium organisé en décembre 2002 lors du 40e anniversaire de la fondation de l'Institut des Études byzantines et néogrecques, à l'occasion duquel les anciens étudiants furent invités à présenter leurs recherches en cours, pour ainsi donner un aperçu du rayonnement international de l'enseignement et de la recherche, ainsi que de l'orientation future de la discipline à l'Université de Vienne.

Dans son discours solennel, *Vierzig Jahre Byzantinistik* (pp. 25-34), E. Chrysos (Athènes) retrace, en le parsemant de maintes anecdotes mémorables, l'historique de l'Institut, fondé en 1963. Son fondateur, le Prof. Herbert Hunger, était prédestiné à son premier grand devoir, la mise en valeur scientifique du fonds des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale d'Autriche, ayant publié déjà le premier volume de son Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de cette Bibliothèque, catalogue toujours exemplaire pour les manuscrits grecs. Parmi ses premiers étudiants comptent E. Trapp, W. Hörandner, J. Koder, O. Kresten, W. Seibt. Pour l'orateur, le succès extraordinaire de l'École Viennoise ne se doit pas seulement à ses personnalités éminentes, mais aussi au *genius loci*, à la dynamique de la ville de Vienne, une croisée des courants culturels occidentaux et byzantins.

Parmi les conférences thématiques, plusieurs ont trait à l'art et à l'archéologie. Jenny Albani (Athènes), *In der Hoffnung auf ein ewiges Leben* (pp. 53-60), présente quelques objets d'art mésobyzantin, exposés au Musée d'Art byzantin et postbyzantin dans l'Église San Salvatore de Chania (Crète), provenant des fouilles de 14 tombes de femmes et d'enfants découvertes à Stylos (Crète occ.). Des objets semblables (croix, bijoux) trouvés à Corinthe, Prespa, en Thessalie, Chalcidique, à Constantinople, Agrinio, Mystra, permettent de dater les objets du Musée aux IXe-XIIe s. La décoration indique qu'à l'époque mésobyzantine les offrandes à caractère apotropaïque étaient toujours d'usage.

K. Belke (Vienne), *Gâvur Hisarı, Eine byzantinische Burg in der Troas* (pp. 74-82), pour préparer le volume *La région de la mer de Marmara* des *TIB*, a pu visiter la forteresse de Gâvur Hisarı, située à 11 km à l'est de Çanakkale et qui constitue le monument byzantin le plus important conservé, tenant compte de sa taille et de sa conservation. L'A. confirme l'hypothèse que cette forteresse se trouve à l'endroit de Kremaste témoigné par Xénophon. Les détails de la construction (jointoiement avec du mortier, riche décor céramique aux murs extérieurs des tours) font penser à Lentiana/Tophisar en Bithynie et à Karabiga/Pegai à la mer de Marmara et permettent de dater la forteresse du temps de Jean III Batatzès, destinée à protéger les empereurs lors de leurs trajets fréquents entre Nymphaion et Lampsakos. L'A. propose une étude des objets en céramique méso- et tardobyzantin, qui permettrait sans doute de déterminer la durée d'utilisation de cette forteresse.

Ch. G. Chotzakoglou (Nicosie), *Ein spätbyzantinisches Opus Sectile-Paviment in der Klosterkirche von Mega Spelaion, Peloponnes : Technik, Thematik und Symbolik* (pp. 99-131), présente ici les magnifiques pavements – en grande partie à l'état original – du katholikon et du presbytère du Monastère de Méga Spéléon, exécutés en *opus sectile*. Des travaux entrepris en 1973/74 ont gravement endommagé ces pavements ; les narthex furent couverts de plaques de marbre blanc flambant neufs. L'A. découvrit récemment un grand nombre des spolies – une partie utilisée comme remploi dans un chemin pavé et une autre partie cachée en dessous de l'entrée principale du monastère –, sans cependant trouver des traces de représentations animalières ou anthropomorphes. L'œuvre

appartient à la catégorie des pavements décorés paléologues, qui diffèrent des pavements mésobyzantins par la technique (incrustations au lieu de tessons de mosaïque), la disposition (un décor axial au lieu d'un motif central en dessous de la coupole), ainsi que par la thématique et la symbolique des motifs représentés (au lieu de pentaomphalion central et d'omphalia, des représentations du soleil, de la lune, d'étoiles, de cyprès et du double aigle byzantin, symbolisant respectivement le Christ, la Vierge, les Apôtres, l'Église et l'État). Contrairement à G. Soteriou, qui place le pavement à la période ottomane, l'A. le date au début du XIVe s., se basant e.a. sur plusieurs mentions d'Andronic II Paléologue dans les documents et en le comparant à des œuvres analogues à Arta, à Mistra, à Prizren, etc. L'A. place ce riche décor dans le cadre d'une politique byzantine de la démonstration de pouvoir dans des lieux libérés de la domination franque.

M. Grunbart et Susanne Lochner-Metaxas (Vienne), *Stempel(n) in Byzanz* (pp. 177-189), signalent qu'à l'époque byzantine les objets en terre cuite (amphores, tuiles) ont été estampillés ; sporadiquement des objets en métaux précieux sont poinçonnés (coupes d'argent). Des produits en matières organiques (pain, à usage liturgique et profane) furent estampillés, ainsi que des animaux (troupeaux militaires). L'estampille, surtout à valeur commerciale, pouvait affirmer la qualité du récipient, confirmer l'exactitude de son volume ou informer sur l'origine, la qualité et la pureté de son contenu. Ces marques seules ne permettent pas de conclusions générales ; il faut un examen cas par cas selon les époques, les lieux d'origine, les dessous culturel et historique. Les A. présentent alors un type de récipient peu considéré, présent du Ve/VIe s. jusqu'aux débuts du VIIe s., les «ampulles protobyzantines», dont ni le contenu, ni leurs centres de production ne peuvent encore être identifiés ou localisés (peut-être l'Asie Mineure méridionale, la Syrie du Nord ou Chypre). Aux IX-XIIe s., les amphores portent comme estampille le monogramme impérial, placé en dessous du col, et elles sont répandues dans toute la Méditerranée orientale et dans toutes les régions de la mer Noire. Le *Livre des Éparques* illustre bien combien le commerce était standardisé et contrôlé. Les A. proposent des recherches ultérieures assises sur plus de matériel (révision d'anciens rapports de fouilles, catalogues de musées, publications), une classification des estampilles selon leurs formes et selon leurs légendes.

Pour Angeliki Liveri (Cologne), *Der Tanz in der mittel- und spätbyzantinischen Kunst* (pp. 287-298), durant les périodes méso- et tardobyzantin, les représentations de danse se trouvent le plus souvent en conjoncture avec des textes religieux (A.T., N.T.) et des romans, sur des objets de luxe et journaliers, ainsi que sur les manuscrits illuminés, les icônes et les reliefs en pierre. Les artistes byzantins, à travers des motifs mythologiques et religieux, exprimaient indirectement les caractères et les sujets de leur temps, ce qui est bien apparent dans l'image des vêtements contemporains et des bijoux des danseurs et danseuses. Certains détails se font remarquer : les manches toujours longues des robes des danseuses, peut-être une réminiscence de voiles, et les manches extra longues

qui semblent servir à l'accentuation des gestes et qui sont d'origine orientale, persano-sassanide. La musique jouait aussi un rôle important ; souvent on distingue des musiciens à côté des danseurs. Hommes et femmes dansaient séparés. L'A. ne connaît qu'un seul exemple de danse mixte, dans le cod. Par. Gr. 1128, tandis qu'on ne rencontre pas des couples de danseurs dans l'art byzantin. En dépit de la grande tradition de la danse antique, la danse religieuse a reculé, avec de rares exceptions : sous le patriarche Théophylacte, fils de Romain Ier Lécapène, on dansait dans l'église à Noël et à l'Épiphanie. Les Byzantins dansaient à Pâques et lors de fêtes des saints. Certaines danses sont d'origine antique, d'autres sont tombées dans l'oubli, d'autres encore sont toujours dansées dans diverses régions de Grèce.

Jadranka Prolović (Vienne), *Die Wandmalereien des Klosters Yediler am Latmos* (pp. 372-386), présente les recherches de l'Institut des Études byzantines et néogrecques, à la suite de deux séjours dans la chaîne de montagnes Latmos (à la côte occidentale de la Turquie). Ces recherches ont fait découvrir une fresque encore inconnue d'une déisis dans une grotte en dessous du monastère de Pavlos. D'autres fresques, dans le complexe du monastère Kellibaron tou Lamponiou/tes Théotokou/Yediler, décrites par Wiegand au début du XXe s., ne sont plus trouvables. L'analyse des peintures conduit au XIIIe s. et à la main d'un artiste doué de province ; il n'y a pas de rapport à l'art de Cappadoce, mais plutôt aux peintures de la Crète et du Péloponnèse du XIIIe s. L'A. illustre par des dessins les peintures murales des grottes et chapelles dans les environs du monastère Yediler ; une «grotte» pouvait être identifiée comme étant une chapelle richement décorée ; les cycles picturaux font penser à une chapelle ardente. L'A. les date de la fin du XIIe s. ou du début du XIIIe s.

Plusieurs conférences concernent la géographie historique. B. Baumgartner (Zwettl/Autriche), *Neue Forschungen in Ṭao-Ḳlardžeti* (pp. 61-73), présente trois points de sa thèse de doctorat non publiée concernant ses recherches sur la géographie historique dans la région – maintenant turque, jadis arménienne et géorgienne – des provinces Ṭao et Ḳlardžeti, situées aux frontières entre la Turquie, la Russie et l'Iran : (1) *Traces des Byzantins et des Grecs de la période du thème d'Ibérie :* Il y a des inscriptions grecques du temps de Basile II à Ekeki/Vişneli et à Oški ; (2) *Localisation des forteresses Sveti et Çepti/Çerepti :* Sveti correspondrait à Şavşat Kalesi, Çepti serait situé près du lieu moderne Eskikale ; (3) *Localisation de l'église à coupole de Bobisgeri/Bobosgiri :* les fondations de l'église, détruite il y a 60 ans, furent retrouvées à 1.700 m d'altitude près de Pertüs/Zümrütköy, datant de la première moitié du Xe s.

J. Grossmann (Vienne), *Der Bau des Sinaiklosters nach Prokopios und Eutychios* (pp. 165-176), discute la question des constructions attribuées à Justinien Ier dans la vallée du Buisson Ardent. Il exploite la *Chronique* du patriarche Eutychios, qui vivait plus de trois siècles après la construction du monastère du Sinaï, et le *Περὶ Κτισμάτων* de Procope de Césarée, mais dont le chapitre concernant le mont Sinaï reste énigmatique. Procope mentionne deux

bâtiments : une église dédiée à la Vierge et une forteresse hébergeant des militaires. Les historiens voient dans cette forteresse le Monastère. Or, Eutychios ne parle pas de forteresse. L'A. justifie Procope en soulignant que le terme géographique Sinaï peut être interprété comme signifiant le mont Sinaï, mais aussi tout le massif méridional de la péninsule sinaïtique, aux pieds duquel la forteresse a été construite. Dans ce cas, en effet, le Sinaï se situe directement «à côté de la mer Rouge». En plus, il y a peu, les ruines d'une forteresse justinienne furent découvertes près de l'oasis al-Wādī, dénommée traditionnellement par les moines «Monastère de St.-Jean». Pour l'A., cette forteresse est probablement celle mentionnée par Procope. Du temps d'Eutychios, elle était occupée, depuis des siècles, par des moines, ce qui a fait oublier sa fonction originale. Quant au Monastère, Procope parle seulement d'une ἐκκλησία. L'A. présente deux hypothèses : soit l'informateur de Procope a visité le Sinaï quand la construction n'était pas encore terminée, soit les ermites indiquaient l'ensemble par l'objet qui leur était le plus important, l'église. Une autre divergence s'observe quant à la troisième construction justinienne, l'église bâtie au sommet du mont de Moïse. Procope en nie l'existence, elle est pourtant témoignée par des traces d'une basilique à trois nefs.

F. Hild (Vienne), *Die lykische Ostküste in den Portulanen und Seekarten* (pp. 190-202), note que les portulans et les cartes marines constituent une source importante de la géographie historique, car même les criques et les points de relâche les moins importants y sont indiqués, s'ils importaient pour la navigation. De tels toponymes ne se trouvent que rarement dans les sources historiques ou administratives. Les portulans et cartes reflètent aussi l'histoire du peuplement, ce que l'A. démontre pour les côtes orientales de la Lycie. Le texte est complété par une carte géographique des toponymes et par un tableau comparatif des neuf documents étudiés (du Pseudo-Stylax, IVe s. p.C., à Delatte, Portulan II, du XVIe s.).

A. Külzer (Vienne), *Neue Forschungen in Ostthrakien* (pp. 264-271), décrit l'état de la recherche – quasi inexistante – sur la Thrace orientale et donne un avant-goût du vol. 12 de la *TIB* en préparation, qui couvrira la région de la Propontide et la Thrace. Les travaux ont révélé une ligne de défense, jusqu'à présent inconnue, au long de la côte septentrionale du golfe de Saros, avec une rangée de forteresses à dater à la période mésobyzantine ; ils ont mieux localisé l'antique Lysimacheia et l'évêché byzantin de Hexamilion et ont mis à jour des fortifications entre Saranta Ekklēsiai et la frontière bulgare, ainsi qu'un monastère rupestre protobyzantin.

Les travaux à la *TIB* Macédoine Sud ont inspiré à P. Soustal (Vienne), *Beobachtungen zu den Hydronymen Makedoniens* (pp. 420-429), quelques réflexions au sujet du nom de fleuves et cours d'eau dans cette région. Pour la géographie historique, les hydronymes ont l'avantage d'être moins altérés que les toponymes. L'A. donne des exemples d'hydronymes inspirés par des noms de personnes, des noms de plantes, des caractéristiques optiques ou acoustiques ou autres.

Six contributions traitent de questions historiques. J. PREISER-KAPELLEN (Vienne), *Magister militum per Armeniam (Ὁ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν Στρατηγός). Überlegungen zum armenischen Kommando im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert* (pp. 348-365), suit l'évolution de l'institution du *magister militum* vers le stratège d'un thème à l'exemple du commandement arménien aux VIe et VIIe s. Le territoire de l'Arménie romaine était le dernier commandement institué au sein des *comitatenses* en Orient. En 528, Justinien nomma le général Sittas *magister militum per Armeniam et Pontem Polemoniacum et gentes.* En 591, le commandement s'élargit quand Chosroès II céda une partie de la Persarménie à l'empereur Maurice ; selon les sources arméniennes le commandement militaire assuma aussi des tâches administratives – à l'instar des pays reconquis en Afrique et en Asie. Théophane mentionne, pour l'année 626, un στρατηγός Mezezios dans l'armée d'Héraclius, très probablement le *magister militum per Armeniam*, et un Georges τουρμάρχης τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν. Apparemment, le terme Ἀρμενιακοί devenait usuel pour les troupes du *magister militum per Armeniam.* Dans le *De Ceremoniis* on trouve le terme τὰ Ἀρμενιακὰ θέματα, désignant les thèmes issus du grand thème des Ἀρμενιακῶν. Par la suite, l'A. présente les sceaux des commerciaires en tant qu'indicateurs de l'établissement graduel des troupes dans les provinces d'Asie Mineure et de la portée réelle de l'autorité byzantine dans ces régions.

Ch. KRAUS (Iéna), *Der Fall des Priesters Konstantinos Kabasilas* (pp. 248-263), étudie les péripéties de la *causa* Konstantinos Kabasilas, Protopapas à l'Église des Blachernes, c.-à-d., chef du clergé impérial, destitué par le Synode de 1383-1385, présidé par le patriarche Nil, même après avoir promis à plusieurs reprises de se corriger, et ceci la première fois en tant que diacre, en 1360, sous le patriarche Calliste Ier. L'accusation en 1383 : avoir sciemment et sans autorisation remarié un homme marié ; avoir insulté, avec des mots grossiers, ses collègues pendant la célébration de l'eucharistie, tout en perdant de sa bouche du pain sacré. L'empereur Jean V Paléologue semble avoir soutenu Kabasilas, mais fut compromis par le patriarche. Probablement, l'empereur l'avait protégé déjà en 1360, puisque Kabasilas l'avait soutenu pendant sa prise de pouvoir en 1354, vu que ni le patriarche Calliste, ni Philothée Kokkinos (rangés alors du côté de Jean V, contre Jean VI Cantacuzène) n'avaient pris des mesures contre Kabasilas pendant des décennies. Le patriarche Nil, n'étant pas impliqué dans les guerres civiles du XIVe s., était libre d'agir en vue d'une réformation du clergé ; le verdict du synode constitue une victoire du patriarche sur l'empereur. – La question, si ce Konstantinos Kabasilas était un membre de la famille renommée des Kabasilas, dont sont issus de hauts dignitaires cléricaux et théologiens au XIVe s., reste ouverte.

Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU (Vienne), *Prosopographische Konsequenzen aus der möglichst genauen Datierung byzantinischer Bleisiegel* (pp. 483-486), présente un projet concernant les sceaux de la Commission des Études byzantines de la Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, à savoir la datation de

sceaux, et cela à l'exemple de quatre types de sceaux datant de la période entre 1060 et 1090 et mentionnant un militaire du nom de Samuel Alusianos et à l'exemple d'autres sceaux de la deuxième moitié du XIe s., qui portent le nom de Michael Barys.

Un sujet surprenant est présenté par S. LAITSOS (Vienne), *«Byzantium» und Saxo Grammaticus* (pp. 272-286), une recherche sur le récit de l'historien danois de l'arrivée, le séjour et finalement l'audience accordée au roi danois Eirik Ier (1095-1103) à Constantinople en 1103 lors de son pèlerinage à la Terre sainte. L'historien magnifie l'importance des mercenaires danois pour Byzance et le rang de son roi ; les dénominations *imperator* et *rex* sont les seules indications d'une préséance. Le roi pensait devoir sécuriser l'empereur qui ne lui permettait pas de prendre quartier dans la Ville, en lui assurant de son désir de s'incliner devant les sanctuaires, ainsi qu'en exhortant la Garde des Varègues à la fidélité à la *Graecia*. Le séjour se terminait avec la remise des cadeaux : le roi se contentait de reliques, qui confortaient son pouvoir en lui donnant une identité chrétienne et une légitimation étatique dans le monde chrétien, ce qui culminait dans l'obtention d'un archevêché danois. Le fond historique du récit de Saxo envoie au XIIIe s. durant la dynastie des Anges, quand l'empire recrutait des mercenaires scandinaves.

La contribution de A. RHOBY (Vienne), *Wer war die «zweite» Theodora von Österreich ? Analyse des Quellenproblems* (pp. 387-396), jette un regard scrutateur sur les relations matrimoniales austro-byzantines entre 1150 et 1230. Une Théodora, une nièce de l'empereur Manuel Ier, fut mariée au markgrave Heinrich II Jasomirgott Babenberger en 1148/1149 à Constantinople. Un poème de Manganeis Prodromos célèbre ce mariage. Un petit-fils de ce duc autrichien, le duc Léopold VI, fut marié à Vienne en 1203, à une autre Théodora, dont l'A. discute la descendance. Dans les sources, elle est nommée tantôt petite-fille d'Alexis III Ange, tantôt d'Isaac II, et aussi nièce ou petite-nièce d'Isaac II Ange. Les annales autrichiennes du début du XIIIe s. parlent de *neptis* ou *nepta* eines *regis Graecorum*. *Neptis* signifie en latin classique 'petite-fille', en latin postclassique aussi 'nièce', la signification prédominante au M. A. Une source précise *neptis Constantinopolitani imperatoris ex filia*. Donc, il s'agit d'une petite-fille d'Alexis III Ange et de la fille d'Anne, fille d'Alexis III, et du Sebastokrator Isaac Comnène. Son grand-père l'avait déjà mariée au Bulgare Ivanco, puis à Dobromir Chrysos et finalement à la maison Babenberger, friande de princesses byzantines. Le stemma fourni profite à l'intelligibilité. – Un troisième mariage, en 1226, fut conclu entre Frédéric II l'Irascible, le fils de Léopold VI et de la «deuxième» Théodora, et une belle-fille de Théodore I Laskaris, que sa seconde femme, l'Arménienne Philippa, avait d'un premier lit, parfois nommée Sophia.

Gudrun SCHMALZBAUER (Trèves), *Überlegungen zur Idee der Oikumene in Byzanz* (pp. 408-419), pose la question comment l'idée du primat de la suprématie universelle byzantine fut perçue ou acceptée. Le partage du monde en deux fut déjà envisagé dans les arrangements avec les Parthes et les Sassanides. Dans

le cas des Perses, l'idée des parentés fictives et des mises en tutelle se fit jour, pour maintenir l'idée de l'universalité. Quant aux relations entre les Byzantins et les Arabes, une variante apparaît : le patriarche Nicolas I le Mystique parle de *φωστῆρες*, ce qui peut aussi signifier 'le soleil et la lune'. En général, dans les relations avec des peuples non chrétiens, l'économie politique modifiait, si besoin, provisoirement la prétention absolue à la suprématie œcuménique. Pour les empereurs macédoniens, le problème se présentait autrement ; ils durent envisager la nouvelle réalité des états occidentaux, chrétiens comme l'empire. L'arrangement diplomatique n'était pas possible, l'œkoumène n'était pensable que comme unité. Dans la rhétorique du Palais, l'illusion d'une suprématie était entretenue par les mariages avec des princesses latines. Encore à la fin du XIVe s., le patriarche Antoine IV maintint qu'il n'y a qu'un empereur universel ; si d'autres empereurs chrétiens se sont arrogé le titre, ce n'était qu'un état dénaturé et illégitime, le résultat d'usurpations et de violences.

D'autres conférences touchaient à des sujets littéraires, linguistiques et musicologiques. M. Popović (Vienne), *Zum Bild des römischen Kaisers Trajan in der byzantinischen Literatur* (pp. 337-347), étudie comment le souvenir d'une des personnalités romaines les plus importantes, l'empereur Trajan, a été entretenu par la littérature byzantine. Les citations se trouvent dans l'historiographie et la chronistique des VIe au XIIe s., plus rarement dans la patristique byzantine. L'A. distingue deux catégories de citations : celles qui concernent ses campagnes militaires, et celles qui ont trait à son portrait et à son caractère. L'empereur y apparaît courageux et dynamique, honorable, juste, grand, grêle, basané, aux traits de visage fins, aux courts cheveux gris, aux yeux creux, mais aussi comme impie et grand persécuteur des chrétiens. Les prototypes de ces caractérisations remontent à Cassius Dio en particulier, ainsi qu'à Appien. Une caractéristique surprenante, Trajan aux oreilles de bouc, apparaît uniquement chez Jean Tzetzès, au XIIe s., et fera grande carrière dans la région de l'Europe du Sud-est. Mais des variantes de cette image du souverain sont répandues dans le monde entier, la source première étant probablement la mythologie du roi phrygien Midas. L'A. attribue cette image aux confusions linguistiques : le -us de Traianus aurait été associé par les Grecs à *οὖς*, *ὠτός*, et Trai- à *τραγι-* et *τράγος*, 'le bouc'.

Pour J. Diethart (Krems/Autriche), *Zum Beitrag koptischer Texte der byzantinischen Zeit zur griechischen und lateinischen Lexikographie* (pp. 132-142), la langue copte n'est pas une langue de deuxième voire troisième classe, car elle témoigne d'un vocabulaire qui n'a pas été conservé et traduit dans les sources grecques ou latines. Le copte a emprunté surtout des noms, des verbes, en moindre mesure des épithètes et d'autres espèces de mots. Source du lexicographe sont l'A.T., le N.T., des textes hagiographiques et gnostiques et les livres de magie. Grâce aux noms grecs conservés dans le copte, cette langue peut contribuer à la recherche de la transformation lexicale du grec ancien vers le néogrec : dans une homélie copte du IXe s., on rencontre *θεατρικοί* (acteurs), *μῖμοι (mimus)* qui se préparent pour leur prestation au *μιμάριον* (*mimarium* n'étant

point assuré en latin !). Ce terme grec est témoigné par deux textes byzantins uniquement, signifiant cependant «bordel». *Τὸ ἀμφίβολον* se rencontre dans des documents juridiques coptes des VIIe et VIIIe s. ; *ἡ κόμπλευσις*, inconnu à présent en grec, apparaît dans un document copte du VIIe s. et *τὸ πρωτόπλασμα* (désignant Adam) dans un testament copte du VIIIe s., pour ne citer que quelques exemples.

Antonia GIANNOULI (Nicosie), *Die exegetischen Didaskalien des Leon Balianites* (pp. 143-158), signale que six des huit didascalies de Balianitès sont conservées : quatre sont du genre exégétique, trois commentent le troisième psaume de David. Balianitès suit le système développé par Origène de la triple interprétation de l'Écriture (littérale, spirituelle/anagogique, morale/tropologique) par analogie à la tripartition de l'homme (corps, esprit, âme). L'exégèse historico-littérale a trait au corps, les métaphores utilisées sont le lait et la couleur blanche, signifiant la lumière, la purification, la pureté, l'humilité, la bonté. L'exégèse anagogique renvoie au monde transcendantal, les métaphores choisies sont le vin et la couleur pourpre, signifiant l'incarnation du Christ. L'exégèse morale concerne les mœurs et l'ennoblissement des sentiments, les métaphores appliquées sont le miel et la couleur écarlate. Balianitès a destiné ces trois homélies au même auditoire pour trois séances successives pendant le carême avant Pâques. En ajoutant le texte grec (et sa traduction), l'A. fait quelques suggestions lexicales au sujet des lacunes du codex.

L. HOFFMANN (Mayence), *Wie sieht wohl die Hölle aus ? Bemerkungen zum Charakter byzantinischer Dialog- und Zitationstechnik am Beispiel der Dioptra des Philippos Monotropos* (pp. 203-219), a pour objet la *Dioptra*, un poème de plus de 7.000 vers dodécasyllabes, rédigé à la fin du XIe s., par le moine athonite Philippos Monotropos ; il expose l'histoire humaine de la Création au Jugement dernier. Le schéma formel est le dialogue entre le corps et l'âme. Si on exclut la controverse religieuse ou confessionnelle, le dialogue en tant que forme littéraire est beaucoup moins fréquent que le monologue. Déjà S. Basile rejeta le dialogue à cause du manque de la précision, de la digression de la pensée et du gaspillage de temps. Quant à la *Dioptra*, elle est écrite à l'exemple de *De anima et resurrectione* de Grégoire de Nysse, une adaptation chrétienne du *Phaidon* platonique. Philippos adopte aussi d'autres séquences et thèmes tirés de la *Politeia* et de *Phaidros*. Ses citations bibliques ne proviennent pas de la Septante, mais probablement de la littérature exégétique ou de la tradition indirecte, parfois de la *Palaia*. Au-delà des textes du N.T., le récit de la *Synkatabasis* du Christ prolonge le questionnement platonique sur la mort de l'âme maintenant à l'aide de textes bibliques. Les citations ne correspondent pas littéralement aux sources, on peut supposer qu'elles faisaient partie de la culture du poète. Quant à la Descente aux Enfers, on est tenté de penser aux Évangiles apocryphes de Nicodème et de Bartholomaios, à Aphraat de Nisibis, Ephraem de Syrie, Romanos le Mélode, et autres. L'A. se pose la question sur la variante de l'A.T. utilisée à Byzance et ajoute l'argument que l'influence de la *Palaia* sur la litté-

rature théologique méso- et tardobyzantine est encore et toujours sous-estimée par les spécialistes.

S. PAPAIOANNOU (Washington D.C.), *Der Glasort des Textes. Selbstheit und Ontotypologie im byzantinischen Briefschreiben (10. und 11. Jh.)* (pp. 324-336), discute la part de la *mimēsis* et la part de l'individualité dans la création littéraire au M. A. sur la base de l'épistolographie des xe et xie s. (le professeur anonyme à Euthymios *protoasekretis*, Syméon *Magistros* et *Logothetes tou dromou*, *Psellos*).

Elisabeth SCHIFFER (Vienne), *Hypomnema als Bezeichnung hagiographischer Texte* (pp. 397-407), soumet à son étude, à part les onze textes transmis par le Ménologe métaphrastique et titrés d'*ὑπόμνημα*, une douzaine de textes hagiographiques qui portent cette désignation. L'A. conclut que les textes intitulés *ὑπομνήματα* sont à considérer comme 'notices, annotations', ceux intitulés *ὑπόμνημα* comme 'rapport', et que les textes du Ménologe titrés *ὑπόμνημα* concernent des saints bibliques ou un élément historique comme la translation de reliques ; le texte est alors plutôt du style panégyrique.

Ch. TZITZILIS (Thessalonique), *Das Mittelgriechische in Süditalien und das Problem der Herkunft der neugriechischen Dialekte Süditaliens* (pp. 464-481), démontre avec une panoplie d'exemples que toute une série de particularités lexicales, morphologiques et phonétiques des dialectes de Magna Graecia et de Sicile sont répétées dans des textes grecs du M. A. et continuent à exister dans des dialectes néogrecs dans les Pouilles et en Calabre. Vu les migrations qui continuaient aussi au M. A. et forcément entraînaient des contacts linguistiques, l'A. propose de parler d'une «continuité dynamique».

Eirini AFENTOULIDOU (Vienne-Thessalonique), *Zur akzentuierenden Metrik der dem Johannes Damaskenos zugeschriebenen jambischen Kanones* (pp. 45-52), prouve que les canons iambiques de Jean Damascène respectent – au contraire des canons en général – les règles du vers dodécasyllabe byzantin, ainsi sont-ils à considérer comme des créations poétiques. Ils constituent une exception dans la poésie liturgique, car y sont appliquées les règles littéraires de la poésie profane non chantée. Les différences observées au troisième canon renvoient peut-être à un autre auteur.

Comme le dit Gerda WOLFRAM (Vienne), *Das Zeremonienbuch Konstantins VII. und das liturgische Typikon der Hagia Sophia als Quellen der Hymnographie* (pp. 486-496), pour étudier l'hymnologie du rituel impérial et du rite de Sainte-Sophie, il y a deux sources du xe s., le *Livre des cérémonies* du Porphyrogénète et le *Typicon* de Sainte-Sophie, le premier mentionnant aussi des rites obsolètes, le deuxième le rite liturgique post-iconoclaste. L'A. relève les particularités communes et les différences qui s'expliquent par les exigences du riche cérémonial de la capitale impériale.

Pour compléter l'image rayonnante de cet Institut, soient au moins mentionnées les contributions concernant les Études néogrecques : Olga KATSIARDI-HERING (Athènes), *Gedanken zur Wiener Neogräzistik* (pp. 35-44), souligne l'im-

portance de Vienne dès le XVIIIe s. pour les peuples balkaniques, surtout pour les sujets ottomans orthodoxes, les Grecs en particuliers, qui fondaient deux paroisses (pour sujets ottomans et sujets impériaux), des imprimeries, etc. Vienne constituait un centre pour la naissance d'une conscience nationale. L'A. retrace l'évolution des études néogrecques à Vienne, prédestinée peut-être grâce à sa richesse en manuscrits et livres grecs et à l'existence des Instituts pour les Études de l'Histoire de l'Europe de l'Est et Sud-est, des Études slaves et orientales, favorisant ainsi interdisciplinarité et multidimensionalité. Alexandra STEFANIDOU (Rhodes), *Nachbyzantinische Maler auf den Dodekanes-Inseln* (pp. 445-463), donne un aperçu de peintres postbyzantins travaillant dans les îles du Dodécanèse. Julia CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER (Nicosie), *Das Dresdner Manuskript der «Ἔκθεσις τῆς ταυρικῆς Χερσοννήσου» von Eugenios Voulgaris* (pp. 83-98), présente l'histoire du savant grec du XVIIIe s., Voulgaris, archevêque de Cherson, qui espérait de la politique russe la libération des Grecs du joug ottoman. L'A. date le manuscrit, en langue archaïsante, écrite pour la Cour russe, à 1782. Ch. GONSA (Athènes), *Zwischen den Fronten – «Reichseinsatz» und griechischer Bürgerkrieg* (pp. 159-164), parle du sort des ouvriers grecs en Autriche – recrutés en 1942, déportés par la force en 1943/44 –, qui au rapatriement furent considérés comme collaborateurs ou gauchistes. Nina-Maria JAKLITSCH, *Die vierstimmigen Vertonungen der byzantinischen Kirchenmusik von Gottfried von Preyer und Benedict Randhartinger. Ein Vergleich* (pp. 220-230), évoque un phénomène surprenant et éphémère, apparu à Vienne au milieu du XIXe s., la mise en musique des chants orthodoxes en chorales à quatre voix ! I. KARACHRISTOS (Athènes), *Theoretische Überlegungen zur Wahrnehmung der Migration am Beispiel von Migrationen griechisch-orthodoxer Bevölkerungsgruppen Kleinasiens* (pp. 231-240), propose un nouveau schéma pour l'étude de la migration : migration volontairement décidée, migration forcée suite à un événement et migration par contrainte politique ou économique. A. KOLIADIS (Vienne), *Wortgutentnahme aus der byzantinischen und der frühgriechischen Volksliteratur und das sprachhistorische Bewusstsein im Werk von Nikos Kazantzakis* (pp. 241-247), vise à démontrer la richesse du vocabulaire diachronique dans l'œuvre de Kazantzakis, en particulier le vocabulaire issu de la littérature tardobyzantine et protonéogrecque. Ariadni MOUTAFIDOU (Vienne), *Zwischen* Risorgimento-*Tradition und* Raccoglimento-*Politik : Philhellenismus und Staatspolitik in Italien 1897* (pp. 299-307), dit que lors du soulèvement crétois en 1896, l'Italie a vécu un philhellénisme teinté d'une tendance révolutionnaire qui menaçait les gouvernements italien et grec. A. E. MÜLLER (Munich), *Vom Verschwinden einer unbekannten Grösse : Der Byzantinist Paul Marc* (pp. 308-314), fait l'éloge du grand byzantiniste Paul Marc, frère du peintre Franz Marc, aujourd'hui inconnu à tort. Karl Krumbacher le nommait second éditeur de la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* dès 1909 et l'incitait à rédiger le «Registre des documents byzantins et néogrecs» pour la *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften*. En 1920, il a transmis tous ses travaux pour le *Corpus* à F. Dölger qui

peu après publia les premiers volumes de ses *Regesten*. Ioanna MYLONAKI (Cologne), *Die Reisen der Universität Wien nach Griechenland (1911 und 1914)* (pp. 315-323), note qu'en 1911 et 1914, le Sénat Académique de l'Université de Vienne organisa deux voyages interdisciplinaires et interuniversitaires en Grèce et en Crète respectivement. Un des résultats de ces projets précieux fut la rencontre du monde universitaire des deux pays, mais aussi l'apport de 850 espèces de la flore crétoise pour l'Herbier de l'Institut de Botanique et de plantes vivantes pour le Jardin botanique ! D. Ch. STATHAKOPOULOS (Vienne), *La Décadence ? Anmerkungen zu Victorien Sardous Théodora* (pp. 430-444), rappelle une adaptation d'un sujet byzantin par Victorien Sardou, dans une pièce de théâtre de quatre heures et demie, intitulé «Théodora», qui se basait surtout sur les *Anecdota*, avec la protagoniste Sarah Bernard et spectateur le jeune Sigmund Freud ! Et il serait trop dommage de ne pas appeler une attention particulière sur la très fine analyse du travail de traducteur, présentée par Michaela PRINZINGER (Berlin), *Über-setzen : zu neuen sprachlichen Ufern* (pp. 366-371).

Les études du volume sont généreusement illustrées par des dessins, tableaux et photos. L'ensemble des textes est précédé d'une table de matières, d'un index des illustrations, d'un index des sigles et succédé de 44 planches d'illustrations d'une excellente qualité informative et technique.

Cette édition très soignée, dans toute sa scientificité, offre aussi un vrai plaisir de lecture !

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER.

Palaeobyzantine Notations, III. Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castel, The Netherlands, in March 2001 (*Eastern Christian Studies*, 4), éd. par Gerda WOLFRAM, Leuven, Paris et Dudley (MA), Peeters, 2004, XIII + 309 pages. ISBN 90-429-1434-3.

Ces actes feront le bonheur des spécialistes de la musique byzantine et slave qui n'ont pas pu participer au troisième Congrès tenu au Château de Hernen, en mars 2001, avec pour sujet *La Notation paléobyzantine*. Ce volume succède à trois publications antérieures, *Rhythm in Byzantine Chant* et *Palaeobyzantine Notations* (I et II), publiées par Peeters/Leuven.

La plupart des contributions traitent de la mélismatique des chants ecclésiastiques byzantins et vieux slaves. Les notations musicales slaves les plus anciennes remontent à des sources paléobyzantines et adoptent ainsi, avec les chants, des formules mélodiques et des ornementations. Basée sur le chant liturgique des grandes cathédrales, se développait dans les deux cultures une mélismatique qui a atteint son apogée dans la 'kalophonie' tardobyzantine. Les recherches présentées ici révèlent les traits communs et les spécificités de chaque culture.

Les textes sont rangés par ordre chronologique quant à leur thématique. I. PAPATHANASIOU et N. BOUKAS (Athènes), *Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin : A Reconsideration of the*

Source Material (pp. 1-25), observent que dernièrement la paléographie porte un intérêt particulier aux papyrus, mais que l'étude musicologique a plutôt négligé les textes musicaux. Et pourtant, les études partielles montrent déjà un effort pour noter la tradition musicale au moyen de systèmes de notations musicales dès la période paléochrétienne. Les A. ont centré leur recherche sur cinq sources grecques d'origine copte, datant de la fin du VIIe au IXe s. (*P.Ryl.Copt.* 25-29), qui transmettent déjà un système de notation diastématique, inconnu jusqu'à présent, ce qui montre le rôle de l'Égypte et des provinces de l'empire byzantin dans la création et la dissémination de la tradition musicale liturgique orientale. Les A. offrent un historique de l'écriture musicale byzantine, soulignant que le vacuum de la notation musicale hymnographique des IVe au IXe s. est plutôt dû au fait de la quasi inexistence des recherches. Le système archaïque de notation des cinq manuscrits a des racines beaucoup plus anciennes, puisque les signes utilisés pourraient remonter au système tonique alexandrin. Il s'agit d'une notation diastémique locale, inconnue jusqu'à présent, que les A. dénomment 'notation d'Hermoupolis'. Le texte est accompagné de copies des manuscrits et de leur transcription.

Avec son étude *Das ekphonetische Notationssystem in den datierten Evangelarien des 10. Jahrhunderts* (pp. 27-47), Sandra MARTANI (Parme) propose une méthode de travail pour traiter des problèmes de l'évolution chronologique et topographique du système de notation ekphonétique. Au cours du IXe au Xe s., la majuscule commençait à être réservée à la transmission du Verbe de Dieu et considérée comme une icône, et aboutissait à la majuscule liturgique, une création artificielle du Xe s. à une valeur symbolique : une écriture sacrale et hors de temps. Cependant, cette écriture avait comme corollaire que les manuscrits n'étaient pas datés. Pour rendre possible la datation des manuscrits, l'A. examine des codex datés du Xe s. contenant une notation ekphonétique et détecte une évolution chronologique : jusqu'au milieu du Xe s., le système ekphonétique, au-delà des règles fondamentales, était assez libre quant à sa structure, mais vers la fin du Xe s., surtout à Constantinople, il reçut une précision et une fixation neumatique. L'A. illustre ses propos par des tableaux très clairs des signes neumatiques (agréablement lisibles, car agrandis) des Ms. discutés.

Annette JUNG (Copenhague), Kolaphismos : *A long Melisma in a Syllabic Genre* (pp. 49-66), étudie un long mélisme transmis par le manuscrit musical paléoslave BAN 34.7.6. En se basant sur sa recherche sur les longs mélismes au manuscrit musical byzantin Ambros. A 139 sup., elle conclut, après avoir étudié entre autres des Ménaia des XIe et XIIe s., que la notation de *Kolaphismos* dans le manuscrit slave ne doit pas être cherchée dans les manuscrits paléobyzantins, mais dans la tradition bulgare.

La 'kalophonie', un nouveau style mélismatique apparu au XIIIe s., fait l'objet de Ch. TROELSGÅRD (Copenhague), *Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Melismatic Chant and the Development of the Kalophonic Style* (pp. 67-90), qui analyse le stichéron kalophonique *Αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα* (cod. Cryptensis G. γ. 4). Il le compare

aux genres antérieurs de chant byzantin et au style kalophonique développé du XIVe s. Il constate l'évolution de la *καλοφωνία* plutôt par l'unification des principes de construction et le changement de l'emphase de longs passages textuels aux purs *kratemata* ; il préfère parler de 'tropes méloformes', i.e., l'addition de matériel mélodique nouveau à un texte déjà existant, ce qui implique un développement organique d'ajouts de longueur modérée à longue. Une fine analyse neumatique du stichéron (d'une version traditionnelle et de trois versions kalophoniques) complète le texte.

La contribution de Galina POŽIDAEVA (Moscou), *Die Hauptstruktur des altrussischen melismatischen Gesanges und ihre Wechselbeziehung mit der byzantinischen Tradition* (pp. 91-116), concerne les traditions byzantines (kalophoniques) dans le chant mélismatique Rus', tandis que pour Ol'ga KRAŠENINNIKOVA (Moscou), *Psalter Performance in the Medieval Russian Sunday Office of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (pp. 117-145), la mise en musique des textes des psaumes est à la base de toute forme liturgique chrétienne. Elle démontre l'importance des psaumes dans la musique médiévale russe des XVIe et XVIIe s. et en trace les caractéristiques et les racines byzantines, découvrant parfois des restes du rite studite et de l'*Asmatike Akolouthia* du rite cathédrale, mais aussi des correspondances avec les modèles dits *palaion* et aussi le chant kalophonique.

A. LINGAS (Arizona), *Preliminary Reflections on Studying the Liturgical Place of Byzantine and Slavonic Melismatic Chant* (pp. 147-155), présente le projet d'un groupe de recherche dirigé par Ch. Troelsgård, qui a pour but d'établir une monographie des études individuelles détaillées et des études comparatives des répertoires grecs et slavons. Ce projet facilitera la compréhension de la signification et de la fonction des chants fleuris dans la liturgie orthodoxe, ainsi que de sa place historique. L'A. donne ensuite un état de la question de la musicologie liturgique et indique un tournant : l'étude de E. V. Williams, de 1968, sur Jean Coucouzèle, qui présentait la complexité non pas comme un résultat de dégénération, mais comme le produit d'un niveau supérieur de l'art musical, ouvrant ainsi la voie aux études ultérieures des répertoires paléologues (D. Conomos, Diane Touliatos), ainsi que tardo- et postbyzantins (G. Stathis). E. V. Williams, en insistant sur le contexte rituel et intellectuel de la musique de Jean Coucouzèle, créait un précédent pour la compréhension de la fonction et de la signification du chant fleuri, notamment de la signification théologique des chants intercalés composés de syllabes insignifiantes (D. Conomos) et des significations supraverbales comme les gestes, les mouvements, les odeurs, les touchers, le contexte architectural (P. Jeffrey). L'A. propose aussi une étude sur l'alliage du texte et de la mélodie ou encore sur la mélodie seule, le *kratema*, à la lumière des conventions rhétoriques byzantines.

Natalia S. SEREGINA (Saint-Pétersbourg), *La modulation mélismatique des chants de pénitence de la Russie ancienne* (pp. 157-171), souligne le fait que la modulation ancienne est encore mal étudiée quant à la lecture des notations neu-

matiques mélismatiques anciennes, et elle présente une intéressante étude générale sur la vraie signification du chant de pénitence (même si elle s'appuie sur des exemples russes).

Julia SHLIKHTINA (Stockholm), *Problems of the Theory and Practice of Prosomoia. Singing as Illustrated by Byzantine and Slavic Notated Prosomoia of the Good Friday Office* (pp. 173-198), rappelle que le chant *prosomoia* était un essai de reproduction du chant sacré des anges, le chant ecclésiastique étant une icône des hymnes célestes et ainsi une forme de contact entre la terre et le ciel. Les hymnographes n'étaient pas des créateurs, mais les auditeurs des harmonies célestes et des exultations inspirées par le Saint-Esprit. L'A. étudie ensuite la présence de *prosomoia* dans les différents genres (canons, béatitudes, *troparia antiphona*), ainsi que le degré de correspondance entre les mélodies-modèles et les *prosomoia* dans les divers genres. Elle ajoute des observations sur la stabilité des notations neumatiques entre modèle et *prosomoia*, en soulignant que les mêmes différences dans la notation se retrouvent dans différents manuscrits, ce qui laisse présupposer des traditions et des règles sur les déviations.

Natalia DENISOVA (Nouvouralsk), *Vocal Exercises in the Ancient Russian and Byzantine Traditions (Illustrated by the Materials of Musical Theoretical Textbooks)* (pp. 199-209), présente les manuels d'exercices vocaux paléorusses. Elle ne fait pas plus qu'une allusion aux manuels byzantins, comme le *Mega Ison* de Jean Coucouzèle et les exercices de vocalises.

Danica PETROVIĆ (Belgrade), *The Selection of Tones in the Services for the Twelve Great Feasts* (pp. 211-226), élucide la question de l'origine et de la fonction des huit modes, l'*Oktoechos*, dans la pratique de la liturgie orthodoxe et trouve une réponse aux questions comme par ex. : selon quels critères les hymnographes ont-ils choisi le mode des divers services ? Est-ce que certains modes étaient prioritaires ? Le caractère de la fête de l'église a-t-il influencé le choix du mode ? Après une analyse systématique des liturgies de Pâques et des Douze grandes Fêtes de l'Église, tout en indiquant aussi l'origine et l'historique de chaque fête, elle peut conclure que les *stichera* sont majoritairement écrits dans le Mode I (à qui s'ajoutent parfois les Modes II et VI), les *troparia* surtout en Mode I et IV, les canons en Mode IV, I, II et VIII, peu de hymnes (14) sont écrits en Mode III et seulement huit en Mode VII. Cinq tableaux précisent les données issues de la recherche. L'A. finit par poser des questions toujours ouvertes comme par ex. : les hymnographes ont-ils été influencés dans leur choix par des prédécesseurs ? La fréquence des modes est-elle la même dans les autres liturgies ?

Gerda WOLFRAM (Vienne), *Der Codex Ochrid 53 : Ein Sticherarion aus dem Einflussbereich Konstantinopels* (pp. 227-241), présente une étude fine sur le volumineux *codex Ochrid 53*, datant de la fin du XIe s., dont la lecture de la neumatique n'est pas toujours aisée, parce que ajoutée ultérieurement au manuscrit textuel. L'A. met en évidence la structure du codex en le comparant au SAV et à d'autres codex paléobyzantins. L'étude du calendrier du codex, l'absence de cer-

taines fêtes permet à l'A. de suggérer que le manuscrit a été rédigé dans la sphère d'influence constantinopolitaine. L'insertion dans le codex des chants rédigés par Léon VI et Constantin VII renvoie aussi à la région de Constantinople. Quant à l'analyse de la notation, le codex 53 représente un niveau relativement élevé de la notation Coislin, et l'A. voit des parallèles : le cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. 136, transmettant une tradition neumique analogue. Grâce au volume de ce *sticherarion* avec ses 'hymnes impériaux', on peut se faire une idée de la tradition liturgique et musicale dans la zone d'influence constantinopolitaine à la fin du XIe s. Même certains hymnes marginaux témoignent d'une pratique vivante. L'uniformisation du répertoire stichéraire a réduit la multiplicité de la tradition.

Maria ALEXANDROU (Thessalonique), *Zu dem Neumenkomplex* kylisma, antikenokylisma, lygisma *in der byzantinischen Musik* (pp. 243-297), résume sa thèse de doctorat et accorde une grande part à l'aspect théorique de son sujet, à savoir les neumes *kylisma antikenokylisma, lygisma* dans la musique byzantine, en particulier mésobyzantine, du dernier quart du XIIe s. au milieu du XIXe s. L'A., à la quête de la tonalité (dans diverses époques, genres et styles), de ces trois signes mélodiques (*megala* ou *aphona semadia* ou *megalai hippostaseis*), systématise les données des sources théoriques selon les œuvres, les dénominations, les significations lexicales, les signes et formules, les exercices harmoniques et mélodiques (typologies et témoignages manuscrits), ainsi que les commentaires des théoriciens quant à l'étymologie et l'élocution, la cheironomie, la classification, les formes de décodage et l'exégèse. Quant à la valeur musicale de ces trois signes, l'A. souligne la part éminente de la tradition orale, la relation maître-apprenti. Dans la deuxième partie, l'A. étudie la question de la combinaison des divers genres, formes et styles de compositions avec des formes de codage et de décodage quasi idiomatiques. Prenant comme exemple le *kylisma*, l'A. montre que les décodages sont standardisés, adaptés aux contextes stylistiques et neumatiques. La comparaison régressive des sources méso- et paléobyzantines aide à comprendre les signes comme des symboles polynomiques pour indiquer diverses formules stéréotypées qui changent de signification dans la nouvelle notation mésobyzantine ; ces signes perdent leur valeur diastématique et sont classés par les théoriciens comme signes aphones qui régissent la cheironomie, le style musical, les représentations de l'œuvre musicale. La tonalité, le *melos*, fut traduit oralement, du maître à son apprenti. Les trois signes attestent le phénomène de la continuité matérielle en combinaison avec un changement intérieur de leur signification au cours de leur évolution historique. – Le texte est suivi d'un index des 66 manuscrits, d'un index des 27 ouvrages théoriques et d'une copieuse bibliographie.

L'ensemble des textes est précédé d'une préface, d'une table des matières, d'un index des abréviations, d'une bibliographie de quatre pages et suivi de trois index : des noms, des termes techniques et des manuscrits.

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER.

D. K. KRANZ, *Bibliografia delle bibliografie patristiche e materie affini. Un sussidio didattico e di ricerca* (*Sussidi e strumenti didattici*, 3), Roma, Ateneo Pontificio Regina Apostolorum, 2005, 280 pages. ISBN 88-89174-30-7.

Voici un ouvrage sobre en apparence, malgré son titre superlatif : austère quant à sa matière et à sa forme, il est aussi bon marché (€ 12) et entend rendre service à l'apprenti patrologue. Il pèche toutefois par son ambition démesurée : en prétendant couvrir tout le champ de la connaissance dans des domaines devenus aussi spécialisés que la philologie classique, l'histoire ancienne, l'étude de l'Antiquité tardive, les études juives, les études bibliques, la patristique, et ce dans toutes les langues et sans oublier des cohortes de sciences auxiliaires élevées elles aussi depuis quelques décennies au rang de disciplines scientifiques à part entière (codicologie, paléographie, épigraphie etc.), l'entreprise risque de tromper et d'égarer le lecteur plus que de lui être réellement utile. Comment, par exemple, prétendre orienter avec compétence l'apprenti patrologue dans le domaine de la paléographie et des collections de manuscrits (chapitre 18) et ne pas citer l'indispensable *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs* de M. Richard et J.-M. Olivier ?

Quant à la partie essentielle, pourrait-on dire, de l'ouvrage, la bibliographie des auteurs patristiques individuels (chapitre 36), elle ne comporte que 81 noms d'auteurs, grecs et latins : c'est très peu. Dans certains cas, l'existence d'une concordance ou d'un répertoire des manuscrits est mentionnée, mais sans que cela soit systématique : par exemple, si une *Concordantia Fulgentiana* est citée (36.38.2), le *Thesaurus Gregorii Nazianzeni* a été oublié, et si, en revanche, le *Repertorium Nazianzenum* (36.40.5) est dûment mentionné, les six volumes de *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* parus entre 1968 et 1999 sont remarquablement absents.

Les efforts accomplis pour rassembler une documentation très abondante couvrant un si large spectre et pour la restituer de manière exacte et précise sont certes méritoires, mais il semble que l'intelligence ait fait défaut quand il s'est agi de donner un ordre à cette matière. Parcourir la liste des sujets procure une impression étrange (accentuée par le fait que les thèmes apparaissent suivant l'ordre alphabétique, bien peu pertinent en l'occurrence), comme si leur choix s'était souvent accompli au petit bonheur et la profusion des références concernant certains d'entre eux donne une image faussée de la recherche. Le chapitre 27 «Società» est le plus frappant à cet égard : s'y succèdent «Donne nell'antichità (*Geschlechterforschung*)» (29 titres), «Famiglia» (11 titres concernant le mariage, la vieillesse et l'éducation), «Schiavitù e forme di dipendenza» (10 titres sur l'esclavage, le clientélisme et la pauvreté), «Sport» (8 titres), enfin un énigmatique «Varia» dont les 12 titres mentionnés couvrent des domaines aussi divers que l'homosexualité, la mort, les rites funéraires dans l'Égypte romaine, l'histoire sociale romaine, la démographie, la cité tardo-antique ou la richesse ...

Les raisons qui ont guidé le choix des sections du chapitre 30 «Storia dell'epoca antica e tardoantica (Roma e Grecia)» semblent également obscures : pourquoi Julien l'Apostat (30.5) est-il le seul empereur romain mentionné au milieu d'historiens (suivant les caprices de l'ordre alphabétique il apparaît ainsi entre Hérodote et Tite-Live) ? Et pourquoi Tacite ne figure-t-il pas dans la liste, alors qu'il existe au moins une bibliographie en ligne concernant cet auteur (http://www.inform.umd.edu/EdRes/Colleges/ARHU/Depts/Classics/Faculty/SRutledge/TacBib/index.html) ? En outre, les titres des chapitres ne sont pas toujours heureusement choisis : par exemple, le chapitre 17 cache sous le titre «Orientalia» les références qui concernent essentiellement Byzance et le monde slave, tandis que pour les autres églises chrétiennes «orientales», il faudra se reporter à des sections éparses dans le chapitre «Regioni e popoli» : 20.1 «Africa» pour le monde éthiopien ; 20.2 «Arabia» pour le monde arabe chrétien ; 20.3 «Armenia» ; 20.8 «Egitto» pour le monde copte ; 20.18 «Siria» ... Signalons en passant que la section «Paesi Bassi» du même chapitre (20.16) ne renferme curieusement que deux titres qui concernent tous deux les recherches historiques en ... Belgique (l'acception de Pays Bas étant archaïque et dès lors trompeuse). Enfin, l'essentiel est très souvent noyé dans l'accessoire : comme l'important répertoire des traductions de textes patristiques de Keller (38.17), pratiquement invisible au milieu du fatras informe que constitue le chapitre «Traduzioni di opere».

D'intelligents renvois d'un chapitre à l'autre auraient pu remédier partiellement à ce manque d'organisation. Malheureusement, ils semblent avoir été souvent laissés au soin de la divine providence plutôt que de la réflexion. Prenons quelques exemples. De la section 20.16, dont il vient d'être question, un renvoi est fait à la référence 34.6.1 («Bibliografia degli studi classici-patristici per aree geografiche» – «Paesi Bassi»), qui concerne les traductions en néerlandais de textes grecs et latins ; cette référence se trouverait donc plus à sa place sous le chapitre 38 «Traduzioni di opere», où elle côtoierait la référence 38.15, qui porte exactement sur le même sujet ; or, le chapitre 38 comporte plusieurs renvois, mais aucun à la référence 34.6.1. Autre exemple : à la section 20.3 «Armenia», il est fait mention du numéro 38.35, le répertoire des traductions arméniennes de textes classiques de Zuckermann ; pourquoi le numéro 38.40, le livre de Bolognesi sur les traductions arméniennes de textes grecs, est-il passé, lui, sous silence ? Du chapitre 4 «Agiografia», il n'est fait qu'un seul renvoi au chapitre 36 «Bibliografie riguardanti i singoli autori» : 36.35 «Eugippius» (auteur d'une vie de Saint Séverin), alors que Sainte Barbe (36.10), par exemple, que l'on peut pourtant difficilement considérer comme un «auteur», aurait elle aussi bien mérité une mention dans le chapitre sur l'hagiographie. On trouve en revanche des renvois parfaitement inutiles, comme de 30.5.1 à 30.5.2 et inversement.

Le chapitre 15 «Lingue» offre une illustration assez complète de tous ces défauts à la fois. En voici le contenu : 15.1 Latino e Greco (insieme) ; 15.2 Latino (solo) ; 15.3 Greco (solo) ; 15.4 Epigrafia ; 15.5 Lingue orientali ; 15.6

Gotico ; 15.7 Inglese antico ; 15.8 Francese antico ; 15.9 Tedesco antico ; 15.10 Altre lingue ; 15.11 Didattica delle lingue classiche ; 15.12 Linguistica. Avoir placé l'épigraphie dans ce chapitre, et ce entre le grec et les langues orientales, semble un choix difficilement justifiable. La section «Lingue orientali» ne concerne en réalité que les langues sémitiques et le renvoi qui est fait du chapitre 14 «Giudaismo» à la section 15.10 «Altre lingue (= Ebraico e Arameo)» est donc parfaitement faux puisque la section 15.10 comporte deux références à des bibliographies générales sur les «World's languages». Notez qu'en 15.10, un renvoi est fait vers 20.7 pour le copte et 20.17 pour le syriaque – sont-ce donc les deux seules «autres» langues ? – ce qui semble juste au regard de l'index général (p. 276), mais faux en réalité parce qu'une section 20.6 «fantôme» est citée au bas de la p. 122 mais laissée vide, ce qui a décalé les numéros suivants de ce chapitre (plus haut, dans ma description des sections de ce chapitre, j'ai cité les numéros tels qu'ils sont en réalité, non tels qu'ils se lisent dans l'index). Dans la section 15.12 «Linguistica», on trouve de tout et surtout n'importe quoi.

Au crédit de l'auteur, il faut souligner qu'il a tenté, et c'est louable, de tenir compte des publications électroniques, que ce soit sur internet ou sous forme de CD-ROM. Il a même mentionné quelques fois, un peu au hasard il faut bien le dire, l'existence sur le web de tables de matières de revues ou de livres. Dans ce domaine, on ne saurait prétendre être exhaustif et l'information se démode très rapidement ; il aurait été utile, cependant, de signaler, par exemple, la base de données de l'Année Philologique interrogeable en ligne ; d'importants sites internet présentant des bibliographies manquent également (comme celui du Centre Libanios de Montpellier, par exemple).

Bref, cet ouvrage rendra peut-être quelques services dans les séminaires et les facultés de théologie.

Caroline MACÉ.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Α΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Σινο-Ελληνικών Σπουδών. Σχέσεις Ελληνικού και Κινεζικού Κόσμου, Ιωάννινα 2 έως 4 Οκτωβρίου 2004. Περιλήψεις. Ioannina, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων, 2004, 63 pages.

Ce petit volume contient les résumés (en anglais dans leur majorité, lorsque les communications sont faites dans une autre langue) des communications faites lors du premier Congrès international sur les relations entre le monde chinois et hellénique organisé par l'Université d'Ioannina. Après avoir laissé de côté les communications concernant les périodes avant le IVe s. et 1453, il reste encore un nombre considérable des communications ayant pour objet les relations entre Byzance et le monde chinois. La presque totalité de celles-ci concerne soit la route de la soie, soit l'Église nestorienne de la Chine occidentale. Le premier de ces sujets est traité par A. Bousdroukis (*Batnai et Hiérapolis, étapes sur la route de la soie. La 'Mer' de l'Euphrate et du Tigre en Mésopotamie et la 'Mer' des Chroniques chinoises*), Sanat Kibirova (en anglais : *Traces gréco-romaines dans la partie est de la route de la soie*, communication essentiellement consacrée à l'époque antique), Claire Papapavlou (en grec : *Traces artistiques grecques le long de la route de la soie*), et Masoumeh Alinia Mazdoor (en anglais : *La route de la soie depuis la Chine jusqu'au monde grec*). Le second sujet a fait l'objet des communications de S. Euthymiadis (en grec : *Une lettre non reçue d'un nestorien de Tourfan à un officier byzantin*), de Cybèle Vernier-Tsigara (en grec : *Les idéogrammes de la stèle nestorienne de Chang'An*) et surtout de M. Kordosis qui lors de la séance inaugurale a parlé en grec sur : *La Chine des T'ang, l'Église chinoise nestorienne et Byzance 'l'hérétique'*. L'A. (sa communication est la seule qui est publiée dans son intégralité, pp. 36-59 ; résumé en anglais, pp. 59-62) y passe en revue la christianisation de la Chine occidentale par les missionnaires nestoriens perses (raison pour laquelle le christianisme dans les sources chinoises est appelé 'religion perse'), ainsi que les relations tendues entre l'Église chinoise et l'Église byzantine durant tout le VIIe et le VIIIe s. Depuis la fin du VIIe s. tous les contacts ont été rompus.

Ces deux thèmes centraux mis à part, les études byzantines sont concernées par les communications faites par S. Kordosis (en grec : *La région de Ta-Ts'in en Bactrie*), G. Koulouras (en grec : *L'Extrême Orient dans les travaux de Georges Gémiste Pléthon*), V. Christidis (en grec : *Les bateaux byzantins, ara-*

bes, persans et éthiopiens en mer Rouge et dans l'océan Indien durant la période pré-islamique), Aglaia KARAMANOU (en grec : *Influences indirectes de l'art grec sur l'art chinois de l'Asie centrale*), Jia-ling XU (en anglais : *Mentions de Byzance dans les sources chinoises anciennes*), M. KORDOSIS (en grec : *Byzance et Chine : événements historiques et 'coïncidences'*), et Ch. STAVRAKOS (en grec : *Un éléphant sur un sceau byzantin : un rare symbole oriental ?*).

Certes, ces résumés ne sont pas assez complets pour servir de référence, mais un tel congrès est très prometteur ; sans doute le deuxième nous livrera des articles pleins.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ε΄ Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου, Κέρκυρα 3-5 Οκτωβρίου 2003. Εισηγήσεις. Ερευνητικά – Μεταπτυχιακά Προγράμματα – Περιλήψεις Ανακοινώσεων, Corfou, Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, 2005, 312 pages. ISBN 960-7260-22-8.

Les réunions bisannuelles des byzantinistes de Grèce et de Chypre constituent déjà une tradition et en même temps un événement majeur pour les études byzantines de ces deux pays. La 5e fut organisée par l'Université ionienne de Corfou et avait pour objet les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident chrétiens. Les deux discours introductifs d'Hélène AHRWEILER (en grec : *Byzance et l'Occident*) définissent les lignes directives de la réunion : Byzance a donné à l'Occident jusqu'au XIIe s. ; depuis l'Occident dépasse Byzance dans tous les domaines et le courant est inversé. Il n'y a que deux communications (caractérisées de 'centrales') qui sont publiées dans leur intégralité, celle de D. TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOS qui a focalisé son intérêt sur les échanges culturels entre l'Occident et les îles ioniennes surtout durant la période post-byzantine et celle de N. KARAPIDAKIS, qui a fait un exposé sur les tendances actuelles de l'historiographie allemande et française en matière d'études byzantines.

L'intérêt particulier de ces rencontres consiste dans le fait que les jeunes chercheurs sont invités à y présenter les résultats de leurs recherches, les universitaires à faire une présentation de nouveaux projets collectifs de recherche, et les professeurs responsables à faire état des nouveaux sujets de doctorat ou des études post-universitaires engagés dans leurs départements. Des dizaines de communications sont ainsi faites. Elles couvrent tout le spectre des études byzantines : théologie, histoire, philologie, philosophie, sciences, musique, archéologie, art. Plusieurs de ces communications sont d'un grand intérêt, tandis que certaines ouvrent réellement de nouvelles voies. Malheureusement dans ce volume on ne trouve que des résumés, parfois assez développés, mais qui ne peuvent pas servir de références bibliographiques. Toutefois, pour ceux qui connaissent le grec moderne, la lecture de ce volume apportera la fraîcheur de la jeunesse qui fera la génération suivante des études byzantines.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

W. BAUM, *Shirin. Christian - Queen - Myth of Love. A Woman of Late Antiquity : Historical Reality and Literary Effect*, Piscataway (NJ), Gorgias Press, 2004, v + 114 pages + 16 planches hors texte. ISBN 1-59333-282-3.

Shirin, l'épouse chrétienne de Chosroès II (590-628), protectrice des chrétiens vivant dans l'empire perse, est devenue un personnage légendaire de la littérature arabe. Pour retracer sa biographie, l'A. fait d'abord une introduction consacrée à l'église iranienne, fondée au IIIe s., et à son évolution jusqu'au VIe s. Ensuite, il envisage les relations entre les empires perse et byzantin durant les règnes de Maurice et de Phocas, l'agression perse contre Byzance sous Phocas et la contre-attaque byzantine sous Héraclius. Toutefois, l'analyse se limite à l'énumération des faits et à une discussion sur certaines dates controversées. La suite n'intéresse pas les études byzantines, puisqu'elle se centre sur la survivance de la mémoire de Shirin dans les arts et la littérature islamiques. La grande qualité du livre est 'l'autre regard' sur les événements, vus du côté persan. Il s'adresse au grand public, même non spécialisé, attiré par l'aspect 'exotique' du sujet.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

G. BELIVANAKIS (éd.), *Ιστορία της Μήλου, Συγκροτημένη από τις ιστορικές επιφυλλίδες της εφημερίδας «Μήλος» μιάς 25ετίας 1976-2001*, Athènes, Εφημερίδα «Μήλος», 2001, 606 pages. ISBN 960-91562-0-7.

Ce volume est en réalité une réimpression des courtes études, de différents auteurs, consacrées à l'île de Mélos, qui ont paru entre 1976 et 2001 dans le journal '*Mélos*' et qui couvrent finalement toutes les périodes de l'histoire de l'île. La 4e et la 5e parties du livre, intitulées respectivement 'Mélos chrétienne' et 'Domination franque et domination turque' correspondent à l'époque byzantine. Parmi les études, celle de N. NICOLOUDIS, *Η βυζαντινή Μήλος*, (pp. 174-183), réunit les maigres sources byzantines (textuelles et archéologiques) qui ne permettent certainement pas de retracer l'histoire de l'île ; elles permettent seulement de savoir que l'île était byzantine au VIIIe s., qu'elle faisait partie du thème des Cyclades au Xe s. et qu'Alexis III a permis aux Vénitiens d'utiliser librement l'île comme base commerciale, au même titre que certaines autres îles de la mer Égée. Cette étude est prolongée par celle de G. BELIVANAKIS, *Οι Φράγκοι στη Μήλο* (pp. 205-210), qui note que Mélos fut prise par les Génois en 1204 avant d'être récupérée par les Vénitiens en 1207. Le système féodal était appliqué sur l'île, dont la population était réduite au statut de vilains (*villani*) : Byzance n'a jamais repris l'île qui au XVIe s. est devenue protectorat ottoman. Le même A. dans une autre étude (*Η καθολική εκκλησία στη Μήλο. Από τη Φραγκοκρατία μέχρι σήμερα*, pp. 211-229), note qu'après 1204 Mélos est devenue évêché catholique, tandis que les autorités ecclésiastiques orthodoxes furent interdites. L'A. publie la liste des évêques romains de l'île en signalant toutefois que la population est restée orthodoxe. En 1571 l'autorité ottomane a rétabli les droits de Constantinople sur l'île : depuis le XVIIIe s. Rome n'a plus nommé d'évêque à

Mélos puisque la communauté catholique sur l'île ne compte que quelques dizaines de personnes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Nancy BISAHA, *Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, 309 pages. ISBN 0-8122-3806-0.

Am 29. Mai 1453 überwaltigten die Truppen des ottomanischen Mehmed II. Konstantinopel nach einer kurzen Belagerung, und die Metropolis fiel nach islamischer Tradition einer dreitägigen Plünderung zum Opfer. Bildete dies für die Ottomanen zweifelsohne einen Höhepunkt in ihrem Aufmarsch nach Westen, wurden sie erst im 16. Jh. vor den Toren von Wien zum Stehen gebracht. Während dieser ganzen Periode reagierten die Humanisten im Westen als Gruppe auf das Benehmen der „immanes barbari" (so Kardinal Bessarion) höchst emotionell. Dabei brachten sie nicht nur in vielen, bis heutzutage des öfteren noch kaum erforschten, aber sehr faszinierenden Werken ihre Gefühle und Erwägungen, sondern auch ihre Neugier und ihr Interesse zum Ausdruck. Wird diese Literatur, die Geschichten und Reden bezüglich der Kreuzfahrten, Studien über Ethnographie, Geschichte und Religion der Türken, epische Poesie und sogar Abhandlungen über die Bekehrung der Feinde zum Christentum umfasst, von Wissenschaftlern meistens als untypisch für den Humanismus der Renaissance betrachtet, dann bietet Prof. BISAHA (Vassar College) mit dem vorliegenden Buch einen tiefgehenden Einblick in das Corpus humanistischer Arbeiten. Diese fokussieren sich nicht auf klassische oder zeitgenössische Themen, sondern auf das ottomanische Reich, den Islam und die Kreuzzüge. Ihre Forschungen machen deutlich, dass die Schreiber der Renaissance bei der Entstehung westlicher Ansichten über die eigene Identität und die der anderen eine ganz signifikante Rolle gespielt haben. Obwohl die eingeengten mittelalterlichen Auffassungen über den Islam in der Regel nur durch jene Rhetorik und religiöse Praxis bestimmt wurden, in denen die Muslime als Feinde des christlichen Glaubens dargestellt wurden, war das Auffassungsvermögen der damaligen humanistischen Denker (obgleich es diesen Werterahmen nicht komplett überstieg) doch wesentlich komplexer. Anhand einiger Texte erörtert die Autorin gängige Meinungen über den Renaissancehumanismus und über die Geschichte von crosskulturellen Perzeptionen, und zeigt, dass moderne Attitüden von westlichen Gesellschaften anderen Kulturen gegenüber nicht während der späteren Ära der Expansion und Dominanz, sondern vielmehr als eine defensive intellektuelle Reaktion gegen eine sophistikierte und drohende Macht im Osten entstanden sind.

M. DE GROOTE.

Βυζαντινή Αθήνα/Byzantine Athens, Athènes, Δήμος Αθηναίων, 2004, 141 pages, dont pp. 92-141 planches en couleurs + deux cartes hors texte. ISBN 960-87969-2-X.

Cette édition luxueuse et bilingue de la Municipalité d'Athènes est surtout destinée aux visiteurs de la cité qui désirent faire connaissance avec le passé byzantin de la ville. Malgré son caractère documentaire, le livre respecte les règles d'un travail scientifique. Il est divisé en deux parties : la partie descriptive et les illustrations (précédées d'une table reprenant l'origine de chaque illustration). La partie descriptive commence par une introduction historique, rédigée par Calliope BOURDARA, vice-bourgmestre et professeur à l'Université d'Athènes, où on trouve l'essentiel de l'histoire de la ville depuis l'Antiquité tardive jusqu'à la conquête ottomane. Cette introduction est suivie de la présentation des monuments architecturaux de la période byzantine attestés ou encore visibles, groupés en six paragraphes : i) période paléochrétienne, ii) période méso-byzantine, iii) IXe et Xe s., iv) XIe s., v) XIIe et XIIIe s., vi) églises de la périphérie athénienne. Dans une annexe sont encore présentées les inscriptions des donateurs ou des propriétaires du monastère Petraki, de l'église de S. Théodore et du monastère de Kaisariani.

Un petit livre très utile pour tout amateur de l'Athènes byzantine, mais qui peut aussi servir de référence à toute recherche scientifique ayant pour objet le patrimoine byzantin de la capitale grecque.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Βυζαντινός Δόμος. Περιοδικό Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Ιστορίας και Πολιτισμού, 13 (2002-2003), 260 pages. ISSN 1106-1901.

Parmi les articles de ce volume les études byzantines sont concernées d'abord par l'article de Sotiria TRIANTARI-MARA, *Η ρητορική στο φιλόσοφο Ιωάννη Ιταλό* (pp. 13-25), où l'A. expose l'opinion suivante : Jean Italos avait assimilé la rhétorique platonicienne et aristotélicienne, mais aussi celle des sophistes, raison pour laquelle son style a un caractère hautement politique. Thekla SANSARIDOU-HENDRICKX, *The World of the Anonymus Author of the Chronicle of the Tocco : Cultural Aspects of his Ideational System of Thought* (pp. 27-52), analyse les aspects socio-culturels et religieux de la Chronique de Tocco, source fondamentale pour la connaissance de l'histoire du despotat de l'Épire. L'A. constate une influence de la Renaissance italienne sur la manière dont le rédacteur anonyme de ce texte envisage les réalités de son temps. L'article d'Anastasia VACALOUDI, *Νεοπυθαγόρειοι και νεοπλατωνικοί φιλόσοφοι και ιατροί. Η ιστορική εξέλιξη της αρχαίας μυστικιστικής θεοσοφίας* (pp. 53-68), malgré son intérêt, ne va pas plus loin que le IVe s. Son idée centrale est que la vision mystique de la médecine n'a pas disparu avec le christianisme. L'article d'A. A. DIMOSTHENOUS, *Αποκαλύπτοντας τη Βυζαντινή Κύπρο μέσα από το τρέχον* (pp. 103-111), est en réalité un genre de chronique de la bibliographie autour de l'île de Chypre à l'époque byzantine. Malgré son intérêt, il est loin d'être exhaustif. C. G. NICHORITIS, *Η επίδραση του Αγίου Όρους στον πνευματικό βίο των ορθοδόξων Σλάβων κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο* (pp. 113-128), constate que

le Mont Athos avant le XIe s. a joué le rôle de centre pour les missions organisées dans le but de christianiser des Slaves du sud. Plusieurs textes y ont été traduits en slavon et plusieurs manuscrits sont copiés dans les monastères athonites. Depuis le XIIe s., le Mont Athos continue son rôle du centre spirituel pour les Serbes mais aussi les Bulgares et les Russes. L'installation des monastères slaves sur la montagne sainte en est la preuve, tandis que la production des manuscrits et la promotion de la littérature et de la musique dans ces monastères témoignent de leur vitalité. N. Ch. KAPONIS, *Η 'Πρόρρησις του αγιωτάτου Ανδριτζοπούλου προς τον Ζωριανόν κύριν Μιχαήλ'* (pp. 129-141), a pour objet un texte du genre prophétique rédigé entre 1272 et 1282, œuvre d'un haut clerc du despotat de l'Épire. Son destinataire est un certain Michel Zorianos, officier de la cour du despote de l'Épire Nicéphore II. Il condamne la politique unioniste de l'empereur Michel VIII. Alexandra STEPHANIDOU, *Φωταγωγία και λυχνοκαΐα της Μονής του Θεολόγου της Πάτμου κατά τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους* (pp. 143-160), constate le nombre impressionnant des lampes à huile de différents types et tailles conservées dans le monastère de Patmos. Un examen des sources prouve qu'à Byzance allumer des lampes, même à l'extérieur des bâtiments, était une pratique courante lors des fêtes. Dans les églises et les monastères, allumer des lampes faisait partie de la pratique liturgique, raison pour laquelle on y utilisait l'huile destinée aux cultes. B. D. KOUKOUSAS, *Ο Άγιος Νικόλαος ο Προσκυνητής* (pp. 173-190), étudie la biographie de S. Nicolas le Pèlerin, né en Phocide en 1075/1076, qui, après avoir passé quelques années comme moine au monastère de Hosios Lucas et comme ermite dans les montagnes de la région, se mit à voyager. En 1093 il se trouvait à Rome d'où il est passé dans les Pouilles où il est mort en 1094. Nicolas est un des rares saints de l'Église catholique originaires de Grèce après le schisme de 1054.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. DIMOSTHENOUS, *Η βυζαντινή Κύπρος (965-1191). Υλικός και πνευματικός πολιτισμός*, Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2002, 214 pages. ISBN 960-7200-82-8.

Chypre, après sa reconquête en 965, est restée pendant presque deux siècles et demi province byzantine. Des textes constantinopolitains et les sources locales permettent de savoir que l'île entrait parfaitement dans le système byzantin ; elle différait toutefois des autres provinces périphériques par son esprit d'autonomie, dû sans doute à son autonomie ecclésiastique, à son caractère insulaire, mais aussi aux longues années d'occupation arabe. Cette tendance, qui s'exprime dans les différents mouvements révolutionnaires et séparatistes, prit finalement forme en la personne d'Isaac Comnène qui en 1184 a fondé un État chypriote sous le nom fantaisiste d'empire. Toutefois, il faut reconnaître que, sur un plan culturel et artistique, cette province égalait la capitale byzantine, ce qu'on n'observe pas pour d'autres provinces byzantines. Cela montre que l'esprit d'autonomie au sein du monde orthodoxe et hellénique (état qui s'est perpétué jusqu'à présent)

avait des racines profondes dans un passé culturel et social différent de celui du reste de l'empire byzantin.

Un travail original et parfois révolutionnaire qui ne prend pas comme point de départ les événements importants, mais les réalités quotidiennes de l'île, telles qu'elles sont transmises par les sources.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Renata GENTILE MESSINA, *Basilio Achrideno, Epitafio per l'imperatrice Alamanna*, Catania, Orpheus, 2003, 227 pages.

En 1160 mourut l'impératrice Irène, première épouse de Manuel I Comnène, la seule impératrice byzantine d'origine allemande, née Berthe de Sulzbach. À ce triste événement, Basile de Thessalonique a consacré un *Épitaphe*, qui fait l'objet d'une édition critique par l'A. de ce volume. Le livre est divisé en quatre sections : l'introduction, l'édition du texte, les commentaires et les index. Dans l'introduction, l'A. fait une biographie détaillée d'Irène, et une synthèse de la bibliographie assez développée à son sujet. Ensuite, et toujours dans la partie introductive, l'A. envisage l'histoire du texte à commencer par son auteur, Basile, archevêque de Thessalonique de 1145 à 1168, au sujet duquel peu de choses sont connues. Basile a composé son *Épitaphe* durant les premiers mois de 1160 à l'attention de l'empereur, mais il visait aussi à plaire à l'Église romaine, car Irène, avant son mariage, était une princesse catholique. L'A. étudie ensuite la structure du texte, qui constitue un bon spécimen de la rhétorique byzantine du XIIe s. Le texte, transmis par trois manuscrits, a connu une première édition en 1894 par V. Vasilievskij et une deuxième en 1917 par W. Regel. Cela oblige l'A. à faire une longue présentation documentée des principes de son édition critique. Quant aux commentaires, ils sont surtout historiques. En bref, un travail digne de la tradition italienne en matière d'édition qui servira grandement aux historiens et aux philologues du XIIe s. byzantin.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Le temps des Anges. Recueil d'études sur la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle, ses antécédents, son rayonnement*. Édité en hommage par Brigitte D'HAINAUT et Catherine VANDERHEYDE, Bruxelles, Le livre Timperman, 2005, 270 pages, 73 illustrations en noir et blanc + 16 planches en couleurs hors texte. ISBN 9077723-31-5.

Le temps des Anges rassemble onze études que Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH a consacrées, de 1965 à nos jours, à l'art byzantin du XIIe s. Ce livre hommage, édité par Brigitte D'HAINAUT-ZVENY et Catherine VANDERHEYDE, regroupe des articles publiés dans des revues, des recueils ou des actes de colloque, parfois difficilement accessibles, ordonnés suivant quatre grandes thématiques : «L'art de peindre sous les dynasties des Comnènes et des Anges», «Aspects du rayonne-

ment de l'art tardo-comnène : peintures murales», «Miniatures et arts somptuaires» et «L'interaction spatiale des peintures murales». Cette organisation témoigne de la logique et de la cohérence de l'ensemble de ces études qui s'articulent autour d'un point commun : la mise en valeur du rôle capital joué par le XIIe s. dans les évolutions de l'art byzantin.

L'ouvrage débute par une contribution inédite, *Le temps des Anges*, qui introduit le style de la peinture monumentale du XIIe s., permettant à l'auteur de faire des compléments bibliographiques nécessaires aux diverses études rassemblées dans le corpus. Spécifions ici que chacun des articles a été soigneusement revu par l'auteur, qu'il s'agisse de nuances de propos ou de modifications de datation. Puis, l'A. vient éclairer le titre général du livre en jetant une lumière nouvelle sur l'importance et le rôle des représentations angéliques sous les dynasties impériales des Comnènes (1080-1185) et des Anges (1185-1204). L'A. montre à quel point cette période a innové en inventant et en multipliant la présence angélique dans l'iconographie, soulignant le lien au développement de la liturgie.

Les deux premières parties de l'ouvrage sont consacrées à l'art tardo-comnène dans la peinture monumentale : ses caractéristiques, ses prolongements, son rayonnement. Ainsi, à travers des exemples choisis en Macédoine, en Sicile et à Chypre, illustrant l'importance du rayonnement de la capitale, l'A. analyse l'esprit nouveau qui anime ces œuvres, leur grand raffinement, le sens de l'humain et du pathétique. On comprend comment les tendances maniéristes visibles à Nérézi, Pérachorio ou Monreale sont poussées à l'extrême à la fin du siècle allant vers un art nerveux et expressif, comme on peut le voir à Kurbinovo ou Castoria, ou vers un art plus décoratif, comme en témoignent les décors de l'île de Chypre. L'A. dégage les particularités essentielles de cette peinture, tant sur un plan stylistique qu'iconographique – ce dernier étant fortement influencé par la liturgie – et nous fait comprendre, à travers une analyse claire et raffinée, ses apports dans l'évolution générale de la peinture byzantine, et notamment ses prolongements au XIIIe s. Trois articles nous permettent ensuite d'appréhender le rayonnement de cet art en pleine maturation, le développement d'un style commun qu'on retrouve aussi bien dans les Balkans, à Chypre que dans le Latium. L'étude des peintures de Ninfa, peut-être moins connues, est à ce propos le témoignage d'un travail minutieux et rigoureux, que n'hésite pas à louer Paul Philippot dans l'un des «portraits» situés en début d'ouvrage. Il s'agissait en effet d'identifier les thèmes iconographiques fragmentaires de ces églises ruinées et de tenter de les situer chronologiquement dans le développement général de la peinture en Italie aux XIIe-XIIIe s.

La troisième partie rassemble des études qui ont trait aux miniatures et aux arts somptuaires. Ainsi, le lien entre les manuscrits enluminés constantinopolitains et les peintures murales de Castoria et Kurbinovo est analysé avec exigence, mettant en valeur un répertoire ornemental commun. À travers une observation détaillée et systématique des motifs ornementaux végétaux et de leur graphisme, notamment dans les écoinçons ornés des fresques, l'A. émet l'hypothè-

se séduisante que les miniatures des deux premiers tiers du XIIe s., et plus particulièrement le groupe de Kokkinobaphos, étaient connues des peintres de la fin du siècle, parlant ainsi de «miniature à grande échelle». Dans un deuxième article, en mémoire de Doula Mouriki, l'A. examine les représentations des coussins de pieds sous les Macédoniens et les Comnènes, jusqu'alors peu étudiées. L'analyse minutieuse des motifs – «grilles» en losanges, en écailles ou fleuronnées – met en avant le caractère signifiant de ces décors, pouvant être considérés comme signe de prestige, de pouvoir et de sacralité. Enfin, le dernier article de ce chapitre témoigne de la présence du style tardo-comnène dans les arts somptuaires. La staurothèque d'Esztergom, qu'une longue tradition rattache à l'art du XIe s., est rapprochée ici de l'art tardo-comnène à travers une analyse iconographique et stylistique convaincante. La pose des anges, le développement des scènes de la Passion, la spécificité de la Descente de Croix, les couleurs moins éclatantes, le graphisme des étoffes, la dramatisation des sentiments sont autant d'arguments iconographiques et stylistiques qui font pencher l'A. pour une datation à la fin du XIIe s.

Le dernier chapitre de cet ouvrage est particulièrement intéressant, car il aborde un aspect primordial de la peinture monumentale, à savoir l'interaction spatiale du décor et le rôle de l'image dans l'espace sacré. Dans la tradition byzantine, nombreux sont les liens symboliques entre le choix d'une scène et son emplacement au sein de l'église. Ainsi, l'A. retrace la tradition de la décoration extérieure des églises, dépassant largement le cadre du XIIe s. Il en ressort une iconographie récurrente des façades, telles que Déisis, saints titulaires de l'église ou donateurs, mais aussi des sujets plus spécifiques, comme le thème messianique de l'arbre de Jessé. Dans une deuxième étude, l'aspect de l'ambiguïté spatiale de la peinture monumentale à l'intérieur même de l'église est abordé, et plus particulièrement la coïncidence et les réseaux de correspondances entre l'espace figuré et l'espace réel. C'est essentiellement le dernier article qui a retenu notre attention, tant il s'inscrit dans une nouvelle voie de recherche particulièrement d'actualité ces dernières années, à savoir la place et la fonction de l'image dans l'espace. Dans cet article, intitulé *Images et passage. Leurs relations dans quelques églises byzantines d'après 843*, l'A. considère les représentations liées aux passages comme un programme cohérent qui se divise en trois catégories : «théophaniques» (variantes de la croix et du chrisme en gloire, disques tournoyants, *Mandylion*, *Kéramidion*), «iconiques» (Christ, Vierge, saints titulaires ou protecteurs) et «scéniques» (Annonciation et Dormition). Ces images marquent les passages, évoquant une certaine initiation dans la révélation, délivrent un message commun et révèlent leur fonction de bénédiction, de protection et d'intercession privilégiée.

Tous ces articles réunis sont illustrés de photos en noir et blanc de haute qualité qui rythment agréablement le récit et aident à sa compréhension. Enfin, nous terminerons en insistant sur la complémentarité de ces études qui dégagent le rôle capital joué par cette période dans l'évolution du programme de décoration

des églises byzantines, mais dévoilent également l'imbrication, parfois complexe, des domaines de l'art byzantin, qu'il s'agisse de peinture, de miniature ou d'art somptuaire. Ainsi, comme le déclare, dans un des «portraits», Nano Chatzidakis, grande amie de l'auteur et professeur d'art byzantin à l'Université de Ioannina, *Le temps des Anges* reflète «l'une des facettes les plus caractéristiques de la personnalité scientifique de Lydie Hadermann-Misguich : celle de la byzantiniste qui, avec autant d'enthousiasme que de rigueur, se voue à l'étude des formes et de l'esprit de l'art byzantin».

Sulamith BRODBECK.

R. C. HILL, *St John Chrysostom. Spiritual Gems from the Book of Psalms*, Boston, Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2004, 237 pages. ISBN 1-885652-84-4.

Ce volume n'est en réalité qu'une sélection de passages de Jean Chrysostome traduits en anglais. Livre à caractère édifiant, il est sans doute destiné aux étudiants de l'École de Holy Cross aux États-Unis et à un public ciblé, pour lequel l'accès au texte original s'avère impossible.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Icon and Word. The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies Presented to Robin Cormack, éd. par A. EASTMOND et Liz JAMES, Aldershot et Burlington, Ashgate, 2003, XXXIV + 301 pages. ISBN 0-7546-3549-X.

Comme l'indique son titre, ce volume est un hommage rendu à Robin Cormack, dont l'œuvre et la production scientifique font l'objet d'une présentation par J. ELSNER (pp. XVII-XXVIII), tandis que les responsables de l'édition, Liz JAMES et A. EASTMOND, signent une brève introduction (pp. XXIX-XXXIV) au sujet du volume : *Icon and Word.*

Pas moins de 16 contributions scientifiques forment ce volume, qui est divisé en deux parties de 8 articles. La première a pour objet l'icône et sa signification, et la seconde le contexte de l'icône. Voici les titres des articles de la première partie avec leurs auteurs respectifs : Annabel WHARTON, *Icon, Idol, Totem and Fetish* (pp. 3-11) ; R. FRANSES, *When All what is Gold does not glitter : On the Strange History of Looking at Byzantine Art* (pp. 13-24) ; C. BARBER, *Icon and Portrait in the Trial of Symeon the New Theologian* (pp. 25-33) ; Karen BOSTON, *The Power of Inscriptions and the Trouble with Texts* (pp. 35-57) ; Liz JAMES, *Art and Lies : Text, Image and Imagination in the Medieval World* (pp. 59-71) ; A. EASTMOND, *Between Icon and Idol : The Uncertainty of Imperial Images* (pp. 73-85) ; R. MANIURA, *The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon : The Holy Image in the Renaissance* (pp. 87-103) ; et J. WILKINSON, *Picturing New Jerusalem* (pp. 105-118). De manière générale et à l'exception de l'article de R. Maniura, toutes les études de cette partie tournent en réalité autour de la théologie de l'icône, telle qu'elle a été développée lors du VIIe concile oecuménique de Nicée. Car même Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, sujet de l'article de

C. Barber, ne fait que reprendre la même théologie, dans un sens plus mystique. Parmi les articles de la seconde partie, seul celui de Maria VASSILAKI, *Bleeding Icons* (pp. 121-131) a une portée générale. Cinq autres articles traitent un type iconographique bien précis. Il s'agit notamment des articles ci-après : J. OSBORNE, *Images of the Mother of God in Early Medieval Rome* (pp. 135-156) ; Cecily HENNESSY, *Iconic Images of Children in the Church of St Demetrios, Thessaloniki* (pp. 157-172) ; J. HANSON, *The 'Statuesque Hodegetria' and the Limitations of the Sculpted Icon* (pp. 173-184) ; Lucy-Anne HUNT, *For the Salvation of a Woman's Soul : An Icon of St Michael Described within a Medieval Coptic Context* (pp. 205-232) ; Maria EVANGELATOU, *The Purple Thread of the Flesh : The Theological Connotations of a Narrative Iconographic Element in Byzantine Images of the Annunciation* (pp. 261-279). Deux autres études sortent de ce thème général du type iconographique. Il s'agit de l'article de J. LOWDEN, *Archimedes into Icon : Forging an Image of Byzantium* (pp. 232-260), qui étudie les enluminures du palimpseste d'Archimède, et de celui de Barbara ZEITLER, *The Migrating Images : Uses and Abuses of Byzantine Icons in Western Europe* (pp. 185-204), qui étudie le sort réservé aux icônes orientales dans l'Europe occidentale où on leur a attribué parfois des qualités inattendues.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

H. INGLEBERT, *Interpretatio Christiana. Les mutations des savoirs (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire) dans l'Antiquité chrétienne, 30-630 après J.-C.* (*Collection des Études Augustiniennes*, Série Antiquité, 166), Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2001, 632 pages. ISBN 2-85121-186-2.

Ce volume, d'une rare intensité, a pour objet l'histoire culturelle de l'humanité et le changement des mentalités et des idées dans le contexte chrétien. Car l'abandon de la religion antique a causé aussi une christianisation du savoir. Il est pratiquement impossible de donner un résumé de ce gros volume. Signalons que l'A. envisage son sujet en deux parties : la première concerne les savoirs sur les lieux et les peuples (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie) et la seconde la conception de l'Histoire et sa finalité chez les chrétiens ainsi que l'insertion des connaissances historiques antiques dans la doctrine chrétienne. Ces connaissances, habituellement d'origine grecque, latine ou orientale, devaient se mettre en accord avec les données bibliques, ou d'origine juive, ce qui dans la pensée chrétienne était synonyme de la soumission des premières aux secondes. Certes, l'élaboration d'une science chrétienne a suivi des chemins différents chez les peuples dont le passé était grec, latin, syriaque ou arménien. Mais quelle que soit l'origine culturelle des chrétiens, ces derniers partaient tous d'une base conceptuelle commune qui conditionnait les relations entre la foi et le savoir. Dans l'Antiquité, surtout l'Antiquité grecque, le savoir reposait sur le raisonnement ; chez les chrétiens cette base avait un caractère métaphysique et eschatologique, qui dans bien de cas s'opposait même à la logique, puisque le savoir ne devait et

ne pouvait pas constituer une valeur en soi, mais un moyen de salut. La *paideia* chrétienne est en réalité une forme de foi. Cela est visible surtout dans le domaine de l'histoire où l'historiographie antique, fondée sur l'analyse des causes et des effets, est remplacée par la chronographie, une vision eschatologique de l'Histoire gérée par la Providence et dont le but ultime était le Royaume des cieux.

Certes, le livre ne concerne pas les études byzantines au sens strict du terme, mais c'est un instrument de travail fondamental pour comprendre les mentalités byzantines, conditionnées par une vision du monde selon laquelle le savoir scientifique ne jouait pas un rôle prédominant.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture. Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December, 1999 (*Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul. Transactions*, 13), éd. par J. O. ROSENQVIST, Uppsala, 2004, 169 pages. ISBN 91-86884-12-3.

Comme l'explique l'éditeur dans la préface de ce volume, ce livre réunit neuf études de byzantinistes scandinaves consacrées à l'histoire culturelle et l'interaction sociale à Byzance durant la période des Paléologues. L'idée dominante est que la «renaissance paléologue» n'a pas été engendrée par la société byzantine ; elle est un produit d'importation. Cela explique pourquoi la renaissance culturelle allait de pair avec une faiblesse de plus en plus prononcée de l'empire et une défection de plus en plus profonde du tissu social. Puisque le modèle, en l'occurence l'Occident, avait comme source d'inspiration l'Antiquité, Byzance redécouvrira son passé culturel par l'intermédiaire de l'Occident. Voici la liste des études du volume : B. KIILERRICH, *Aesthetic Aspects of Palaiologan Art in Constantinople : Some Problems* (pp. 11-26) ; Ø. HJORT, *'Oddities' and 'Refinements' : Aspects of Architecture, Space and Narrative in the Mosaics of Kariye Camii* (pp. 27-43) ; K. HULT, *Theodore Metochites as a Literary Critic* (pp. 44-56) ; R. GOTHÓNI, *Mount Athos during the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (pp. 57-69) ; H. TORR, *A Consideration of the Wall-Paintings of the Metropolis at Mistra* (pp. 70-88) ; S. SANDE, *The Petropigi Fortress : A Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman* Statio *on the Via Egnatia* (pp. 89-99) ; B. BYDÉN, *'Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms !' : Latin Philosophy in Greek Translations of the Thirteenth Century* (pp. 133-157) ; C. TROELSGÅRD, *Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant* (pp. 158-169). Ajoutons l'article d'E. BALISKA-WITAKOWSKA, *The Holy Face of Edessa on the Frame of the Volto santo of Genoa : the Literary and Pictorial Sources* (pp. 100-132), encore que Byzance n'en soit pas l'objet.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées (*Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 18), éd. par M. KAPLAN, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001, XI + 319 pages. ISBN 2-85944-421-1.

Ce volume collectif rassemble une partie des communications données à un séminaire tenu à l'Université de Paris I durant les années académiques 1966-1967 et 1967-1968. Les communications avaient toutes pour objet la notion du sacré dans le monde chrétien. Les auteurs de ces communications ont essayé de préciser de quelle manière ce sacré est manifesté dans différentes régions de la chrétienté, durant la période communément qualifiée de médiévale. Elles n'ont pas toutes pour objet le monde byzantin, mais il n'y en a aucune qui ne se réfère de près ou de loin à ce monde. Nous faisons cette remarque car nous nous limiterons ensuite aux seuls titres dont Byzance fait l'objet principal.

Marie-France AUZÉPY, *Les Isauriens et l'espace sacré : l'église et les reliques*, pp. 13-24, voit dans le mouvement iconoclaste une tentative de recentrer autour de l'autel eucharistique la notion du sacré, dispersée à cause d'une adoration presque païenne des icônes et des reliques. Pourtant l'espace sacré par excellence durant la période byzantine reste l'église, le lieu de culte. Selon l'idée que développe Catherine JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Images et espace culturel à Byzance : l'exemple d'une église de Cappadoce (Karli kilise, 1212)*, pp. 163-182, le lieu de culte est sacralisé non seulement du fait que les sacrements s'y déroulaient, mais aussi par la mise en œuvre d'un programme à la fois culturel et métaphysique. La détermination de l'espace sacré dans l'hagiographie byzantine fait l'objet des deux études de M. KAPLAN, *Le choix du lieu saint d'après certaines sources hagiographiques byzantines*, pp. 183-198, et *L'espace sacré dans la Vie de Daniel le Stylite*, pp. 199-217. Dans ces textes, le lieu où a vécu le saint, l'élu de Dieu, est d'office caractérisé de sacré, idée qui, d'une certaine manière, fait l'objet aussi de deux autres articles, celui de Arietta PAPACONSTANTINOU, *'Où le péché abondait, la grâce a surabondé' : sur les lieux de culte dédiés aux saints dans l'Égypte des Ve-VIIe siècles*, pp. 235-249, et celui d'Élisabeth MALAMOUT, *Le monastère de Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra de Constantinople*, pp. 219-233. Selon le premier de ces articles, des vallées entières en Égypte sont devenues des lieux saints du fait que des saints y ont vécu ; selon le second, un espace sacralisé reste à perpétuité sacré, raison qui explique la reconstruction des monastères sur le même espace après une destruction. Le lieu où le saint a vécu est sacralisé de double manière, comme le souligne J.-P. SODINI, *La hiérarchisation des espaces à Qal'at Sem'an*, pp. 251-262, car après la mort du saint, sa vie est plongée dans la mémoire collective et le lieu où il a vécu devient un lieu de pèlerinage, mis en valeur par une hiérarchisation des constructions autour de l'endroit sacré. Ce même programme, mais à l'échelle d'une montage, est le thème de Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Les saintes montagnes à Byzance*, pp. 263-275. La montagne était sacralisée déjà dans les civilisations antiques, comme par ex. Olympe ; dans le monde chrétien certaines montagnes qui ont attiré les moines

sont devenues de vraies portes célestes, des lieux de sainteté absolue. La notion de l'espace sacré ne se limite pas au seul monde d'ici bas. Comme le dit Marie-Hélène CONGOURDEAU, *Jérusalem et Constantinople dans la littérature apocalyptique*, pp. 125-136, la capitale byzantine est sacralisée dans un sens eschatologique et prend la place tenue par la Jérusalem céleste dans l'Apocalypse, car c'est l'empereur de Byzance qui lors du Jugement dernier remettra au Christ le royaume d'ici-bas.

Signalons encore les titres des autres articles contenus dans ce volume qui ne concernent pas directement les études byzantines. J.-P. ARRIGNON, *L'inhumation des princes et des saints de la Rus' de Kiev*, pp. 1-11 ; Josiane BARBIER, *Le sacré dans le palais franc*, pp. 25-41 ; Cathérine BORTOLI-DOUCET, *L'iconostase et l'espace sacré dans l'église russe aux XIVe et XVe siècles : d'où provient le développement en hauteur de cette iconostase ?*, pp. 44-60 ; Béatrice CASEAU, *ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣ. La désacralisation des espaces et des objets religieux païens durant l'Antiquité tardive*, pp. 61-123 ; Anne-Marie HELVÉTICUS, *Le saint et la sacralisation de l'espace en Gaule du Nord d'après les sources hagiographiques (VIIe-XIe siècles)*, pp. 137-161 ; P. P. TOLOCKO, *Byzance vue par les Russes*, pp. 277-284 ; Cécile TREFFORT, *Consécration de cimetière et contrôle épiscopal des lieux d'inhumation au Xe siècle*, pp. 285-299 ; M. ZIMMERMANN, *Les actes de consécration d'églises du diocèse d'Urgell (IXe-XIIe siècle) : la mise en ordre d'un espace chrétien*, pp. 301-318.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Decline and Change in Late Antiquity. Religion, Barbarians and their Historiography* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*), Aldershot et Burlington (VT), Ashgate, 2006, XIV + 352 pages. ISBN 0-86078-990-X.

Im Jahre 1990 veröffentlichte der Ashgate-Verlag in seiner *Variorum Collected Studies Series* unter dem Titel *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. Change in the Late Empire* eine erste Sammlung von Aufsätzen des Professors LIEBESCHUETZ (University of Nottingham) (ISBN 0-86078-258-1), in denen die Veränderung der römischen Welt zwischen dem 4. und 6. Jh., vor allem unter dem Einfluss des Christentums, im Mittelpunkt stand. Die Artikel der jetzigen zweiten Kollektion behandeln ebenfalls eine Vielzahl von Aspekten hinsichtlich der Geschichte des späten Altertums. Sie wurden in vier Gruppen untergeordnet, die genau jene vier Interessefelder widerspiegeln denen das Interesse des Autors immer besonders gegalten hat, nämlich die Historiographie, die Religion, die Ansiedlung der Barbaren und das späte Altertum.

Der Autor illustriert die Vorgeschichte des spätantiken Monotheismus an Hand einiger Aufsätze, in denen er neben heidnischen Kulten wie dem Mithraismus auch dem Einfluss des Judaismus auf nicht-Juden nachgeht. Weitere Beiträge, in denen die Eigenheiten der fremden Völker (vor allem der Visigothen

und Vandalen), die allmählich große Teile des westlichen römischen Reiches in Besitz nahmen, behandelt wird, zeigen, wie die fortwährende „ethnogenesis" dieser barbarischen Ansiedler genau durch Bräuche und Traditionen ermöglicht wurde. Einige von denen stammten eben noch aus der Zeit, die ihren Einfällen vorausging, und die Tatsache, dass der Besitz des römischen Bürgerrechts seine Bedeutung komplett verloren hatte, half ihnen dazu, ihre Gruppen zu vergrößern und ihre ethnische Solidarität zu konsolidieren. In weiteren Artikeln, die die Historiographie des späten Altertums betreffen, behandelt der Autor die Schriften von Historikern von Thucydides bis zu A. H. M. Jones und P. Brown. Abermals betont er die Wichtigkeit der Beziehung zwischen dem Hintergrund des Historikers und seinen Schriften, und zeigt wie das Streben vieler heutiger Historiker, das Konzept des „Verfalls" (decline) zu verwerfen, in gegenwärtigen politischen Besorgnissen, und vor allem in der Ideologie des Multikulturalismus seinen Ursprung hat.

M. De Groote.

C. Livanos, *Greek Tradition and Latin Influence in the Work of George Scholarios. "Alone against All of Europe"*, Piscataway (NJ), Gorgias Press, 2006, 152 pages. ISBN 1-59333-344-7.

Der aus Konstantinopel gebürtige Georgios Scholarios (um 1400 - um 1472) wurde 1453 von Mehmed II. unter dem Namen Gennadios II. zum ersten ökumenischen Patriarchen der orthodoxen Kirche in der ottomanischen Ära ernannt. Befürwortete er anfangs die Union von der griechischen und lateinischen Kirche, dann warf er sich später, während der letzten Jahre des byzantinischen Reiches, zum Führer der anti-unionistischen Faktion auf. Zuvor hatte er im Rahmen seines Studiums des westlichen Christentums große Teile der theologischen Schriften von Thomas Aquinas ins Griechische übersetzt, und auch nach seinem Umschwung blieb seine Bewunderung für Letztgenannten so groß, dass er gelegentlich mit dem Beinamen „palamitischen Thomisten" bedacht wurde, als hätte er die Absicht gehabt, die Glaubenssysteme des Aquinas und des aus dem 14. Jh. stammenden byzantinischen Theologen Gregorios Palamas zu kombinieren.

Da Scholarios in den Dialogen zwischen Ost und West, einschließlich des Konzils von Ferrara-Florenz (1438-1439), eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat, bietet Prof. Livanos (University of Wisconsin-Madison) in der vorliegenden Publikation, mit J. Meyendorffs Aussage, Scholarios sei ein intellektuelles Änigma, das auf moderne wissenschaftliche Untersuchung wartet (*Byzantine Theology*, New York, 1979, S. 112), als Ausgangspunkt, einen klaren Blick auf einige kulturelle Missverständnisse, die sich im Konzil und in den darauf bezüglichen Dialogen erhoben haben. Weil moderne Forscher außerdem lange Zeit den Standpunkt vertreten haben, dass die byzantinische und westliche Theologie mit Bezug auf wichtige Doktrinen, wie z.B. die Erlösung und die Erbsünde, sehr verschiedene Ansichten hatten, während die Theologen und Diplomate aus dem

15. Jh. diese Themen gar nicht auf die Tagesordnung setzten, versucht der Autor die Diskrepanz zwischen einerseits der Weise auf die moderne Wissenschaftler das 15. Jh. beschrieben haben, und andererseits der Weise in der die Leute dieses Jh.s sich selbst sahen, zu begreifen.

M. De Groote.

Annie et J.-P. Mahé, *L'Arménie à l'épreuve des siècles*, Paris, Gallimard, 2005, 160 pages. ISBN 2-07-031409-X.

Ce petit volume, richement illustré, retrace, sans prétentions scientifiques, l'histoire de la nation arménienne depuis le VIe s. avant J.-C. jusqu'à nos jours. Il se limite aux grands événements historiques, car destiné à un public qui cherche un minimum d'information au sujet de cette nation, qui, située au carrefour des grands empires, fut souvent dominée par une grande puissance. Signalons que la période byzantine est envisagée entre les pages 33 et 77.

P. Yannopoulos.

Christina-Panagiota Manolea, *The Homeric Tradition in Syrianus*, Thessaloniki, Stamoulis Editions, 2004, 304 pages. ISBN 960-8353-39-4.

This book is a slightly revised version of the author's Ph.D. thesis, which was approved by the University of London in 2002. As Homer was the *poète par excellence* among ancient Greeks, his influence was important in the surviving texts of the Neoplatonic philosopher Syrianus, who was the Head of the Academy of Athens from 432 to 437 A.D. In this thorough study, the author undertakes the task of a close reading of the Homeric passages in Syrianus' existing commentaries, namely on Hermogenes' *De ideis* and *De statibus*, Plato's *Phaedrus* and Aristotle's *Metaphysica*. Syrianus is placed in a wide and rich exegetical tradition, as the author makes use of the Homeric scholia, but also of writers as diverse as Xenophon, Plutarch, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Proclus and Eustathius of Salonica.

The first chapter (pp. 21-65) offers a brief outline of the Homeric tradition up to Syrianus, which illuminates the exegetical tradition of Homer till the 5th c. A.D. After that, there is a discussion of important methodological issues of the works of Syrianus, such as the authorship of the commentaries *In Hermogenem* (attributed to Syrianus the sophist) and *In Phaedrum* (attributed to Syrianus' student Hermias). The conclusion reached is that both commentaries should be treated as adequate sources of Syrianus' teaching and ideas. The chapter ends with a helpful summary of Syrianus' philosophical system. The second chapter (pp. 67-122) deals with the Homeric tradition in Syrianus' commentary on Hermogenes. After a close reading of the 17 relevant passages, the author points out that in this work Syrianus made use of Homer in the pure scholarly way any other teacher of rhetoric would have done. The third chapter (pp. 123-205) deals with the 28 Homeric passages found in the *In Phaedrum* and the fourth chapter

(pp. 207-231) deals with the 10 Homeric passages of the *In Metaphysica*. In the philosophical commentaries of Syrianus Homeric quotations, episodes and figures are used in passages with a theological, metaphysical, cosmological and psychological content. Especially interesting are the Homeric passages where the allegorical tradition is either implied or clearly exploited, in order to sustain Syrianus' views. There are also passages where Homer is also treated not as a poet but as a theologian, being put in the rank of Orpheus. In the conclusions (pp. 233-239) it is argued that Syrianus' treatment of Homer is twofold : Syrianus was on the one hand part of a rich scholarly tradition and on the other he regarded Homer as a theologian and incorporated Homeric elements (allegorical or not) in his various discussions. The book ends with a short summary in Greek (pp. 241-247) and extensive lists of primary sources (pp. 249-272) and secondary bibliography (pp. 272-300).

In general this monograph is a well-arranged and scholarly study, which adds to our knowledge of the perception of Homer by a Greek philosopher of late Antiquity and should be of interest both to classicists and students of Neoplatonism alike.

J. DEMETRACOPOULOS.

J. MOSSAY, *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio Graeca*, I. *Orationes X et XII* (*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 64 = *Corpus Nazianzenum*, 22), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers et Leuven, University Press, 2006, CXXXV + 61 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-40641-1.

Cet ouvrage est la première tranche d'une vaste entreprise scientifique : l'édition critique majeure, c'est-à-dire utilisant tous les manuscrits et autres sources accessibles des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze, écrivain cappadocien du IVe s. Cette édition est en projet, attendue et préparée depuis un demi-siècle, sous les auspices de la Goerres Gesellschaft (Bonn) et du Centre d'études sur Grégoire de Nazianze de Louvain-la-Neuve. L'œuvre littéraire grégorienne comporte environ quarante-cinq textes en prose, les *Discours* ou *Orationes*, deux cent cinquante *Lettres* et plus de seize mille vers. Les deux textes édités traitent des fonctions épiscopales à Nazianze et aux environs, au cours du IVe s.

Ce volume appelle des continuations. Dans une introduction détaillée, il résume les problèmes particuliers posés par la transmission et la réception des textes grégoriens à travers l'histoire du monde byzantin et de l'Orient chrétien. En outre par une série de *Notes complémentaires* et de *Scolies*, il passe en revue les questions relatives aux éditions de ces mêmes textes.

Byzantion adresse des félicitations à l'A., qui s'est attaché pendant trente-cinq ans à la direction de notre revue en collaboration avec des collègues de l'Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve, de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles et autres Universités belges.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

M. MUNN, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia. A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*, Berkeley, Los Angeles (CA), London, University of California Press, 2006, XVIII + 3 cartes + 452 pages. ISBN 0-520-24349-8.

Unter den mütterlichen Göttinnen des griechischen Pantheons bildet Kybele, die Mutter der Götter (μήτηρ θεῶν), ein wahres Paradoxon : Mal wird sie als jungfräuliche Tochter, züchtige Frau oder hingebende Mutter beschrieben, mal als leidenschaftliche Geliebte oder eben als ursprünglich männliches oder wenigstens androgynes Wesen. Je nach der benutzten Quelle scheint sie den Griechen gegenüber fremd oder vertraut gewesen zu sein. In dem vorliegenden, wissenschaftlich fundierten Buch hat Prof. MUNN (Pennsylvania State University) es sich zum Ziel gesetzt, ein – auch chronologisch und geographisch – wohl besonders breites Thema zu erforschen, wodurch es ihm zugleich gelingt die frühesten griechischen Weltkarten somit die Teilung zwischen Asien und Europa zu erklären.

Der Autor untersucht, wie der Kult der Göttin, die von den Lydiern „Kybebe" und von den Phrygiern „Matar Kubeleya" genannt wurde, ursprünglich ein Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit war und beim erstgenannten Volk eben als Mutter der lokalen Tyrannendynastie der Mermnaden galt (um 680-547), im 5. Jh. nach Athen kam und zuerst zurückgewiesen wurde (vgl. Julianus Apostata, *Or.* 5,159a-b, und die Erzählungen über den am Ort des früheren *bouleuterions* 491 hingerichteten μητραγύρτης). Nach dem sogenannten Frieden von Kallias (449), der für ein Gleichgewicht zwischen dem athenischen und persischen Reich sorgte, und Gegner allmählich in Partner umwandelte, wurde Kybele 408 schließlich doch offiziell durch die vor allem von Alcibiades propagierte Verschmelzung der athenischen und asiatischen Ideologie als Behüterin der Gesetze der athenischen Demokratie und als Symbol ihrer eigenen Souveränität im Μητρῷον enthronisiert.

Die vorliegende Publikation, zweifelsohne die erste eingehende Erforschung der Weise, wie religiöse Kultpraxis und Gedankengut politische Aktivitäten während und nach den 6. und 5. Jh.n beeinflusst haben, illustriert einwandfrei, dass Gottheiten aus der Antike keinesfalls als statische Typen betrachtet werden dürfen, sondern sich vielmehr als Ausdrücke kultureller Systeme eventuellen historischen Änderungen anpassen : Die asiatische Gottheit, die, äquivalent zu Ishtar, bei den Assyrern und Babylonern als Göttin der heiligen Ehe galt, in Lydien die Mutter und sogar die Braut der Tyrannen war, und sich in der griechischen Welt vorher schon in unterschiedlichen Expressionen von Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis, Rhea oder Ge gezeigt hatte, wurde am Ende der klassischen Ära in Athen schließlich formell akzeptiert.

M. DE GROOTE.

Νέα Κοινωνιολογία Κοινωνιολογική Επιθεώρηση της Νέας Ελλάδας, 41 (2005), 192 pages. ISSN 1105-8099.

Cette revue publie des travaux scientifiques dans le domaine des sciences humaines, y compris dans celui de l'histoire byzantine. Dans ce numéro, signalons l'article de P. YANNOPOULOS., *Η πολιορκία της Κωνσταντινούπολης από τους Άραβες το 717-718* (pp. 85-91), selon qui la défaite des Arabes devant les murailles de Constantinople fut le résultat de plusieurs facteurs, dont le prédominant était la maturité politique de Byzance face au fanatisme religieux des Arabes, mais aussi la supériorité qualitative indiscutable de l'armée byzantine par rapport à l'armée arabe.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ortodoksia/Ορθοδοξία, 2002, fasc. 4, pp. 620-838. ISSN 1106-4889.

Dans ce numéro, N. SAKHAROV, *On Causes of the Iconoclastic Controversy in the 8th Century According to 'The First Apology against those who attack the Holy Icons' by St John of Damascus*, pp. 730-778, rejette l'idée que l'iconoclasme fait suite aux querelles christologiques ; il pense qu'il s'agit plutôt du résultat de la confrontation entre le christianisme et l'islam. L'idée n'est pas nouvelle. Ce qui est nouveau dans cette étude est que la politique impériale est vue sous l'angle d'un des Discours de Jean de Damas, sans toutefois être pour cela très convaincante. En outre l'A. analyse aussi la théologie de Jean de Damas en matière d'icônes, qui est fondée sur la philosophie aristotélicienne et sur la vision mystique des relations entre matière et esprit.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Kleoniki PAVLIDOU, *Ein frühbyzantinisches Glossar zu den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. Handschriftliche Überlieferung und kritische Ausgabe* (*Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte*, 22), Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2005, XXIV + 332 pages + 16 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-89500-467-7.

Mit dem vorliegenden Buch, eine leicht überarbeitete Fassung ihrer Dissertation, liefert Frau Dr. PAVLIDOU (Universität Hamburg) dem Leser eine wissenschaftliche Edition, von der vor allem die ausführliche Einleitung als exemplarisch betrachtet werden soll.

In einem ersten Kapitel wird ausführlich auf den Charakter des Glossars eingegangen, eine Sammlung von Glossen aus den Briefen des Apostels Paulus, die gewöhnlich in einem Corpus zusammen mit einigen Bibel- und anderen kleinen, bisher zum größten Teil noch nicht veröffentlichten Glossaren überliefert ist. Dieselben Glossare befinden sich meistens nach (selten vor) dem sogenannten Cyrillglossar und seltener entweder nach dem dem Zonaras fälschlich zugeschriebenen Lexikon oder – sei es nur in wenigen Fällen – zwischen anderen

Werken. Seitdem K. Alpers die Entstehung des Cyrillglossars neulich auf die Zeit zwischen ca. 500 und 543/553 eingrenzen konnte (*Gr. Lexikographie in Antike und Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1990, S. 202), bildet 553 aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach der *terminus ante quem* für die Endredaktion dieses von einem uns unbekannt gebliebenen Kompilator möglicherweise in Alexandreia abgefassten Glossars. Besonderes Interesse wird der Erforschung der benutzten Quellen und dem Verhältnis zu anderen byzantinischen Lexika (Cyrillglossar, Photios, Zonaras, Suidas und die sogenannte Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων) gewidmet, und am Schluss folgt eine kurze Skizze der durchgeführten Heuristik, die nicht weniger als 80 Manuskripte ans Licht brachte. Eine detaillierte Beschreibung sämtlicher Handschriften bildet das zweite Kapitel, und eine übersichtliche, streng phasierte Auseinandersetzung der Recensio und des Aufbaus des Stemmas das dritte. Die Textausgabe selbst basiert, nach Eliminierung einiger Manuskripte auf Grund des genannten Stemmas, auf 61 Handschriften, und ist mit zwei Apparaten ausgestattet : Der erste, faktisch ein *apparatus fontium ac locorum parallelorum*, berichtet über das Vorkommen der Glossen bei den oben genannten byzantinischen Lexika, der zweite enthält als eigentlicher *apparatus criticus* die Lesarten die in den erhaltenen Zeugen auftreten oder in den rekonstruierten Codices gestanden haben müssen. Die Ausgabe schließt mit fünf Anhängen ab : Sonderglossen (d.h. Glossen, die obwohl sie in gewissen Handschriftengruppen oder in einzelnen Manuskripten vorkommen, in den vollständigsten und zuverlässigsten Codices abwesend sind), Ordo glossarum, Index glossarum, Handschriftenregister und Namen- und Sachindex.

M. De Groote.

P. Périchon et P. Maraval, *Socrate de Constantinople, Histoire ecclésiastique, livres II-III* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 493), Paris, Cerf, 2005, 366 pages. ISBN 2-204-07866-2.

Dans le vol. 75 (2005) de *Byzantion* (p. 582), nous avons présenté le Ier vol. de cet ouvrage ; ce Ier vol. contenait la partie introductive et le Livre I de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate. Nos remarques restent valables pour ce IIe vol. où sont édités et traduits les Livres II et III. Signalons que le Livre II de Socrate, qui couvre le règne de Constance II (337-361) est exclusivement consacré à la crise arienne, tandis que le Livre III concerne les règnes de Julien et de Jovien.

P. Yannopoulos.

Revue des études sud-est européennes. Journal of South-East European Studies, 42, 1-4 (2004), 441 pages. ISSN 0035-2063.

I. Biliarsky, *Le titre impérial des sultans ottomans à travers leurs actes slaves du XVe siècle* (pp. 15-24). Ce premier article examine «un des exemples de l'héritage romain et constantinopolitain dans un empire islamique qui s'instaure dans les anciens cadres de l'Empire d'Orient» (p. 15), c'est-à-dire la continuité,

de même que la discontinuité, de l'idée impériale, qui tire son origine de l'empire byzantin (romain), dans la période ottomane. L'auteur se concentre sur l'aspect le plus sensible de l'«idéologie» impériale : l'appellation du souverain telle qu'on la trouve dans les actes ottomans du XVe s. écrits en grec, slavon et vieux serbe, plus précisément les titres 'constantinopolitains' qui ont été adoptés dans le cadre islamique. L'examen des ressemblances et des différences entre usages 'byzantin' et 'ottoman' amène l'auteur à conclure que les déviations par rapport aux pratiques byzantines concernant la hiérarchie et le protocole dans leur application ottomane sont assez importantes : on peut parler d'une ignorance de la chancellerie impériale ottomane sur le plan protocolaire. Là où il y avait un système byzantin très rigoureux de titres réservés à des dignitaires distincts, toutes ces appellations peuvent, dans la période ottomane, s'appliquer au sultan, pour souligner son rang impérial. Finalement BILIARSKY souligne la volonté de l'empire ottoman de s'approprier l'héritage de l'ancien Empire romain d'Orient, bien qu'il y ait des 'déviations' par rapport à cet héritage, déviations tout à fait naturelles d'ailleurs dans un empire islamique où les traditions constantinopolitaines et slavo-balkaniques étaient moins importantes que les pratiques orientales.

Simona NICOLAE, De Speculis Principum. *Le cas des* préceptes *de Manuel II Paléologue* (pp. 49-70). Après avoir défini d'une manière négative le genre du *miroir des princes*, qui fleurit du IVe jusqu'au XVe s., l'auteur de cette étude tente d'en cerner plus exactement la nature à partir de la métaphore du miroir. D'abord, ces *miroirs* sont des miroirs-objets qui montrent au prince son image réelle ainsi que, et surtout, son image idéale. Puis, ce sont aussi des miroirs-conseils, ayant une fonction ontologique : le (futur) empereur doit s'inspirer à la fois de l'image du Christ et de son propre potentiel, qui se trouve encore inexploité en lui. Ainsi, il est clair que ce genre touche à la morale et à l'éthique chrétiennes plutôt qu'aux théories politiques proprement dites. Ensuite l'auteur se penche sur les *Conseils pour l'éducation impériale* de Manuel II Paléologue et donne un aperçu des six manuscrits (et des deux éditions) dans lesquels nous est transmis cet ouvrage ayant connu une diffusion restreinte. Suit une analyse plus précise du contenu du *miroir* de Manuel II, qui révèle la teneur abstraite de l'ouvrage, le statut de l'auteur (qui ici n'est pas le monarque ou l'écrivain byzantin humaniste, mais bien un chrétien) et le statut du destinataire (le fils sert plutôt de prétexte pour écrire un traité de morale politique sublimée). L'intérêt principal de cet article réside dans la théorie que l'auteur élabore au sujet de la foi de Manuel et sa défense de l'orthodoxie dans un milieu favorable à l'union des Églises : Manuel, conscient de son impuissance politique, a compris, contrairement à son père (Jean V, qui s'est converti au catholicisme) et à son fils (Jean VIII, qui a signé l'accord sur l'union des Églises à Florence), que la foi orthodoxe est la seule chose qui puisse encore être sauvée, tandis qu'il considère impossible un redressement de l'empire. À la fin de l'article on trouve quelques extraits du *miroir* (le texte de Migne accompagné d'une traduction française), qui donnent

une bonne impression de l'ouvrage. Malheureusement, il faut constater quelques fautes d'orthographe dans le grec, quelques imprécisions dans la traduction, voire une traduction totalement erronée de la toute dernière phrase (chapitre C), qui trahit tant le texte original que l'allusion à la parabole du pharisien et du publicain (Lc. 18, 9-14) qui y est contenue.

Cătălina VELCULESCU, *"Narr in Christo" (salós, [j]urodivyi) und die rumänische Tradition* (pp. 87-97). Ead., *"Das Leben des Simeon Salos" in abendländischen Bearbeitungen und mögliche Widerklänge in Transsilvanien* (Tome 43, pp. 223-241). Ces deux articles concernent principalement la manière dont la tradition hagiographique byzantine, concernant Andréas Salos a été reçue et adaptée en Roumanie et dans d'autres régions de l'Europe de l'Ouest. En quelques traits est décrit Siméon d'Émèse, le 'fou en Christ' (cf. 1 Cor. 3, 18-29 et 4, 10), 'salos' et protagoniste d'une *Vita* composée par Léonce de Néapolis (VIIe s.), et l'apparition dans la tradition d'un certain Andréas, un personnage fictif calqué sur la vie de Siméon, qui cette fois est un jeune homme qui joue le rôle d'un fou, mais qui est en fait un sage. La première rédaction de la vie de ce saint 'reconstruit' est un ouvrage composé de fragments biographiques et de réponses à des questions de type encyclopédique ou bien eschatologique, posées par son ami Epiphanos. Peu après, cet ouvrage ayant déjà été traduit en géorgien et en slavon, le type du 'salos' (en slavon : [jurodivyi) devient un idéal en Russie, où, au contraire de Byzance, jusqu'au XVIIIe s. plus de 35 'jurodivyi' sont canonisés. À l'Ouest aussi, l'auteur constate, certes, des parallèles avec les figures de François d'Assise, de Jacopone da Todi ou de Philippe Neri, mais c'est seulement en Bavière et en Autriche que de vraies influences de la *Vita* de Siméon sont attestées dès 1600. Les traductions roumaines, qui ont été préservées dès le XVIIIe s., prennent Andréas, le fou plus 'civilisé', comme exemple et présentent deux voies de transmission : d'une part la biographie, d'autre part les questions et réponses. Le manuscrit roumain qui a été le point de départ de l'article présente les deux types à la fois : les questions, dérivées de la tradition roumaine, aussi bien qu'une biographie puisée à d'autres sources. Pour finir, l'auteur insiste sur le fait que c'est la figure d'Andréas qui prédomine dans la tradition roumaine, c'est-à-dire le type de saint, maître et chrétien parfait, qui n'est plus le vrai 'salos', celui qui prend le masque de folie pathologique, mais qui est, apparemment en Roumanie aussi, incompatible avec l'ordre social.

Dans le deuxième article, VELCULESCU traite plus à fond de la réception dans le monde occidental. Elle donne un aperçu des adaptations latines et allemandes de la vie de Siméon et de la diffusion des vies de saints 'saloi' en Europe de l'Ouest, surtout en Autriche et en Bavière. Il s'agit alors de collections hagiographiques et de calendriers des saints et surtout de livres et de pièces de théâtre répandus dans les collèges des Jésuites aux XVIIe et XVIIIe s. Enfin l'auteur se demande si, et dans quelle mesure, les lecteurs dans la région qu'on appelle aujourd'hui la Transylvanie avaient accès à ces textes. L'auteur entame le débat en soulevant plusieurs arguments qui montrent que la diffusion de ces textes jus-

qu'en Transylvanie est improbable, mais termine par un exemple particulier d'une pièce de théâtre roumaine fortement influencée par le théâtre des Jésuites.

Zamfira MIHAIL, *Vie des Saints latins dans les manuscrits orthodoxes des XIVe-XVe siècles* (pp. 99-105). Cette petite étude donne des exemples à l'appui de la thèse selon laquelle les monastères orthodoxes ont continué à copier des traductions des écrits latins, surtout hagiographiques et destinés à la lecture à haute voix en communauté, selon la tradition d'avant le Schisme de 1054, et ce contrairement aux érudits tels que Planude qui, durant la période 1204-1453, ont fait de nouvelles traductions en grec d'écrits théologiques et philosophiques. L'auteur parle même d'une «ouverture vers la *Ecclesia Una*» dans ces monastères. L'auteur prend en considération les manuscrits avec des traductions en slavon dans les monastères des territoires slavophones et «slavophrones» (néologisme de l'auteur) et invoque comme exemples des commentaires du pape Hippolyte de Rome, des vies de certains saints d'Occident dans les ménologes et un ouvrage de Grégoire le Grand, originellement en latin, mais largement diffusé en grec et en slavon, contenant également la règle de Saint Benoît. Dans la liturgie aussi il remarque la même continuité de la tradition : des prières 'occidentales' qui restent incluses dans les eucologes orthodoxes ou des hymnes slaves sur des saints de Rome qui apparaissent au XIVe s. Finalement, l'auteur rapproche cette continuité des programmes iconographiques de la peinture murale des églises en Moldavie, datant du XVe s., qui représentent également des papes.

S. NEIRYNCK.

Revue des études sud-est européennes. Journal of South-East European Studies, 43, 1-4 (2005), 508 pages. ISSN 0035-2063.

Snezhana RAKOVA, *Les titres des sultans turcs dans les écrits italiens du XVe siècle* (pp. 91-96). Cet article aborde le phénomène de l'inertie historique ou idéologique manifestée dans la dénomination des souverains turcs dans les écrits italiens, grecs et slaves du XVe s., période qui voit un nouvel intérêt en Occident pour l'Europe du Sud-Est : ceux-ci sont très souvent appelés 'empereurs', presque jamais 'sultans' ou 'émirs'. D'abord, l'auteur examine le nom par lequel on désigne les Turcs. À l'époque de la prise de Constantinople, l'appellation *T(h)eucri* était très répandue, mais celle de *Turc(h)i* devenait de plus en plus courante. Quant au sultan, on l'appelle *rex/imperator T(h)eucrorum/ Turc(h)orum* ou *Le grand Turc* et une fois, par exception, 'le grand émir et sultan Mehmed' (Georges de Trébizonde). Il est intéressant de constater dans les textes quelles difficultés les Byzantins ont eues pour trouver une terminologie adéquate pour nommer le souverain de Constantinople, qui est par conséquent empereur, sans faire du tort à l'empereur byzantin en exil : ils appellent le sultan 'le souverain' ou 'le tyran', mais aussi *basileus*. Une citation de Pertusi illustre de quelle façon le grand Turc est représenté, plus précisément Mehmed II, par les auteurs plus ou moins fascinés par le sultan : il est dépeint comme cruel et fanatique au plan

politico-religieux, mais on rend également hommage à sa culture 'humaniste'. En conclusion, l'auteur souligne que l'appellation d'empereur pour celui qui règne sur la ville de Constantinople correspond tout à fait à une ancienne tradition ; l'auteur suppose que cette tradition a survécu longtemps, en tout cas dans les premiers siècles de l'empire ottoman.

Elena KOYHTCHEVA, *Byzantine-Balkan and Western Titles in the Latin Sources of the First Crusades* (pp. 123-132). Dans cet article, l'auteur traite en détail de la terminologie employée dans les sources occidentales au temps des premières croisades pour désigner l'aristocratie byzantine. Le grand nombre d'exemples démontre tout d'abord que les dignitaires byzantins étaient désignés au moyen d'appellations équivalentes à celles qu'on trouve en Occident. Ainsi, on voit que les auteurs occidentaux connaissaient plus ou moins la hiérarchie byzantine, ce qui peut faire conclure qu'il y avait des contacts assez durables entre les deux parties de l'Europe. Bien évidemment, les ressemblances entre les dignités qui existaient à la cour byzantine et celles en usage à telle ou telle cour occidentale donnaient naissance à des nomenclatures similaires et interchangeables jusqu'à un certain point. Les plus grandes différences consistaient d'une part en l'absence des eunuques en Occident et d'autre part en la hiérarchie plus sophistiquée et ritualisée à Byzance. C'est cette dernière caractéristique qui a pour conséquence que les auteurs occidentaux emploient une terminologie qui n'est pas une traduction précise des subtilités byzantines : l'usage répandu du mot 'dux', traité dans l'article, est exemplaire à cet égard. On peut donc conclure que les sources occidentales essayaient de donner une idée quant à la structure de la société byzantine, sans cependant prétendre à l'exactitude.

P. GURAN, *Moïse, Aaron et les «rois de la terre». L'iconographie du Tabernacle du Témoignage à Curtea de Argeş* (pp. 193-222). P. GURAN se penche sur une représentation du Tabernacle et de Moïse, Aaron et les 'rois de la terre' dans l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Curtea de Argeş (XIVe s.), qui a souvent été interprétée comme un symbole des rapports entre l'empereur et le patriarche au temps des Paléologues. L'auteur récapitule tout d'abord les théories de Bêljaev et de Barbu : ce premier y voyait une représentation de la liturgie célébrée en présence de l'empereur à Sainte-Sophie, et des bonnes relations entre l'empereur (Moïse) et le patriarche (Aaron), tandis que Barbu argumentait qu'il s'agissait d'une image de l'*oikoumenè* qui n'est plus centrée sur l'empereur, mais sur l'église patriarcale (l'église a été construite comme nécropole de la cour princière de Hongrovalachie). Dans sa réfutation, l'auteur remarque la signification mariale du Tabernacle dans les monuments qui précèdent l'église de Curtea : le Tabernacle pouvait figurer dans une typologie vétérotestamentaire complexe et subtile. Ceci ressort bien clairement des lectures pour les fêtes mariales, employées par GURAN dans sa démonstration. Puis, l'auteur se concentre sur les textes qui figurent dans la peinture sur des phylactères (Isaïe 52, 1-3 et Jérémie 16, 19) et démontre, s'appuyant sur l'iconographie chrétienne qui s'est développée à l'exemple de la synagogue de Doura Europos (IIIe s.), que ces textes souli-

gnent une signification eschatologique de la peinture en tant qu'image de la Jérusalem céleste. Les thèmes représentés autour du Tabernacle (la communion des apôtres, le tombeau vide et l'histoire d'Emmaüs) semblent signifier un lien entre le sacrifice eucharistique et le Tabernacle dans sa signification mariale, un lien qui a été élaboré dans un texte de Palamas. Le Christ a été annoncé par l'image du Tabernacle de Moïse, et le Christ-eucharistie a été préfiguré par la Vierge, tabernacle de Son corps. Donc, la vision de Moïse et les scènes eucharistiques représentées dans le sanctuaire évoquent, comme chaque liturgie 'terrestre' y célébrée, la liturgie céleste et la Jérusalem céleste. Selon GURAN, on observe donc une concentration très subtile de significations dans une seule image et une richesse théologique dans cette nouvelle iconographie du XIVe s. et il faut admettre que son interprétation de l'ensemble par une *lectio difficilior*, mais tout à fait bien étayée, est très plausible. Dans la deuxième partie de l'article, l'auteur explore les significations des figures de Moïse et d'Aaron, afin de consolider ainsi son interprétation de la scène dans l'abside. Se basant sur des sources diverses, il argumente que Moïse ne pouvait pas figurer comme symbole du pouvoir de l'empereur à l'opposé de Aaron, lui-même, symbole du clergé et du patriarche : dans la figure de Moïse, pouvoir matériel et spirituel sont souvent réunis, alors qu'Aaron et Moïse pouvaient tous les deux exprimer un aspect plus ou moins sacerdotal de l'empereur. Ces deux figures sont donc trop ambiguës pour pouvoir revêtir les rôles que leur attribuaient Bêljaev et Barbu. Un deuxième argument contre une lecture politique des peintures à Curtea de Argeş est fourni par le fait qu'apparaît au XIVe s. un mouvement d'idées qui tend vers une exaltation mystique du Royaume céleste, débarrassée des analogies 'terrestres'.

Cătălina VELCULESCU, *"Das Leben des Simeon Salos" in abendländischen Bearbeitungen und mögliche Widerklänge in Transsilvanien* (pp. 223-241). Voir ma description du tome 42.

S. NEIRYNCK.

A. SAVVIDES, *Οι Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί της Τραπεζούντας και του Πόντου. Ιστορική επισκόπηση της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας του μικρασιατικού ελληνισμού (1204-1461)* (*Περιοδικού «Αρχείον Πόντου», Παράρτημα* 25), Athènes, Επιτροπή Ποντιακών Μελετών, 2005, 282 pages + une carte hors texte. ISSN 1109-0871, ISBN 960-86409-2-X.

L'A. de ce volume étudie l'histoire de l'empire de Trébizonde au travers de l'histoire de la famille fondatrice de cet empire dont les descendants ont régné sur son trône jusqu'en 1461, date de la prise de sa capitale par les Turcs. Le volume est divisé en trois parties. La première (pp. 11-145) est consacrée à l'étude de l'empire de Trébizonde depuis 1204 jusqu'à 1461. La deuxième (pp. 147-178) est formée par quatre annexes consacrées chaque fois à un sujet en relation directe avec l'histoire de l'empire de Trébizonde. La troisième (pp. 179-282) est constituée par la liste des abréviations, la bibliographie, les illustrations et l'index des noms et des lieux.

L'empire de Trébizonde est le résultat de la dislocation de l'empire byzantin après le saccage de sa capitale par les Croisés de la 4e croisade en 1204. Les Grands Comnènes, fondateurs de l'empire, se présentaient comme les successeurs légitimes des empereurs de Constantinople, raison pour laquelle leurs relations avec les Lascarides de Nicée, qui se présentaient eux aussi comme les successeurs légitimes de Constantinople, n'étaient pas bonnes. Quand les armées de Nicée ont récupéré Constantinople en 1261, Trébizonde constituait déjà une nouvelle réalité et elle n'a jamais voulu réintégrer l'empire. Toutefois, le maintien d'un État dont la faiblesse était bien connue dans une région où la présence turque était plus qu'incontestable n'arrangeait pas la situation. Ainsi, malgré un certain essor entre 1297 et 1390, l'empire de Trébizonde s'engagea dans un déclin inévitable qui aboutit à sa perte. L'histoire de l'empire de Trébizonde est certes connue dans ses grandes lignes. L'apport de ce livre consiste en l'exploitation de nouvelles sources qui permettent l'étude des institutions, de la vie économique et culturelle de cet empire et surtout l'étude de la prosopographie, qui profite de la bibliographie russe et caucasienne généralement inconnues.

Parmi les annexes signalons celle qui a pour objet l'étude des personnalités qui ont marqué la vie culturelle de l'empire, comme celle qui étudie la diplomatie de Trébizonde exercée à travers des unions matrimoniales. En outre, une de ces annexes est consacrée à la famille de Tzanihiton, originaire du sud de l'empire et apparentée au peuple caucasien de Tzanes, la plus importante famille après la maison régnante, qui a donné à l'empire plusieurs fonctionnaires, militaires, clercs et hommes de sciences et de lettres.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία, III (1025-1461)*, Athènes, Πατάκης 2004, 278 pages.

Ce livre est destiné aux étudiants du Département des Études Méditerranéennes de l'Université Égéenne, qui ne sont pas spécialisés en histoire, ainsi qu'au grand public. Il se présente alors comme un manuel compréhensible sur la dernière période de Byzance (XIe au XVe s.). L'A. justifie sa rédaction en disant que la bibliographie sur cette époque est abondante, mais que les manuels en langue grecque font défaut ou sont trop spécialisés.

L'A. choisit comme point de départ de l'époque byzantine tardive l'année 1025 (à la place de 1071 ou de 1081) et comme point d'arrivée l'année 1461 (à la place de 1453) tout en fournissant des arguments à l'appui de son choix dans l'introduction du volume. Ce dernier est divisé en trois parties inégales. La première traite de la période 1025-1204 et porte le titre *La lutte entre les bureaucrates de la capitale et les militaires «féodaux» des provinces* (pp. 15-69). La deuxième traitant de la période 1204-1453 est intitulée *Byzance en exil, la reconquête de Constantinople, la décadence et la chute de l'empire byzantin* (pp. 71-104). La troisième partie concerne *Les derniers vestiges de l'Hellénisme médiéval* (pp. 105-135), c'est-à-dire l'Empire de Trébizonde (1204-1461), le Despotat

d'Épire (1204-1449/1479), le Despotat de Morée (1262-1460/1461) et les États semi-autonomes de Thessalie (1222-1454/1470) et de Rhodes (1204-1309/1310). Les analyses s'étendent plus sur la première partie, pour laquelle la bibliographie grecque présente des lacunes. Y sont traités les évènements politiques et militaires, et moins les événements culturels et les personnages marquants de l'époque. L'introduction sur Constantin XI Laskaris présente un intérêt particulier. Vu la familiarité de l'A. avec les études concernant les Seldjoukides et les Turcs, les références à l'histoire turque sont fréquentes et détaillées. Le volume est complété par une liste de souverains médiévaux allant du début du XIe à la fin du XVe s. (pp. 137-152), la bibliographie (pp. 153-218) et des illustrations et des cartes (pp. 219-278).

Sophia MERGIALI-SAHAS.

I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs. Late Antiquity*, I (*Bibliothèque de Byzantion*, 7 = *Série des Réimpressions, 1*), Bruxelles, Byzantion, 2005, 280 pages, ISBN 90-6281-009-8.

Dans ce premier volume des réimpressions des travaux d'I. SHAHÎD sont réunis dix articles, parus entre 1972 et 2002. Les deux premières études du volume concernent le IVe s. : *Byzantium and the Arabs during the Reign of Constantine : the Namâra Inscription* et *Philological Observations on the Namâra Inscription*. Dans les deux cas, l'A. exploite le matériel épigraphique pour établir une certaine chronologie des premiers chefs connus des Arabes. Les trois études suivantes, à savoir : a) *The Iranian Factor in Byzantium during the Reign of Heraclius*, b) *Heraclius : ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ*, et c) *On the Titulature of the Emperor Heraclius*, concernent le début du VIIe s. et les influences orientales sur la titulature impériale byzantine. Les cinq autres études tournent autour de la question des thèmes, institution qui, pour l'A., est appliquée par Héraclius, mais dont les origines sont à chercher dans les contrées orientales de l'empire et notamment dans la région du Moyen Orient (Syrie, Palestine, Jordanie). Voici les titres de ces cinq articles réimprimés : a) *Heraclius and the Theme System : New Light from the Arabic*, b) *Heraclius and the Theme System : Further Observations*, c) *Heraclius and the Unfinished Themes of Oriens : Some Final Observations*, d) *Heraclius and the Theme System Re-visited*, e) *The Thematization of Oriens : Final Observations*. Signalons que dans les pages introductives (pp. I-XVI) l'A. explique le choix de sa thématique et que dans une note additionnelle il met au point certaines de ses conclusions revues à la lumière des recherches réalisées après la parution de ses articles.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present (= *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 98), éd. par J. PATRICH, Leuven, Peeters, 2001, XVII + 463 pages. ISBN : Leuven 90-429-0976-5 ; France 2-87723-552-1.

Ce volume collectif contient 30 articles, sans compter les cinq pages qu'Alice-Mary TALBOT consacre à la mémoire d'Alexandre Kazhdan, et l'article introductif de J. PATRICH, *The Sabaite Heritage : An Introductory Survey* (pp. 1-27), un genre de *testimonia* pour le monastère de St.-Sabas, fondé en Palestine au ve s. et toujours présent au même endroit quinze siècles plus tard. Plusieurs de ces articles ne concernent pas les études byzantines, soit parce qu'ils ont pour objet le monastère de St.-Sabas après la chute de Constantinople, soit parce qu'ils étudient les rapports du monastère avec des États ou des civilisations autres que byzantins.

Le volume est divisé en quatre parties. Dans la première, intitulée 'Histoire et vie monastique', les articles qui peuvent intéresser les byzantinistes sont : L. DI SEGNI, *Monk and Society : The Case of Palestine*, pp. 31-36, une synthèse sur le rôle des moines dans la société, sans grande originalité ; Alice-Mary TALBOT, *Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century* (pp. 97-110), du même calibre. Plus d'originalité dans l'article de B. PIRONE, *Continuità della vita monastica nell'ottavo secolo : s. Stefano Sabaita* (pp. 49-62), une biographie d'un moine sabaïte du VIIIe s., et surtout dans celui de J. WORTLEY, *'Grazers' in the Judean Desert* (pp. 37-48), qui centre sa recherche sur les 'brouteurs' des textes hagiographiques, en réalité des anachorètes qui vivaient de ce qui poussait dans le désert. Signalons aussi l'article de J. THOMAS, *The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic Typica* (pp. 73-84). La deuxième partie, malgré son titre 'Littérature, Liturgie et Hymnographie', concerne essentiellement l'hagiographie. Il n'y a que l'article un peu encyclopédique de Ch. HANNICK, *Hymnographie et hymnographes sabaïtes* (pp. 217-233), qui a pour objet l'hymnographie, et celui de N. EGENDER, *La formation et l'influence du Typikon liturgique de Saint-Sabas* (pp. 209-216), qui concerne la liturgie. Le reste tourne autour des vies de saints ou des collections hagiographiques. Ainsi les études de B. FLUSIN (*Un hagiographe saisi par l'histoire : Cyrille de Scythopolis et la mesure du temps*, pp. 119-126) et de P. W. VAN DER HORS (*The Role of Scripture in Cyril of Scythopolis' Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, pp. 127-136), ont pour objet Cyrille de Scythopolis, sans toutefois apporter, surtout le second, rien de nouveau. L'article d'A. PERISTERIS, *Literary and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St Sabas* (pp. 171-194), présente un intérêt pour les illustrations des manuscrits, mais du point de vue contenu il est insuffisant. La troisième partie, intitulée 'Théologie', réunit deux articles autour de l'origénisme, question toujours intéressante. Il s'agit notamment de l'article de L. PERRONE, *Palestinian Monasticism, the Bible, and Theology in the Wake of the Second Origenist Controversy* (pp. 245-260), et de celui d'I. PERCZEL, *Pseudo-Dionysius and Palestinian Origenism* (pp. 261-282), auxquels on peut rattacher l'article de P. GRAY, *The Sabaite Monasteries and the Christological Controversies (478-533)* (pp. 237-244), qui toutefois est un peu surprenant par la manière arbitraire de définir la période des controverses christologiques. M. LEVY-RUBIN, *The Role of the Judean Desert Monasteries in the Monothelite*

Controversy in Seventh-Century Palestine (pp. 283-300), traite un sujet qu'elle connaît bien, mais elle manque de l'originalité. À l'iconoclasme sont consacrées deux autres études, celle d'A. LOUTH, *John of Damascus and the Making of the Byzantine Theological Synthesis* (pp. 301-304), où on a l'impression que l'A. néglige l'apport de la théologie occidentale, et celle de Marie-France AUZÉPY, *Les Sabaïtes et l'iconoclasme*, (pp. 305-314), qui voit dans le conflit iconoclaste une prise de position double de la part des Sabaïtes. La dernière partie du volume est dédiée à 'L'art et l'archéologie' ; c'est la moins intéressante et elle est parfois banale. L'article de V. TZAFERIS, *Early Christian Monasticism in the Holy Land and Archaeology* (pp. 317-322), est sans intérêt malgré son titre criant. Par contre l'article d'Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Physical Structure of the New Laura as an Expression of Controversy over the Monastic Lifestyle* (pp. 323-345), est d'un intérêt particulier, non seulement parce qu'il met en évidence les principes qui ont conditionné la construction et le type architectural des monastères palestiniens, mais aussi parce qu'il présente une sorte de catalogue de ces monastères. L'article signé conjointement par Dina AVSHALOM-GORNI, Ayelet TATCHER et V. TZAFERIS, intitulé *The Veneration of St Sabas in Southern Phoenicia : The Evidence of a Bronze Oil Lamp from Khirbet Esh-Shubeika* (pp. 347-351), ne concerne qu'un objet archéologique mal daté (entre le IVe et le VIe s.) : une lampe.

S'il faut une appréciation générale du volume, nous devons dire qu'il est soigné, qu'il contient certaines études intéressantes, mais que dans sa plus grande partie il n'apporte pas de connaissances nouvelles au sujet du monastère de St.-Sabas.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April, 2000, éd. par Ruth MACRIDES (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications*, 10), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002, XII + 303 pages. ISBN 0-7546-0768-7.

Ce volume contient les actes du 34e *Symposium des Études byzantines* tenu à Birmingham (1-4/4/2000) et dont le thème était : *Travel in the Byzantine World.* L'article de M. MCCORMICK, *Byzantium on the Move : Imagining a Communications History* (pp. 3-29), tient lieu d'introduction au volume, dont le contenu est divisé en quatre sections, autant que les sections du symposium. La première de ces sections a pour objet les techniques du voyage présentées par J. H. PRYOR (*Types of Ships and their Performance Capabilities*, pp. 33-58) ; P. GAUTIER DALCHÉ (*Portulans and the Byzantine World*, pp. 59-71), K. BELKE (*Roads and Travel in Macedonia and Thrace in the Middle and Late Byzantine Period*, pp. 73-90) ; A. MCCABE (*Horses and Horse-doctors on the Road*, pp. 91-97), et D. Ch. STATHAKOPOULOS (*Travelling with the Plague*, pp. 99-106). La deuxième section se concentre sur les conditions du voyage. Parmi les quatre articles de la section, trois ont pour objet le commerce maritime, à savoir celui de J. KODER

(*Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages*, pp. 109-124), celui de N. Günsenin (*Medieval Trade in the Sea of Marmara : The Evidence of Shipwrecks*, pp. 125-135), et celui de F. van Doorninck (*The Byzantine Ship at Rerçe Limani : An Example of Small-scale Maritime Commerce with Fatimid Syria in the Early 11th C.*, pp. 137-148). Seul l'article d'A. Kuelzer (*Byzantine and Early Post-Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Mount Sinai*, pp. 149-161), présente une certaine variation. La section suivante, consacrée à la nature même du voyage, comporte aussi quatre articles, à savoir ceux de K. Ciggaar (*Bilingual Word Lists and Phrase Lists : For Teaching or for Travelling ?*, pp. 165-178), d'A. Berger (*Sightseeing in Constantinople : Arab Travellers, c. 900-1300*, pp. 179-191), de R. Macrides (*Constantinople : The Crusaders' Gaze*, pp. 193-212) et de M. Angold (*The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of Western Travellers*, pp. 231-232). La dernière section a pour objet la représentation du voyage étudiée par L. Brubaker (*The Conquest of Space*, pp. 235-257) et par M. E. Mullett (*In Peril on the Sea : Travel Genres and the Unexpected*, pp. 259-284). Un index général permet une consultation facile du volume.

P. Yannopoulos.

Anastasia Vacaloudi, *Αντισύληψη και αμβλώσεις από την Αρχαιότητα στο Βυζάντιο*, Athènes, A. Σταμούλης, 2003, 475 pages. ISBN 960-8353-04-1.

Comme son titre l'indique, ce livre concerne aussi bien l'Antiquité que la période byzantine. Si la haute époque est pleinement étudiée, la période mésobyzantine l'est un peu moins et la tardo-byzantine encore moins. Par contre, le contenu déborde les limites tracées par le titre à savoir la contraception et l'avortement, puisque l'A. étudie aussi la condition féminine et l'importance d'avoir des enfants dans les familles médiévales. En outre, dans une longue introduction sont passées en revue les connaissances et la pratique médicales byzantines, avec une attention particulière pour la gynécologie et l'obstétrique. Cette attention est justifiée par le fait que les pratiques contraceptives et abortives étaient en relation avec ces deux disciplines médicales.

Avant d'entamer l'analyse de son sujet, l'A. expose les raisons qui poussaient les Byzantines à faire appel aux pratiques visant soit à éviter soit à interrompre une grossesse. Ces raisons étaient fréquemment d'ordre moral, parfois économique et rarement de santé. Il s'agit de pratiques qui n'étaient pas rares à l'époque byzantine et en tout cas beaucoup plus fréquentes qu'à l'époque antique. Les femmes qui avaient recours à ce genre de pratiques appartenaient à tous les milieux sociaux et elles étaient aussi souvent de condition servile que libre. L'Église et l'État, pour des raisons différentes, condamnaient ces pratiques et essayaient de les empêcher, sans toutefois grande conviction, ce qui explique aussi le peu de résultats des interdictions législatives et canoniques.

La partie la plus importante du travail est consacrée aux produits contraceptifs et abortifs, à leur administration et aux personnes qui s'adonnaient à leur pré-

paration. Une étude typologique permet de dire qu'il y avait trois types de produits utilisés soit séparément soit de manière cumulative. Il s'agissait d'abord de textes magiques dont la récitation, surtout par des personnes aptes à le faire, pouvait provoquer les résultats désirés. Dans ce cas on peut parler de magie pure et simple. En deuxième lieu il s'agissait des amulettes ou de la pierraille qu'on pouvait porter afin d'obtenir le résultat escompté. Ici aussi l'élément magique reste prédominant. Dans la majorité des cas toutefois ces produits étaient des préparations à base de matières organiques, souvent toxiques, dont le mélange avait des propriétés contraceptives ou pouvait provoquer un avortement. Puisque ces préparations restaient empiriques et leur administration arbitraire, les intoxications ou d'autres symptômes pathologiques, y compris la mort, ne manquaient pas, sans tenir compte de nombreux cas d'inefficacité de ces produits.

Ce livre est une mine d'informations. En outre pour celui qui peut apprécier une lecture en grec moderne, c'est un livre qui se lit avec un vrai plaisir.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

K. WARE, *Ἡ ἐσωτερικὴ ἑνότητα καὶ ἡ ἐπίδραση τῆς Φιλοκαλίας σὲ Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύση*, Athènes, Ἵδρυμα Α. Σ. Ωνάσης, 2004, 61 pages. ISBN 960-85837-1-3.

Dans ce petit volume se trouve (en version grecque et en version anglaise) une conférence faite par l'A. à Athènes au sujet de la *Philocalie*, une collection de textes depuis Évagre jusqu'au palamites. Elle a été constituée par Macarios Notaras, métropolite de Corinthe et Nicodème l'Hagiorite, appartenant tous les deux au mouvement mystique des Collyvades du XVIIIe s. Elle a paru en première édition en 1782 et elle a connu depuis un succès énorme. L'A. examine les raisons pour lesquelles l'un ou l'autre texte des penseurs byzantins a été retenu et inséré par les deux créateurs à la collection ; il constate que l'axe idéologique de cette collection est une théologie à caractère mystique des hésychastes.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Ursula WEISSBROD, *„Hier liegt der Knecht Gottes...". Gräber in byzantinischen Kirchen und ihr Dekor (11. bis 15. Jahrhundert). Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Höhlenkirchen Kappadokiens* (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 5), Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2003, v + 283 pages + 44 planches hors texte. ISBN 3-447-04803-4.

Les sépultures dans les églises byzantines sont moins fréquentes que dans les églises occidentales, mais le cas se présente. Cela a poussé l'A. de ce volume à une recherche systématique, mais qui se limite dans le temps (après le XIe s.) et dans l'espace puisque l'intérêt est centré sur les églises de Constantinople et de sa région et sur celles de la région cappadocienne ; les autres régions sont occasionnellement mentionnées. Après la partie introductive, l'A. étudie la question

de l'emplacement des sépultures dans les églises (dans la partie centrale de l'église, dans les nefs, dans les murs) ainsi que leur forme, en parlant aussi des églises-tombeaux qu'on trouve en Cappadoce, constructions creusées pour y enterrer une ou plusieurs personnes. Un autre cas, aussi courant en Cappadoce, est celui des églises renfermant de véritables complexes funéraires. Souvent les tombes dans les églises portaient une décoration qui avait couramment un caractère religieux, mais il y a des cas où le portrait du défunt figurait sur la pierre tombale. Afin d'établir une typologie dans ce domaine, l'A. analyse les cas connus dont la décoration est encore visible ; il arrive à la conclusion qu'on peut distinguer deux types fondamentaux de sépultures à partir de leur décoration : i) celui avec le portrait d'une personne, et ii) celui du défunt accompagné d'une personne sacrée. Dans le second type on peut distinguer plusieurs sous-types. L'étude est assortie de deux annexes, dont la première concerne l'église de la Vierge Krina de Chios et l'autre les enluminures d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Trinity College à Cambridge, illustrant une sépulture dans l'église de Pammacaristos à Constantinople. En outre, un catalogue des églises cappadociennes renfermant des sépultures complète l'étude, dont un «Summary» en anglais permet un aperçu à ceux qui ne sont pas familiers de l'allemand.

Une étude systématique qui couvre une lacune des études byzantines.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Maria Grazia ZAMBON, D. BERTOGLI et O. GRANELLA, *Antiochia sull'Oronte*, Parma, Eteria, 2005, 135 pages, illustré.

Ce petit volume n'est en réalité qu'une brochure touristique destinée aux italophones qui visitent Antioche. La ville est vue sous l'angle d'un fidèle catholique qui pieusement cherche les traces, ô combien effacées, d'un certain christianisme primitif et dont les souvenirs sont perpétués par «L'oggi della chiesa cattolica» (pp. 114 ss.). Lecture intéressante pour les pèlerins.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 7), hrsg. von L. M. HOFFMANN unter Mitarbeit von Anusha MONCHIZADEH, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, XIX + 968 pages + 12 planches en couleurs hors texte. ISBN 3-447-05170-1 ; ISSN 0947-0611.

In dieser recht umfangreichen, dem Prof. G. Prinzing (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz) als Festschrift zugedachten und gewidmeten Publikation wurden 50, in drei Abteilungen eingeordnete Aufsätze gesammelt, die sich auf verschiedenste Aspekte der Geschichte und Kultur sowie des Kulturerbes von Byzanz beziehen. Wie im Vorwort mitgeteilt wird, soll der Titel, unter den sich zwar nicht alle Beiträge subsumieren lassen, den Blick ein wenig von Konstan-

tinopel ablenken und aufzeigen, dass das Leben außerhalb des ἱερὸν ἄστυ ähnliche Beachtung verdient wie die Vorgänge in der Metropolis.

Der erste, umfangreichste Teil (I. Geschichte und Rechtsgeschichte ; S. 3-567) besteht aus 30 Aufsätzen, die Themen aus der gesamten byzantinischen Geschichte vom 5. Jh. bis in die spätbyzantinische Periode betreffen : K. Ilski, *Der schwache Kaiser Theodosios ?* (S. 3-23) ; T. Lounghis, *Die kriegerisch gesinnte Partei der senatorischen Opposition in den Jahren 526 bis 529* (S. 25-36) ; J. S. Codoñer, *Der Historiker und der Walfisch. Tiersymbolik und Milleniarismus in der Kriegsgeschichte Prokops* (S. 37-58) ; L. Perrone, *Monasticism in Gaza : A Chapter in the History of Byzantine Palestine* (S. 59-74) ; Alla I. Romančuk, *Das byzantinische Cherson (Chersonesos), das Meer und die Barbaren – einige historische Aspekte* (S. 75-91) ; W. Brandes, *Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung* (S. 93-125) ; P. Speck, *Die Johannes-Akten in der Debatte des Bilderstreits* (S. 127-139) ; Claudia Sode, *Der Brief der Kaiser Michael II. und Theophilos an Kaiser Ludwig den Frommen* (S. 141-158) ; Élisabeth Malamut, *Thessalonique 830-904* (S. 159-190) ; V. Gjuzelev, *Konstantinopel in der Geschichte der Bulgaren während des Mittelalters (7. bis 12. Jahrhundert)* (S. 191-201) ; I. Goldstein, *Byzantine Cities and Slavic Villages : The Case of the Eastern Adriatic in the Early Middle Ages* (S. 203-213) ; J.-C. Cheynet, *Note sur l'épi tou koitônos* (S. 215-225) ; P. Stephenson, *The Tomb of Basil II* (S. 227-238) ; Maria Dora Spadaro, *La provincia bizantina in due autori del secolo XI : Teofilatto di Achrida e Cecaumeno* (S. 239-254) ; S. Efthymiades, *Michael Psellos and the Death of Romanos III (Chronographia III 26) : A Failed Bath of Regeneration and a Non-Ascent from Hades* (S. 255-265) ; D. Jacoby, *Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century* (S. 267-285) ; J. Shepard, *"How St James the Persian's Head was brought to Cormery". A Relic Collector around the Time of the First Crusade* (S. 287-335) ; Cordula Scholz, *Probleme bei der Erforschung der Integration Bulgariens in das byzantinische Reich, 1018-1186* (S. 337-347) ; C. Stavrakos, *Δύο αδημοσίευτα μολυβδόβουλλα από τη Σπάρτη. Παρατηρήσεις σχετικές με τη διακίνηση των βυζαντινών σφραγίδων στη μεσαιωνική Λακεδαίμονα (8ος-12ος αιώνας)* (S. 349-370) ; D. Theodoridis, *Tarḫānīyāt* (S. 371-379) ; Vera von Falkenhausen, *Griechische Beamte in der duana de secretis von Palermo. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung* (S. 381-411) ; M. Grunbart, *Byzantinisches Gelehrtenelend – oder : Wie meistert man seinen Alltag ?* (S. 413-426) ; A. E. Müller, *Zur Datierung des Chrysobulls Michaels VIII. für Ochrid : nicht August 1272, sondern Juli 1273* (S. 427-432) ; K.-P. Matschke, *Bemerkungen zur Stadtgeschichte Thessalonikes in spätbyzantinischer Zeit* (S. 433-444) ; M. S. Kordoses, *Οι κλάδοι Κωνσταντινοπολιτικών οικογενειών στα Γιάννενα μετά το 1204 και η νομή της εξουσίας* (S. 445-456) ; L. Burgmann, *Zur diplo-*

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Im zweiten Teil (II. Philologie und Literaturgeschichte ; S. 571-819) wurden 13 Beiträge verschiedensten Inhalts gesammelt : G. PODSKALSKY, *Briefe in der mittelalterlichen Literatur Bulgariens und Serbiens* (S. 571-577) ; W. K. HANAK, *Sources of the Old Slavonic Rendition of the Annal of Symeon Logothetes and Metaphrastes* (S. 579-604) ; L. STEINDORFF, *Das mittelalterliche epigraphische Erbe Kroatiens* (S. 605-622) ; C. VOSS, *Die Ochrider literarische Schule (9. bis 11. Jahrhundert) und die kirchenslavischen Damaskini (16. bis 17. Jahrhundert) – sprachliche Abgrenzungsversuche des Makedonischen ?* (S. 623-631) ; D. R. REINSCH, *Die Bedeutung einiger Fachausdrücke des byzantinischen Polospiels und des Ringkampfs* (S. 633-638) ; H. RUGE, *Morphologisches Recycling in byzantinischer Zeit. Vom Perfekt Aktiv zum Aorist Nichtaktiv* (S. 639-648) ; G. S. HENRICH, *Die Kryptosphragis bei einigen byzantinischen Dichtern* (S. 649-661) ; N. GAUL, *Ἄνασσα Ἄννα σκόπει – Fürstin Anna, bedenke ! Beobachtungen zur Schedo- und Lexikographie in der spätbyzantinischen Provinz* (S. 663-704) ; Sonja SCHÖNAUER, *Flucht vor den Gläubigen ? Abenteuerliches aus dem Leben des Eustathios von Thessalonike* (S. 705-717) ; H. EIDENEIER, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegelei im neugriechischen Äsoproman* (S. 719-748) ; A. BERGER, *Die* Bosporomachia *des Senior Momars* (S. 749-769) ; Andrea SCHMIDT, *Von Hromkla nach Lemberg : Das Glaubensbekenntnis des armenischen Katholikos Konstantin Bardzrbertsi. Kritische Edition des Autographen und Übersetzung* (S. 771-805) ; L. JOHANSON, *Mutmaßungen über schwedische und türkische Runen* (S. 807-819).

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M. DE GROOTE.

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